# INTERTEXTUALITY IN INSTITUTIONAL TALKS

# – A CORPUS--ASSISTED STUDY OF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN SPOKESPERSONS AND JOURNALISTS

# BY

## ZHONGWAN MAO

## 毛　中　婉

A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD)

Department of English
School of English, Drama, and American & Canadian Studies
College of Arts and Law
The University of Birmingham
June 2015

# Abstract

This thesis uses corpus tools and methods to explore how the enunciations of White House spokespersons are intertextually informed by the enunciations (including their questions at White House press meetings) journalists under institutional constraints, by studying a corpus consisting of texts created by both spokespersons (transcripts of White House press conferences) and journalists (newspaper editorials/articles downloaded from New York Times online version). It sheds light on an important reason behind the lack of corpus studies in exploring intertextuality—there is no clear material connexion between corpus linguistics and intertextuality—based on the observation in the literature that intertextuality involves a mental process (e.g.: Kristeva 1980) while corpus linguistics is based on concrete language samples (e.g.: Sinclair 1991; Tognini- Bonelli 2001). It thus introduces the notion of intertext (a collection of text segments which refer to / indicate the same conceptual area(s)) as the material connection between the corpus approach and intertextuality and exemplifies how this notion and its features contribute to the exploration of intertextuality, by the analysis of two words used as prominent examples, namely, *timetable* and *troops*. It also highlights the claim for institutional talks that participants have different preferences in selecting the words they use (Heritage 1997), pointing out that participants within an institutional talk make their lexical choices under the impact of both institutional constraints and their interlocutors' intertextual influence. Finally, it challenges the traditional idea of institutional interaction between spokespersons and journalists, showing that this interaction does not stop immediately when a press conference ends; rather, there are subsequent indirect interactions between them via newspaper articles/editorials.

# DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents.

# Acknowledgement

My thanks go first of all to all the PhD students and friends I have met in the University of Birmingham, who have made my study life enjoyable and full of hope. In particular, James Conder, who helped me when I structured the proposal, Christian friends, in particular, Nick Devas, Pamela Devas, Margaret Thomson and Peter Tomson, who have prayed for my study during the four years and Sarah Homapour, who has supported my study with her continuous help in language.

Also, I gratefully acknowledge my gratitude to the staff in English Department, in particular, Dr. Pernilla Danielsson, Dr. Paul Thompson, Dr. Neil Millar, Robert Holland and Professor Susan Hunston, who have helped me in some way during my PhD study.

My thanks also go to my family in the UK, my aunts, Hongjie Song, my cousin, Yuchen Fu and Xiucai Zhang, uncle, Tong Fu, who have been taken care of me all the time. I would like to thank my parents and parents-in-law in China, my father, Chengtang Mao, my mother, Shuhuan Xu, father-in-law, Guohua Zhang and mother-in-law, Fengqin An, who have been important in helping me to undertake this study. They are always prepared to listen to my gripes and moans about the drudgery of everyday life in Birmingham.

I would like to thank my husband, Xiaoxiao Zhang, who has been unstinting in his faith and supports to my study. I would like to thank him from the bottom of my heart for keeping me motivated all the time. It is definitely impossible for me to finish this study without his encouragement.

Above all, my thanks go to my supervisor: Wolfgang Teubert, for his valuable criticism, great supervision and invaluable encouragement during my PhD study. Thanks to his unflagging support for what I have been trying to do, the doctoral research is not lonely any more. He keeps inspiring me from different perspectives and gives me hope whenever I have the feeling of frustration, anger and desperation. He is the greatest supervisor I have ever had. Without his feedback and support, this work would never have been finished.

# CONTENTS

# LIST OF ABBREVIATION

| Abbreviation | Meaning |
|---|---|
| AfT | Afghan troops |
| ATAf | American troops in Afghanistan |
| ATIr | American troops in Iraq |
| CADS | Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies |
| Fre | Frequency |
| GAT | Generalization of American troops |
| ITAf | International troops in Afghanistan |
| MATAf | More American troops to Afghanistan |
| MC corpus | the Subcorpus consisting of newspaper articles and editorials |
| MCQ corpus | the Subcorpus consisting of newspaper articles and editorials as well as journalists' questions |
| MITAf | More International troops to Afghanistan |
| Q | Journalists' questions |
| Q corpus | the Subcorpus consisting of journalists' questions |
| R | Spokesperons' responses |
| R corpus | the Subcorpus consisting of spokespersons' responses |
| Rel Fre | Relative frequency |

# CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.0 General aim of this study

The general aim of this study is to address two claims made by Partington and Heritage respectively:

1. Corpus linguistics "*has had relatively little to say in describing features of discourse*" (Partington 2002: 4), in particular, in exploring the interrelationship between texts; and

2. *"A clear way in which speakers orient to institutional tasks and contexts is through their selection of descriptive terms"* (Heritage 1997: 173).

Within institutional talk (interactions between professionals and lay people, see 3.2.1.1), the way in which participants choose their descriptive vocabulary is motivated by the institution they serve. Yet, being intertextually influenced by their interlocutors, they have to respond to what has already been said in the discourse. This study aims to develop a corpus approach to explore how different participants within institutional talk choose the words they use under the impact of both institutional constraints and intertextual influence. More specifically, it attempts to (1) establish a corpus approach to understanding and exploring intertextuality; and (2) demonstrate how a participant in institutional talk selects descriptive terms differently from another under *intertextual influence*s.

The empirical focus of the thesis will be on transcripts of press briefings and statements produced by White House spokespersons and journalists as well as newspaper articles and editorials published in the New York Times (online version) between 1 August, 2009 and 31, January, 2010; i.e. texts concerning the formulation of a new Afghanistan strategy by the White House and the ways in which this formulation is affected by journalists and the media for which they write.

## 1.1 Background, justification and objectives

The first part of this chapter briefly explains the motivation of this study by emphasizing three gaps observed in the literature. It then highlights the challenge of the methodology developed in this thesis and attempts to propose corpus assisted discourse studies (CADS) as the solution. Finally, it specifies the objectives of this study. We now turn to the gaps observed in the literature.

### 1.1.1 Gaps in the literature and justifications of this thesis

The current study is carried out based on the observation of three gaps in the literature:

1. There have been few attempts to develop a corpus approach to investigating intertextuality.

2. While most institutional studies highlight institutional constraints on the participant's selection of words, few studies shed light on intertextual influences from other participants. More precisely, previous institutional studies have not addressed the fact that participants within institutional talk also use the same words and phrases or refer to the same conceptual area in much detail.

3. Previous studies in which press briefings are studied as a type of institutional talk ignore the fact that interactions between spokespersons and journalists do not stop immediately when the press briefing ends. Instead, spokespersons and journalists furthermore "interact" indirectly afterwards via the instruments of newspaper articles and editorials.

These three aspects will be explained in more detail in the following sub-sections in turn.

### 1.1.1.1 Intertextuality and corpus linguistics

Although both intertextuality and corpus linguistics are well established in their own right, there have been little discussion about how to combine intertextuality and corpus linguistics, and there have been few attempts by corpus linguists to develop a corpus approach to exploring intertextuality within discourse.

Intertextuality—a term which was first discussed by Kristeva in late 1960s—traditionally refers to the fact that a text is "a permutation of texts" (1980: 36) and each of them "is an intersection of word (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read" (1980: 66). According to Allen (2000: 1), it is "one of the most commonly used" terms and it has attracted the attention of linguists because no text exists in isolation.

Corpus linguistics ( a collection of texts which is used to 'expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became

available to inform language study', Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 65), "has undergone a remarkable renaissance in recent years" (McEnery & Wilson 2001: 1), widening its scope from lexicography (Cobuild 1995), English grammar (Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English, Biber et al. 1999; Carter & McCarthy 1995; Leech 2000) to the field of language variation (Hyland 1999; Lehmann 2002), genre analysis (Biber & Finegan 1989; Conrad 1994), translation studies (Xiao & McEnery 2005; Maia 1998; Ebeling 1998), diachronic language studies (Peitsara 1993), language teaching and learning (Thurstun & Candlin 1998; Conrad 1999), semantics (Tognini-Bonelli 2001), sociolinguistics (Sigley 1997; Holmes 1997) and discourse analysis (Partington 2002, 2006b). As stated by McEnery and Hardie (2012: 27):

> *If we consider the range of research questions that a corpus on its own allows us to address, we can imagine it as covering a subset of all the research questions that a linguist might ask.*

It therefore raises the question of why there is little attempt to applying corpus techniques, one of the most powerful tools in language studies, to explore the idea that every text is related to other texts, a widely explored phenomenon in linguistics.

## 1.1.1.2 Intertextual influences on participants within institutional talk

The notion of institutional talk in this study refers to the interaction between "two groups of professionals with an audience of lay persons" (Partington 2002: 30). According to Drew and Heritage (1992: 22; Heritage 1997), within institutional talk, there are special constraints on how the participant behaves. One of these constraints involves how a participant within institutional talk selects the word they use. The choice of a specific word or phrase indexes the speaker's "stance toward a particular circumstance, as well as the interactional context they are in, in very precise ways" (Heritage 2004: 132). He (ibid: 173) also points out that participants tend to use different descriptive terms, giving an example of the word *cop* which is used in ordinary conversation, while the phrase *police officer* is used in court.

However, there is another element which also has an impact on the words or phrases the speaker chooses within institutional talk and which has not been emphasized much in previous studies, namely, *intertextual influences* from the other participants (in this study, *intertextual influences* from journalists). *Intertextual influence*, in this study, refers to the idea that the creation or change of subsequent texts is the result of a

melange of previous or contemporaneous text segments (see 2.1.4.1). More specifically, participants within institutional talk also use the same descriptive term or refer to the same semantic field during their interaction; however, they tend to contextualize the same descriptive term or same semantic field differently and therefore give it a (perhaps slightly) different meaning.

The impact of institutional constraints on interactants' lexical choices from institutional constraints has to be distinguished from that of intertextual influences. The former emphasizes the different affiliations of participants while the latter highlights the fact that participants within institutional talk also refer to the same concept (either by using the same or different lexical item(s)), regardless of their affiliation. This thesis attempts to stress the impacts on participants' lexical choice of both the institutional constraints and intertextual influences within a given type of institutional talk (which includes both press briefings and subsequent newspaper articles).

### 1.1.1.3 Newspaper articles as an element of institutional talk

Recently, there has been an increasing interest in interactive discourses in which "the participants have conflicting aims, are under pressure and above all, are accountable to authority" (Partington 2013 et al. : 216), especially political discourses which have their origin in media, such as TV programs and broadcasting (Ekström & Patrona 2011; Hutchby 2006; Montgomery 2007; Tolson 2006), interviews and debates (Proctor & Su 2011; Hutchby 2006; Chilton 2004; Clayman & Heritage 2002; Lauerbach 2004; Young 2008) and press briefings (Partington 2002; 2006b). These special discourses are different from our daily conversations because they are produced within restricted environments "in which the goals of the participants are more limited and institution-specific" (Heritage 2004: 104). They are grouped into the type of discourse termed as institutional talk. Meanwhile, these interactive discourses are different from other types of institutional talk (e.g. doctor-patient, teacher-student) because what is said will be seen or heard by a "wider audience beyond those physically present and participating in the interaction" (Partington 2013 et al.: 216).

This study, thus, chooses White House press briefings for two main reasons. Firstly, press briefings are a new genre which has not been explored much (Morley 2009). Also, the briefings are the "arena where White House policy is first aired-sometimes even before it has actually officially been formulated" (ibid: 3).

There is, however, a special element which has not been emphasized in these studies. In the type of institutional talk mentioned above, the interaction between and among participants does not end immediately; instead, further indirect interactions are ongoing via the agent of newspaper articles. Take press briefings as an example. Issues which are under discussion in a press briefing continue to be discussed in subsequent newspaper articles and editorials. These articles and editorials are then possibly read by both (1) White House spokespersons who are likely to respond to these articles and editorials in their following statements (see chapter 5 and chapter 6) and (2) journalists who are likely to refer to these articles and editorials during subsequent press briefings (e.g.: Partington 2002: 93-96).

This thesis therefore includes both (1) newspaper articles and editorials which deal with issues discussed in previous press briefings and (2) transcripts of press conferences as a type of institutional talk, aiming to reveal both direct and indirect interaction between spokespersons and journalists.

## 1.1.2 The primary challenge and solution

The primary challenge in this thesis is raised by limitations of the corpus approach (Hunston 2002; Flowerdew 2008; Xiao 2009; McEnery et al. 2006; Widdowson 2000; Dash 2005; Partington 1998; Puurtinen 2003; Halliday 1992). In particular, two points have been made: firstly, "a corpus presents language out of its context" (Hunston 2002: 23) and secondly, "a corpus can show nothing more than its own contents" (Hunston 2002: 22).

The first two sub-sections of this part will shed light on these two limitations of the corpus approach respectively, followed by a sub-section providing the solution proposed in this study.

### 1.1.2.1 Discourse in context

A primary limitation of the corpus is that it presents language out of its context[1] (Hunston 2002; Partington 1998; Flowerdew 2008, 2014).

---

[1] Context in this study is used in two senses. Firstly, it refers to the abstract sense, including both the definition provided by van Dijk (2011: 356) --"[the] mentally structured represented structure of those

However, in order to understand and interpret a discourse, it is necessary to understand its context because "there is ongoing, dynamic mutual influence between talk or text and its production or comprehension on the one hand, and the way the participants see, interpret and construe the other "environmental" aspects of such discourse, such as the setting, the participants, the ongoing action, as well as the goals and knowledge of the participants" (van Dijk 2008: 241). Hasan (1999: 24) also argues that "to describe the nature of human language, we need to place it in its social environment; that this environment- call it context- must be taken as an integral part of linguistic theory". In institutional talk, such as press briefings in this study, participants are able to behave appropriately largely because they have prior experiences which give them expectations of subsequent reaction; these expectations shape and are shaped by any single event within press briefings (Partington 2002). Therefore, in order to understand institutional talk, we have to take the "environmental aspects" into account.

Corpus linguistics, as it stands, has been "critiqued for focussing on decontextualized strings of language, or corpus lines" (Flowerdew 2014: 16). From this perspective, the analysis of discourse which is only based on corpus data is a partial interpretation of the examined discourse. We have to take the context into account (this point will be emphasized in detail in chapter 2).

### 1.1.2.2 Evasion in the discourse

Another problem of corpus studies is that a corpus can only show us its own content (Hunston 2002). The property of a corpus, that it does not relate to what is outside of it, leads to difficulties in tracing discourse evidence in this thesis because White House spokespersons tend to be evasive.

Evasion refers to the "intentional use of imprecise language" (Hamilton & Mineo 1998: 3) and "nonstraightforward communication" (Bavelas & Smith. 1990: 28); it

---

properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse"-- the specific situation at hand, and the institutional context, within which various institutional participants have different roles, responsibilities and relationships with other participants and within which, there are agencies and policies which rule these relationships. Also, context is used in the concrete sense which refers to the text segments coming before and after the examined word. The abstract sense is used when we discuss the limitation of corpus linguistics and the context of institutional talk; while the concrete sense is employed during the analysis of the corpus.

originates with spokespersons' institutional responsibilities. Spokespersons tend to "spin" the information given to journalists (Partington 2002) because they intention is to present the government in a favourable light. Meanwhile, spokespersons are expected to give proper answers because it is their "moral obligation" (Clayman 2001: 404); also, they cannot simply refuse to give any response because "saying 'no comment' sounds like you are uninformed about the issue, or that you do not care [enough] about people to answer their questions" (Olds & Taylor 2004: 3). It is therefore not surprising that spokespersons tend to be evasive and not to give a direct reply when a journalist seeks for answers about an issue which can potentially damage the government's image.

As a result, the information required by journalists is often absent from the corpus. Using the corpus data only, therefore, is not sufficient for the current study.

### 1.1.2.3 Solution – corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS)

Given these limitations of corpus linguistics we have discussed above, the current thesis is proposed as a case study of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS), attempting to show how it is possible to employ corpus tools as well as other linguistic evidence in corpora to explore intertextuality, particularly in institutional talk.

Concern has been increased with how corpus techniques fit into wider theoretical questions. Fillmore (1992: 35), for instance, has made two observations about corpora. Firstly, there is no corpus, however large, containing all the information we want to explore; therefore, all corpus observations are inadequate. Secondly, any corpus, however small, can show us facts which we cannot imagine in any other way. Based on Fillmore's observations, Partington (2008: 190) points out that a good corpus linguist should "exploit the interaction of intuition and data, giving balanced attention to analysis, description, interpretation, explanation".

Inspired by  others' work, in particular Stubbs' (1996, 2001), Partington et al (Partington 2004; 2006a; Partington et al 2013) propose that corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS)— a "set of studies into the form and/or function of language as communicative discourse which incorporate the use of computerised corpora in their analyses" (2013: 10) – can show how "observation and contemplation, thto e eye and brain, can fruitfully interact" (2013: 191) and reveal "non-obvious meaning" (ibid : 11) which is beyond the observation of our naked eye. CADS is, in essence, a subset of corpus linguistics which refers to the "study of language based on examples of 'real life'

language use" (McEnery & Wilson 2001: 1). Yet, CADS is different from other forms of corpus linguistics. This is mainly because it takes not only the corpus data but also other sources into account; furthermore, it aims to reveal meaning which cannot be obtained directly from corpus data.

Thereafter, the strength of CADS has been demonstrated in previous studies (e.g.: Morley & Bayley, 2009; Partington, 2006b, 2008, 2013). Corpus linguistics enables researchers to uncover quantitative significance and language patterning within the investigated discourse while discourse analysis enables to continue in-depth analysis of the data generated via corpus tools. As a contribution to CADS, a combination of corpus data and theories within conversation analysis, in particular institutional talk, is applied to the analysis of intertextuality in the current study.

### 1.1.3 Specific objectives of the current study

The current study has three specific objectives:

1. to establish a CADS approach to understanding and exploring intertextuality (methodological objective)

2. to explore how spokespersons' statements are intertextually influenced by journalists under institutional constraints (theoretical objective)

3. to examine both the direct and indirect interactions between White House spokespersons and journalists during and after the press briefings (empirical objective)

We now turn to each purpose in detail.

### 1.1.3.1 Developing a corpus approach to the exploration of intertextuality

For the analysis, methodological procedures are of key importance in the sense that there has been no reason given for the lack of existing corpus studies on intertextuality; furthermore, there has been no systematical corpus approach to understanding and exploring intertextuality.

The methodological objective is rooted in the belief that the approach it implements opens up new research possibilities for following CADS studies in intertextuality. Specifically, (1) by introducing the connexion between corpus linguistics

and intertextuality, it enables a corpus approach to be applied to investigating intertextual relationships among a large number of texts; (2) by positioning the current study into the field of institutional talk, it provides us with access to a detailed analysis of a particular discourse event within the context it was produced; (3) by combining the corpus data with the examined type of institutional talk in the current study, it may be possible to better understand how texts are intertextually influenced by others in the corpus.

### 1.1.3.2 Intertextual influence within institutional talk

The primary theoretical objective of this study is to shed light on the fact that most studies on institutional talk neglect the fact that, although its participants i have different preferences when selecting the lexical items they use, they also refer to the same lexical items or indicate the same concept during their interactions.

This study explores the interactions between White House spokespersons and journalists who are oriented to different institutional tasks. Serving different institutions, spokespersons and journalists tend to choose different lexical items during their interactions; meanwhile, they have to keep the topic coherent by making it clear that they are responding to the same concept. In addition to institutional constraints which have been explored in previous studies (Heritage 1997, 2004; Clayman & Heritage 2002), this thesis also highlights the intertextual influence of journalists on spokespersons. It attempts to reveal how participants' lexical choices are influenced by both institutional constraints and intertextual impacts.

### 1.1.3.3 Indirect interaction between spokespersons and journalists

Previous studies in which press briefings are explored as a type of institutional talk mainly investigated interactions during press briefings, ignoring subsequent newspaper articles which deal with issues discussed during press briefings.

The empirical objective is therefore that of making a contribution to the body of knowledge in the field of institutional talk by providing empirical evidence to substantiate and refine previous assertions in this area. In particular, it seeks to provide corpus evidence of institutional interactions both during and after press briefings.

By providing empirical evidence, it  stretches the definition of institutional talk, including both transcripts of spoken texts between spokespersons and journalists (direct interaction during press briefings) and subsequent written texts dealing with issues discussed during the press briefings (newspaper articles and editorials). It shows that subsequent newspaper articles and editorials, which deal with issues that have been discussed during press briefings, play an active role in enabling an indirect interaction between spokespersons and journalists.

## 1.2 Outline of the thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters, including this chapter as an introduction.

Chapter two begins with an overview of the existing body of literature into the definition of intertextuality and corpus, shedding light on the fact that intertextuality is usually associated with a mental process (Kristeva 1980); while corpus studies investigate concrete language samples. This fundamental difference makes it difficult to develop a corpus approach to intertextuality.

Based on this observation, chapter two proposes the notion of intertext as the material connexion between these two fields. Simply speaking, an intertext is a collection of texts or text segments which refer to the same conceptual area, in the form of either identical or different lexical item(s). It highlights how intertext enables the application of a corpus approach to the exploration of intertextuality by introducing the notion of shared lexical item(s) (a text segment which can be repeatedly found as a part of larger text segments within an intertext, e.g.: the word *troops* in *additional troops, more troops*, and *American troops*) and shared semantic field(s) (a conceptual area to which all the text segments within an intertext refer). Also, it gives us a reason to locate the current study into the field of CADS. More specifically, taking into account the fact that corpus linguistics presents language out of its context, we need to employ other resources to analyse the discourse.

Chapter three then positions the current study in relation to the field of conversation analysis, exploring the corpus as a type of institutional talk among White House spokespersons, journalists and the audience, developed from a definition given by Partington (talks "between two groups of professionals with an audience of lay persons (the TV and Internet audience)", 2002: 30). With an emphasis on three out of

the six aspects suggested by Heritage (1997) in analysing institutional talk, this chapter also presents a qualitative analytical framework for the current study. The last section of chapter three shows the second reason for proposing this thesis as a study in the field of CADS, by highlighting the fact that spokespersons tend to be evasive in their responses while corpus data do not provide us access to what has not been explicitly discussed.

Chapter four presents a detailed description of the methodology adopted in this study. It begins with a discussion of the study's principal corpus design considerations and of the challenges and practicalities found during the corpus building process and exploitation. It also demonstrates the analytical procedures which are the core of this study.

Both chapter five and six exemplify how to apply the methodology established in chapter four to investigate intertextuality within the framework of institutional talk. These two chapters have different focuses. Chapter five aims to investigate how participants in institutional talk select descriptive terms differently while being influenced by each other. As an example, it takes the word *timetable,* which was firstly used by journalists and then picked up by White House spokespersons. In addition to surpporting the claim made by Heritage (1997: 173) that "a clear way in which speakers orient to institutional tasks and contexts is through their selection of descriptive terms", it attempts to investigate how the spokesperson replaces what has been used in journalists' articles and questions under intertextual influence from journalists.

Chapter six, on the other hand, focuses on the word *troops* which is commonly used by both journalists and White House spokesperson. It attempts to explore, under intertextual influence from journalists, how White House spokespersons and journalists deal with the same text segment (*troops*) within institutional talk. It shows that spokespersons tend to contextualize journalists' words differently or attribute a different semantic field to these words.

Chapter seven draws the findings reported in chapter five and six together and outlines the methodological and theoretical contributions made by this thesis. It provides a more comprehensive interpretation based on the previous two chapters. It also offers a balanced assessment of the methodology adopted in this study, pointing out its limitations and potential strengths.

The final chapter highlights the extent to which the aims set in the introduction have been achieved and considers any further questions which they might raise.

# CHAPTER 2 INTERTEXTUALITY AND CORPUS LINGUISTICS

## 2.0 Introduction

In the field of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS, defined as "a set of studies into the form and/or function of language as communicative discourse which incorporate the use of computerized corpora in their studies", Partington et al 2013: 10, see 2.3.2), the present study is a combination of two main topics. It is a study in corpus linguistics; in particular, it discusses how intertextuality can be analysed with the aid of corpora. It is also a study in discourse analysis, more specifically, of a certain type of institutional talk.

The literature review, therefore, includes both this chapter, which concerns issues related to the integration of intertextuality into the framework of corpus linguistics, and the next chapter, which examines key theories related to institutional talk.

This chapter comprises two main parts, followed by a summary in 2.4. The first part concerns theoretical issues concerning the corpus approach (2.2), aiming at (1) exploring the reason why there has been so little work in applying the corpus approach to investigating intertextuality; and (2) establishing the theoretical basis for the methodology developed here. The second part deals with the limitations of only using corpus data (2.3), emphasizing the necessity of taking context into account.

## 2.1 Intertextuality, corpus linguistics, intertextual relationships

The first part of this chapter examines works in the literature and attempts to look for connections among three fields, namely, intertextuality, corpus linguistics and intertextual relationships.

### 2.1.1 The basis of establishing a corpus approach to intertextuality – intertext

This section attempts to do two things. Firstly, it attempts to explore why corpus linguistics has not been much applied to the study of applying corpus to intertextuality,

by exploring the inherent dissimilitude between their definitions in the literature (2.2.1.1 and 2.2.1.2).The second part introduces the notion of "intertext"—the material evidence of intertextuality—as the connexion between these two fields and explains its constituents and features. Intertext provides the basis for developing a corpus approach to the study of intertextuality; furthermore, it re-defines the term intertextuality based on the concept of intertext.

### 2.1.1.1 Two trends of traditional definitions of intertextuality

Intertextuality was first discussed by Kristeva in the late 1960s. Since then, a considerable number of studies have been carried out attempting to elucidate this concept (Allen 2000; Orr 2003; Mai 1991; Plett 1991; Kristeva 1980; Genette 1997; Riffaterre 1984; Worton & Still 1990; de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981; Devitt 1991).

The traditional notion of intertextuality refers to a mental process, emphasizing the role of readers and claiming that intertextuality mainly depends on the reader's knowledge of the textual allusions found in a text. In the words of Kristeva, who coined this term, when she explained Bakhtin's notion of the dialogicity of discourse, a text is "a permutation of texts, an intertextuality: in the space of a given text, several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another" (Kristeva 1980: 36). In her works, Kristeva describes a mental process which generates a communication between the writer and the reader. For her, a word's status is defined by both a *horizontal dimension* ("a word in the text belongs to both writing subject and addressee") and a *vertical dimension* ("the word in the text is oriented toward an anterior or synchronic literary corpus") (1980: 66). This recognition leads her to explain intertextuality in these words: "each word (text) is an intersection of word (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read"; and "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of intertextuality replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least double" (Kristeva 1980: 66). Her understanding of intertextuality invokes a communication between the author and the reader as well as a communication between words and their existence in previous texts; and it is the reader who may make this connection between elements of the text and other texts.

Barthes' notion of the text also invokes a mental process of the reader. According to him, a text is "the fabric of the words which make up the work and which are

arranged in such a way as to impose a meaning which is stable and as far as possible unique" (1981: 32). It is a "multidimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture … the writer can only imitate a gesture that is always anterior, never original" (Barthes 1977: 146). His understanding of the intertextual property of a text contributes to his theory that meaning can never be stabilized because readers of literary work are always positioned in different textual relations. In Barthes' work, he points out that Riffaterre also agrees that intertextuality "indeed refers to an operation of the reader's mind" (Barthes 1984: 143).

Another way to explain the term is to describe the phenomenon, manifestation or typology of intertextuality so that we are told what intertextuality looks like or how it is constituted. Both Fairclough and Devitt, for example, attempt to categorize intertextuality. Fairclough (1992: 117-118) distinguishes between "manifest intertextuality" which is "the case where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text" (often with attribution) and "constitutive intertextuality" which involves "how a discourse type is constituted through a combination of elements of orders of discourse". His explanation of "manifest intertextuality" actually describes the features and appearance of this category; his definition of "constitutive intertextuality", on the other hand, is a description of how this kind of intertextuality is constructed. We can therefore, to some extent, conclude whether a linguistic phenomenon indicates intertextuality or not, as well as how a given instance of intertextuality is constituted; thus, we are able to distinguish "manifest intertextuality" from "constitutive intertextuality". Devitt (1991) proposes three types of intertextuality, namely, referential intertextuality (texts which refer directly to other texts), functional intertextuality (a text which is from a larger context and which deals with a particular issue) and generic intertextuality (a text which draws on texts that were created in previous and similar situations). There are also definitions which are in essence descriptions of how intertextuality is constructed within a text. Renkema, for example, defines intertextuality as follows: "intertextuality means that a sequence of sentences is related by form or meaning to other sequences of sentences" (2004: 50). Gray also focuses on the construction of intertextuality. According to him, "intertextuality refers to the fundamental and inescapable interdependence of all textual meaning upon the structures of meaning proposed by other texts" (Gray 2010: 117).

Although it seems that these two ways of defining intertextuality have different focuses, both of them deal with people's experiences and knowledge. The former emphasizes a reader' mental process while the latter is based on researchers' expert knowledge of the data they are scrutinizing. A readers' mental processes are the outcome of their previous knowledge and experience. The latter set of definitions – descriptions of this linguistic phenomenon or explanations of how intertextuality is constructed – is also influenced by people's knowledge and experiences. Because our awareness of an instance of intertextuality depends on things we have experienced; we individually can never be aware of all manifestations of this phenomenon. Even if we had access to all the manifestations, we could not describe them precisely. This is because words we have learnt can be obtained from our previous knowledge and experience; our knowledge and experience, however, is limited.

As we have seen, most notions of intertextuality involve mental processes and thus invoke the notion of intuition. This emphasis is different from that of corpus studies. Corpus studies, as we will discuss in 2.2.1.2, are based on concrete corpus evidence. In order to understand the fundamental dissimilitude between intertextuality and corpus studies, we now turn to the concept of corpus as a collection of real language data – the basis of corpus studies.

## 2.1.1.2 Fundamental of corpus studies – samples of language

The corpus approach to linguistic studies differs from other approaches in the way that it is primarily based on collections of naturally occurring data. There are numerous definitions of what the corpus refers to throughout the relevant literature (Sinclair 1991; Tognini- Bonelli 2001; Charteris- Black 2004; Meyer 2002; Lindquist 2009; Francis 1982; Ihalainen, et al. 1987; Hunston 2002; McEnery et al. 2006; Gries 2009). These definitions can also be categorized into two types.

There is a group of definitions relying on the type or format of texts included within a corpus. Atkins et al (1992: 1), for example, point out that a corpus is "a subset of an ETL (Electronic Text Library)". Aarts (1991: 45) further specifies text type in detail and clarifies that a corpus is "a collection of samples of running text. The texts may be in spoken, written or intermediate forms, and the samples may be of any length". The Expert Advisory Groups on Language Engineering Standards (EAGLES), in a similar vein, points out that a corpus is used to "refer to any collection of linguistic

data" and it "can potentially contain any text type, including not only prose, newspapers, as well as poetry, drama, etc., but also word lists, dictionaries, etc." (Corpus Encoding Standard: http://www.cs.vassar.edu/CES/CES1-0.html).

However, as pointed out by Meyer (2002: xi), most linguists "prefer a more restricted definition" of this term and tend to define it as "something more than a collection of almost anything". Therefore, most definitions (of corpus) discuss the notion of representativeness of a corpus and highlight that a corpus should be compiled according to a certain purpose. Sinclair, for instance, emphasizes the representativeness of a corpus by saying that a corpus is "a collection of naturally occurring language text, chosen to characterize a state or variety of a language" (1991: 171). Similarly, Francis (1982: 7) points out that "a corpus is a collection of texts assumed to be representative of a given language, dialect, or other subset of a language to be used for linguistic analysis". She clearly asserts that a corpus should be "representative" and should be used for "linguistic analysis". Leech (1992: 116) also stresses that "computer corpora are rarely haphazard collections of textual material: they are generally assembled with particular purposes in mind, and are often assembled to be (informally speaking) representative of some language or text type". Gries (2009: 7) also agrees that a corpus should be compiled "to be representative and balanced with respect to a particular linguistic variety or register or genre".

Regardless of the differences, linguists in both camps agree that a corpus – the basis of corpus studies – is a collection of naturally occurring language; in other words, for corpus linguists, language analysis is based on real language samples. This focus is different from that of intertextuality which involves a mental process of the reader or researcher (see 2.1.1.1). Language samples are concrete and stable while mental processes are overwhelmingly inaccessible. Although previous studies in intertextuality were also conducted via the analysis of texts, they were conducted based on a small amount of language data and relied heavily on the author's intuition. The divergent focuses of the two fields makes it harder to combine them.

In a word, definitions of intertextuality have a different focus from that of corpus studies. This difference causes difficulties in applying a corpus approach to intertextuality because the quantitative nature of the corpus approach can hardly be made compatible with the emphasis on readers' mental process. In order to design a corpus approach to intertextuality, we first of all have to find the connexion between the two fields.

### 2.1.1.3 The notion of intertext

The connexion between the study of intertextuality and corpus linguistics lies in the fact that both of them deal with real language data; in other words, both their objects are samples of actually occurring language. Samples of language in corpus studies are referred to as corpora while those for studying intertextuality are referred to as intertext in this study. From this perspective, an emphasis on intertext demonstrates the connexion between intertextuality and corpus linguistics. The premise of establishing a corpus approach to intertextuality, therefore, is an understanding of intertext and its properties. This sub-section, thus, aims to explain how intertext is understood in this thesis based on a clarification of two terms – discourse and semantic field.

The term 'intertext' is used to denote the material evidence of intertextuality. It comprises the entirety of text segments within a discourse (including words, phrases and sequences of words, see details in 2.2.1.3 c) which are linked to each other in the way that they partly or wholly refer to the same conceptual area(s). An example is the conceptual area of 'troops'. Within a corpus, this conceptual area constitutes a semantic field consisting of text segments which are used to indicate this area. This can be the single word *troops*, or text segments in which the word *troops* occurs (e.g.: *additional troops*, *the new troops the president has chosen to deploy*), but also other text segments such as its synonyms (e.g.: *armed forces*, *forces*, and *men and women in uniform*). More specifically, there are two types of texts within an intertext. The first type includes texts in all of which the same text segment (e.g. the word *troops*) is contained. These text segments or lexical item(s) which are contained in all the texts within this group are referred to as *shared lexical item(s)* in the following discussion. The second type consists of texts (1) in which shared lexical item(s) do not occur; instead they contain synonyms of them and (2) which are therefore from the same semantic field(s) as the shared lexical item(s) (e.g.: *armed forces*, *forces*, *men and women in uniform*). The definition of intertext given by Riffaterre covers more or less what it is meant by an intertext; it

> is a corpus of texts, textual fragments, or textlike segments of the sociolect that shares a lexicon and, to a lesser extent, a syntax with the text we are reading (directly or indirectly) in the form of synonyms or, even conversely, in the form of antonyms. In addition, each member of this corpus is a

> structural homologue of the text: the depiction of a stormy night may serve as an intertext for a tableau of a peaceful day; crossing the trackless sands of the desert may be the intertext of furrowing the briny deep.    (1984: 142)

To obtain a deeper understanding of intertext, we need to firstly examine the notion of two terms, namely, discourse and semantic field.

### a) Discourse

The notion of discourse used in this study is the one offered by Teubert (2010: 116). He distinguishes between discourse at large and subsets of this discourse which he calls, special discourses:

> "The **discourse at large**, in its widest extent, consists of all spoken, written or signed utterances from the time when people started using language, in any dialect or language, as long as they had an audience."

> A special discourse is a subset of the discourse at large and is defined by

parameters set by the researcher. A special discourse, therefore, is a part of this entirety and it has to be defined in "such a way that we can be sure for each text whether it belongs to this particular discourse or not" (Teubert 2010: 116- 117).

However, we do not have access to the full discourse at large because most of what has been said or written has been lost and much of the rest is not easily accessible. Even the entirety of what can be accessed is still too large to be analysed by current computational means (Teubert 2010: 116- 117). Therefore, what we can study are only special discourses and the texts which belong to them. As observers, we have to define whether or not a text belongs to a special discourse which we are interested in. Take the current study as an example. It focuses on a special discourse consisting of texts which are (1) related to American policy on Afghanistan, (2) created by White House spokespersons (published on White House official website) and journalists (published on both the White House official website and online New York Times) and (3) produced between 1 August, 2009 and 31 January, 2010. All texts fulfilling each of the three conditions are part of it, but the reminder are not.

### b) Semantic field

The notion of semantic field adopted in this study is developed from that in Lehrer (1985). In her terminology, "a semantic field is a set of lexemes which cover a certain conceptual domain and which bear certain specifiable relations to one another" (Lehrer

1985: 283). According to her, a semantic field covers a collection of words which are semantically related to each other.

For the current study, the definition is stretched so as to include a set of 'text segments' rather than just a collection of 'words'. Also, this notion is further specified in two respects which have not been explicitly explained in Lehrer's definition: (1) how broad the coverage of this conceptual domain is and (2) how these text segments are related to each other. This sub-section deals with how broad the coverage of the conceptual domain is in this study while section 2.2.2.2 treats five intertextual relationships on which this thesis focuses.

The range of text segments within a semantic field in this study is determined by the meaning of its shared lexical items. More specifically, a semantic field is a set of text segments which refer to the same conceptual domain; this conceptual domains is referred to as a *shared semantic field* and it is determined by the meaning of shared lexical items. In order to prevent further confusion, it should be pointed out at the beginning that the term semantic field differs from shared semantic field in the way that the former refers to a collection of text segments while the latter refers to a virtual conceptual area which is shared by all text segments within this semantic field.

This definition, furthermore, raises the following three questions:

1. How long should a text segment within an intertext be?
2. How and where do we find the meaning of a shared lexical item?
3. Who should interpret the meaning of a shared lexical item and its shared semantic field?

We now turn to each question in detail.

A text segment in this study is a part of a sentence. It includes at least a sequence of words or a single word which refers to the shared semantic field (or synonymic expressions of the shared lexical items); also, it normally includes elements which give more information about the shared semantic field. Take the following extracts for example (in which the word *troops* is the shared lexical item, indicating a shared semantic field of 'troops', more specifically, a shared semantic field of "a group of people serving in the military", including navy, army and air forces).

1. In recent years, our troops have succeeded in every mission America has given them, from toppling the Taliban to deposing a dictator in Iraq to battling brutal insurgencies. (WH Web, 17th, Aug, 2009)
2. You've got General McChrystal now over there and more troops who are putting pressure on the eastern and southern portions of Afghanistan.

(WH Web, 20th, Aug, 2009)

3. Obviously the President and all of his team want to ensure that forces that are coming back are well treated, that they get the services that they need when they come out of an extraordinarily stressful environment. (WH Web,6th, Nov, 2009)

In the extracts above, the text segments which we are interested in and which refer to the same conceptual area as that of the shared lexical item (*troops*) are: (1) *our troops*, (2) *more troops who are putting pressure on the eastern and southern portions of Afghanistan*, and (3) *forces that are coming back* (underlined). Each of these text segments has two parts, namely, a part (*troops*, *forces*) which indicate the shared semantic field ('troops') and a second part which describes or specifies the shared semantic field (*our, who are putting pressure on the eastern and southern portions of Afghanistan, that are coming back*).

The answer to the second question – how and where to find the meaning of a word (the shared lexical item in this study) – has been discussed widely in the linguistics literature. Meaning in this study is used in a similar way to that in many other corpus studies (e.g.: Teubert 2007, 2010; Biber, et al 1998) – which is that it can only be found in samples of a language, or in its natural contexts, i.e. in the corpus. More specifically in the current study, the meaning of a text segment in that corpus is all that has been said about it in the corpus; meanwhile, the meaning of a text segment produced at a certain time by a certain person in the corpus depends on both what has been said about it in that corpus and its context (or texts that come before and after it). Although the meaning of a text segment at a certain time is likely to be different from its meaning at a different time, the meaning of a text segment in the corpus remains the same as long as we examine the same corpus. Each instance of the investigated text segment contributes to the interpretation of its meaning in the corpus.

Take the word *troops* as an example again, which, in the first extract below, is specified by the word *more* and a *who* clause following it. The texts before and after the word *troops* show that these particular troops are not other troops but are those which were sent to Afghanistan after the President took office (*more troops*) and who, according to the President, are *putting pressure on the eastern and southern part of Afghanistan*. In the second extract, *troops* is specified by the phrase *500 more* indicating that these troops are the British troops who are going to be sent *under certain conditions*. Both instances of *troops*, furthermore, contribute to the interpretation of the meaning of *troops* in the whole corpus, more specifically, 'a group of people who serve in the military'.

1. You've got General McChrystal now over there and **more troops** who are putting pressure on the eastern and southern portions of Afghanistan.
(WH Web, 20th, Aug, 2009)
2. Q The British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, said today that his government is ready to send **500 more troops** under certain conditions.
(WH Web, 14th, Oct, 2009)

Given that meaning exists only in samples of a language, we also have to understand that meaning needs to be interpreted. Within a discourse, different participants contribute to the discourse by talking back to what has been said before (e.g.: recombining, permuting and reformulating it) (Teubert 2010). Meanwhile, as the observers who are outside this special discourse, it is we who must interpret and decide the meaning of a text segment in the investigated discourse. Yet, our interpretation is not the end. Other people may agree or disagree with what we have interpreted. Their interpretation of what we have interpreted will be furthermore discussed by other people. In this way, any discourse is "self-referential" (Teubert 2010). From this perspective, the current study is our current interpretation of what has been said within the investigated discourse; it is our interpretation of the meanings of the shared lexical item in the corpus. In the same way, the shared semantic field which is determined by what the shared lexical item means in the discourse is also a construct based on the interpretation of us, the observers of the discourse.

In conclusion, a semantic field is a collection of text segments which refer to the same conceptual domain; this conceptual domain is constructed by its observers and based on our interpretation of what the shared lexical items means in the investigated discourse; finally, our comprehension of the shared lexical items derives from all that has been said about it in the discourse.

### c) Summary – the notion of intertext

Having clarified how the discourse and semantic field are defined in this study as well as issues related to these two aspects, we now go back to the notion of intertext. This is the definition of intertext used in this study:

(1) An intertext is a subset of the investigated discourse, consisting of all the text segments which, to a certain extent, refer to or indicate the same conceptual area. This conceptual domain is referred to as the shared semantic field.

(2) A shared semantic field is determined by the meaning of the shared lexical item. A shared lexical item is a text segment which can be found repeatedly occurring in many other text segments within the investigated intertext. The

> meaning of a shared lexical item can only be found in the corpus and must be interpreted by the observers.

In conclusion, an intertext consists of all the text segments which are from the same semantic field, covering the same conceptual domain. This conceptual domain (referred to as the shared semantic field) is determined by the meaning of a text segment (referred to as the shared lexical items) which can be found repeatedly occurring within the examined intertext.

The meaning of a shared lexical item is all that has been said about it within the examined discourse; it is the observers outside the discourse, who interpret the meaning of the shared lexical item in the discourse and conclude what the shared semantic field is in the examined intertext. Our interpretation of a text segment and how our interpretation is discussed by other people furthermore will contribute to a discourse of the peer group of observers (an interpretive community) which can constitute a special discourse of its own.

### 2.1.1.4 Shared lexical item(s)—the key of an intertext

The previous sub-section established how the term intertext is understood in this study. This sub-section sheds light on the most crucial element of an intertext—the shared lexical item. The significance of a shared lexical item can be explained via the explanation of two types of relationships: (1) the relationship between meanings of a shared lexical item and a shared semantic field; and (2) the relationship between a shared semantic field and the range of text segments within the explored intertext. We now turn to the details of these two relationships.

#### a. *Meanings of a shared lexical item and the shared semantic field*

A shared lexical items is related to the shared semantic field in the sense that its meanings in the corpus determine what the shared semantic field is. Take the word *troops* for example (see details in chapter 6). The corpus shows that the word *troops* is used to indicate different types of people who are serving in the military (e.g.: American soldiers serving in Afghanistan, more American troops who will be deployed to Afghanistan, international troops). All these meanings of *troops* in the corpus refer to a shared conceptual domain, more specifically, a group of people who serve in the military, including the navy, army and air forces; this shared conceptual domain is what

we refer to as a shared semantic field. In this way, meanings of a shared lexical item in the corpus determine what the shared semantic fields are.

### b. *Shared semantic fields and text segments within the investigated intertext*

The shared semantic field which is determined by meanings of the shared lexical item, furthermore, defines the intertext; more concretely, it defines the range of text segments which shall be investigated. This can be understood from two perspectives.

Firstly, it is likely that text segments in which the shared lexical item occurs belong to the examined intertext. We have emphasized in a previous section that it is the meaning of the shared lexical item within the investigated discourse that determines what the shared semantic field is (see part *a* of this sub-section); the meaning of a text segment within a discourse is all that has been said about it in the discourse (see part *b* of sub-section 2.1.1.3). It therefore can be concluded that each instance in which the shared lexical item occurs contributes to the interpretation of what the shared lexical item means in the discourse; these meanings, furthermore, determine what the shared semantic field is (e.g.: the example of *troops* demonstrated above).

In other words, a shared semantic fields is determined by all the instances in which the shared lexical item occurs; all the instances in which the shared lexical item occurs constitute the shared semantic field of the investigated intertext. From this perspective, all the text segments in which a shared lexical item occurs should be explored as a part of the investigated intertext as long as an intertextual relationship is indicated in the context (see 2.1.2.2).

Secondly, all the text segments in which the shared lexical item cannot be found but which, fully or partly, refer to the shared semantic field shall be included in the intertext which we are interested in.

We now turn to an instance exemplifying the significance of the shared lexical item in terms of these two aspects we have highlighted. In the following extract, the word *troops* is explored as the shared lexical item. Based on the analysis of all the text segments that have discussed the word *troops*, we interpret its meanings in the discourse. The word is then associated with a conceptual domain ( the shared semantic field) based on its meanings we have analysed(see part a of this sub-section), namely, a group of people who serve in the military, including navy, army and air forces.  This shared semantic field furthermore determines whether a text segment belongs to the examined intertext or not. More concretely, in the extract below, all the text segments which refer

to a group of armed forces are grouped as a part of the investigated intertext. These text segments can be divided into two groups. The first group includes text segments in which the shared lexical item (*troops*) occurs (e.g.: *more troops* and *additional troops*). As the observers, we have to the interpret meanings of all the instances in which the word *troops* occurs and conclude what the shared semantic field is based on these meanings.

> Q Thanks, Robert. Does the President have any specific plans to meet with senators or House members who have already said that they don't want to see <u>more **troops**</u> go to Afghanistan, someone like Senator Russ Feingold or others? There are already people out there on record making a case against <u>that.</u>
>
> MR. GIBBS: We will -- as part of any evaluation of and assessment of our strategy, we'll include consultation with Congress. The President -- without having a list in front of me of people that have or have not said where they are on <u>additional **troops**</u> -- I can assure that before any decision is made, that those senators will have an opportunity, or members of the House will have an opportunity to weigh in for or against *<u>additional forces.</u>*
>
> (WH Web 30th, Sep, 2009)

The second group of text segments are those which do not contain the word *troops* but refer to a shared semantic field –a group of armed forces (e.g.: *additional forces*). In his question, the journalist asks the spokesperson whether the President has any plan to meet House members who are against sending more troops to Afghanistan (*who have already said that they don't want to see more troops to Afghanistan*). In his response, Mr. Gibbs (the spokesperson) says that those senators or members of the House *will have an opportunity to weigh in for or against additional forces*. It can be observed here that Mr. Gibbs' words (*against additional forces*) are actually a response to the journalist's words *don't want to see more troops*. From this perspective, the phrase (*additional forces*) is used to refer to *more troops*. Both *additional troops* and *additional forces* therefore belong to the same intertext of which the shared lexical item is *troops*. Except for the two groups of text segments we have explained, all the other elements within the extract above should be excluded from the intertext we are interested in (e.g.: *specific plans to meet with senators or House members*, *without having a list in front of me*).

In conclusion, the concept of shared lexical item is crucial in the way that it determines the range of text segments which shall be investigated and which shall be grouped into the intertext we are interested in. Therefore, as we will discuss in chapter 4, the first two steps of exploring how spokespersons intertextually respond to journalists

(and the other way around) is to define what the shared lexical item is and to analyse the shared semantic field indicated by it in the discourse.

Given the importance of shared lexical items, the process of exploring how White House spokespersons' words are intertextually influenced by journalists can be understood as a procedure of investigating whether a text segment in the MCQ corpus and following text segments in the GS corpus are from the same intertext, more specifically, whether they contain the shared lexical item or refer to the shared semantic field fully or partly.

### 2.1.1.5 Intertextuality in this study

Having presented the notion of intertext in this study, we now turn to the question how the term intertextuality is defined. Intertextuality in this study refers to the idea that a text segment is referred to in subsequent texts, either by a repetition of the expression or by replacing this expression by a different expression belonging to the same semantic field.

This definition shows that there is an intertextual relationship between a text (A) and subsequent texts (B). Therefore, the exploration of intertextuality is in essence a process of exploring whether two text segments are from the same semantic field(s); the analysis of how what White House spokespersons say is intertextually influenced by journalists is that of examining whether a subsequent text segment in the GS corpus refers to the same conceptual domain as that of a previous text segment in the MCQ corpus.

It should be highlighted again that within a discourse, each participant contributes to the discourse by discussing what has been said previously in it; meanwhile, those who are outside of the investigated discourse, shall interpret and conclude the meaning inside the investigated discourse (Teubert 2010). Therefore, the shared semantic field which is determined by the meaning of shared lexical item(s) is also interpreted by the observers. From this perspective, it is ultimately the discourse analysts who define whether two random text segments maintain an intertextual relationship of referring to the same semantic field or not. The next section, thus, aims to explain five intertextual relationships this study focuses on within an intertext.

## 2.1.2 Intertextual relationships within an intertext

We have explained in the previous section that an intertext is a collection of text segments, all of which are from the same semantic field and all of which, to a certain extent, cover the same conceptual domain; this conceptual domain is referred to as the shared semantic field. Whether or not two text segments refer to the shared semantic field determines whether or not they are intertextually related to each other. The shared semantic field is interpreted and discussed by the observers. Also, it is the observers who define whether two text segments are intertextually related to each other.

This section aims to present the five intertextual relationships which this study focuses on, namely, intertextual reference, hyponymy, synonymy, intertextual interpretation/description and intertextual ellipsis (see definition in 2.1.2.2). It is assumed that any two random text segments, as long as they maintain one of these five intertextual relationships, refer to the same conceptual domain- the shared semantic field; in other words, two text segments are defined as being intertextually related to each other as long as they maintain one of these five intertextual relationships.

### 2.1.2.1 Three issues for further discussion

This sub-section aims to highlight three issues which should be borne in mind to prevent potential confusions.

Firstly, the intertextual relationships explained in this study are not limited to relationships between words; rather, the term is stretched into the relationship between any two different text segments or texts. In other words, it concerns not only word relationships, but also relationships between two text segments which contain more than one word (see 2.1.1.3 c, text segment). This explains why the current study does not simply adopt Lehrer's definition (1985) of semantic field as a "set of lexemes"; rather, it defines a semantic field as a set of text segments, containing both single words and longer text segments.

Take the following two extracts as examples. The pronoun *those* (bold and underlined) in the first extract below is assumed to have an intertextual relationship with the major part of the second extract (italics) because the second extract gives us a specific example of *those* people. The first extract is from President Obama's public speech on 1 December, 2009, in which he announces his new strategy on Afghanistan.

In his speech, the President especially points out that there are some people who are against setting a time frame for American soldiers leaving Afghanistan. The pronoun *those*, modified by a *who* clause (highlighted in italics and underlined), refers to people who are opposed to setting a withdrawal timetable for American troops serving in Afghanistan. The second extract is from a journalist who is questioning the President's decision to set a withdrawal timetable, albeit it seems that the journalist simply introduces other people's arguments (*there have been arguments that*). The journalist's question indicates that there is a group of people who do not support setting a withdrawal timetable because they believe that giving a time frame will *encourage the insurgents to lay low and to wait people out*. His words, therefore, are a specific explanation or description of how and why *those people* oppose *identifying a time frame*. As we will discuss later, these two text segments maintain a relationship of intertextual interpretation/description. It can be observed that the intertextual relationship here is not a relation between two words; rather, it is between the word *those* and the clause that *there have been arguments that setting up any date just encourages the Taliban, the insurgents to lay low and to wait people out*.

1. Finally, there are **those** *who oppose identifying a time frame for our transition to Afghan responsibility.* Indeed, some call for a more dramatic and open-ended escalation of our war effort -- (WH Web, 1st, Dec, 2009)
2. Q: Thank you very much. Two quick questions, related. One, on the issue of the timetable, I know you want to make sure this is not misinterpreted, but even the July 2011 timeframe <u>there have been arguments that setting up any date just encourages the Taliban, the insurgents to lay low and to wait people out.</u> (WH Web, 1st, Dec, 2009)

The second point is that intertextual relationship in this study is closely context related. Take the following extract as an example (see more details in chapter 5 and chapter 6). In his response to a journalist's question which is related to 500 more British troops sent to Afghanistan, the White House spokesperson said the White House *are very happy for their increase in contribution*. We can see that the phrase *increase in contribution* in Mr. Gibbs' response refers to the *500 more troops* in the journalist's question. *500 more troops*, on the other hand, is a detailed description/interpretation of *increase in contribution* (hyponymy, see 2.2.2.2). Therefore, these two phrases have an intertextual relationship.

Q The British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, said today that his government is ready to <u>send 500 more troops</u> under certain conditions….

> MR. GIBBS: I wouldn't…… Obviously, we're thankful for a strengthening of the coalition, and our assessment continues. *But again, I think we're happy for their increase in contribution.* (WH Web, 14th, Oct, 2009)

However, these two phrases may not maintain any intertextual relationship at all in other circumstances. Google lists 126,000 occurrences (extracted on 1 April 2015) of the phrase *increase in contribution*. Here are samples taken from the first fifty entries:

1. will initially increase to £l1,880 on April 6, and then the <u>increase in contribution</u> limits to £15,000 per annum will come into force in July.
2. The <u>increase in contribution</u> rates, for staff earning more than £l5,100, will be phased in from April 2012.
3. SSS <u>says increase in contribution</u> is for more efficient service to members.
4. The contribution tiers are designed to ensure that those in the early stages of their career have the smallest <u>increase in contribution</u> rates.

It can be observed that no instance of the phrase *increase in contribution* is used to refer to British troops, let alone *more British troops*. Considering the possibility that it is American English, we searched these two phrases in Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA, created by Mark Davies). There is no instance of the phrase *increase in contribution*, and only four cases of *500 more troops* are found (extracted on 27, May, 2015). In conclusion, it seems that *increase in contribution* is only used to refer to *500 more troops* in this corpus; intertextual relationship in this study is closely related to the context.

The last issue involves how the current study deals with anaphora. Generally speaking, anaphora is defined, based on the notion of textual cohesion (Halliday & Hasan 1976), as the phenomenon of pointing back to previous item(s). In Halliday and Hasan's words (1976: 4), "cohesion occurs where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another" and the type of "backward dependency" is understood as anaphora. Huddleston (1988: 99) specifies that "an expression is used anaphorically when its interpretation derives from that of an antecedent in the same text". Take the following sentence as an example: *Anna bought a dress. She likes it very much*. The interpretation of the pronoun *she* and *it* depends on their antecedents *Anna* and *a dress* (she refers to Anna while *it* refers the dress bought by Anna).

Although anaphora has received a great deal of attention in the literature (Huddleston 1984; McEnery et al. 2000; Mitkov 2014; Fox 1987, 1996), it is not the main focus of the current study. This is not to deny the fact that anaphoric reference contributes to the interpretation of intertextuality. Rather, it is because this study focuses on a group of text segments which are associated with a conceptual domain before it is specified by the texts that come before and after it. An anaphoric expression,

however, receives "part, or all, of its semantic interpretation via a dependency upon an antecedent, rather than from its internal lexical content" (Barss 2003: ix). For example, the pronoun *it* can be used to refer to 'a watch' in the sentence *I dropped my watch and it broke*; it can also be used to refer to 'a baby' in the sentence *Is it a boy or a girl?* These two referents can be totally different because the pronoun has no lexical meaning itself. In contrast, the word *timetable* refers to a time plan for something to start and finish. Its context only contributes to specifying its meaning (e.g.: what the thing is and who does it) rather than change it to a different concept. For instance, it refers to the time schedule for each class in the sentence *There are ten classes listed in the timetable*; it refers to the time schedule for the train to London in the sentence *I need the timetable for all the trains going to London today*.

However, it should be also pointed out that anaphora plays a significant role "in the syntactic description of languages", telling us how a language should be understood and processed (McEnery & Botley 2000: 3). It is hardly possible to interpret a discourse without an understanding of the anaphora within it. Therefore, we should bear in mind that although it is not the focus of the current study, it must be taken into account during the interpretation.

### 2.1.2.2 Five intertextual relationships explored in this study

We have proposed in 2.2.1.3 that Lehrer's definition of semantic field (1985) is not explicit in two aspects. It does not explain (1) how broad the coverage of this conceptual domain is and (2) how these text segments are related to each other. We have dealt with (1) in 2.2.1.3. This sub-section aims to specify (2) in the current study. More specifically, it presents details of five intertextual relationships within an intertext on which this study focuses, namely, intertextual reference, hyponymy, synonymy, intertextual interpretation/description and intertextual ellipsis.

#### a) *Intertextual reference*

Intertextual reference is the most obvious intertextual relationship in a discourse. It involves the phenomenon of a text segment which is repeated in both texts. It should be explained at the very beginning that intertextual reference is different from what Fairclough called "manifest intertextuality" (1992). According to Fairclough, manifest intertextuality can be where "other texts are explicitly present in the text under analysis:

they are 'manifestly' marked or cued by features on the surface of the text, such as quotation marks"; it also refers to cases where "a text may 'incorporate' another text without the latter being explicitly cued: one can respond to another text in the way one words one's own text" (1992: 104). Intertextual reference, however, refers to the cases where the exact or actual text segment can be traced from two texts.

In this study, the main concern of this intertextual relationship is the idea that a text segment occurs firstly in an MCQ text (or firstly used by a journalist) and is then found in subsequent GS texts as a part of the spokespersons' response to journalists' previous questions, comments or criticisms. This study emphasizes intertextual reference not only because it is the most obvious type of intertextual relationship, but also it directly shows how spokespersons differ from journalists when they use the same text segment. The corpus shows that under intertextual influence from journalists, spokespersons tend to use the same text segment as that of journalists; meanwhile, under institutional constraints, these two parties tend to contextualize the same text segment differently (although only slightly in some cases).

Take the following extract as an example. In his question, the journalist suggests that the President would be perceived as indecisive, considering (1) the delay of announcing a new strategy on Afghanistan and (2) the fact that members in the President's own party do not support the option of sending more troops to Afghanistan. The journalist's question highlights that fact that the President has been put into a difficult situation because some officers in his own party are not supporting sending more troops to Afghanistan; this disagreement delays the President's decision on troop number in Afghanistan. The question, therefore, shows the President's irresolution as well as internal conflicts among the President's own party. It is elaborately structured because either a simple YES or NO will push the spokesperson into a trap. A YES answer shows the weakness and indecisiveness of the President while a simple NO probably leads to the further question then, "if NO, why has the President not come up with a decision yet?". Mr. Gibbs, the spokesperson, obviously perceives the potential negative impact of directly responding to the question. Thus, he ignores the problems pointed out by the journalist (disagreement on troop numbers and the *danger for the President* (probably on purpose); instead, he directly points out that the previous government took three months *to discuss a policy on a surge of troops in Iraq* (which is longer than the time taken by the current government). By doing this, Mr. Gibbs emphasizes that (1) discussing a new policy always takes time; and that (2) the current

government is much more effective than the previous one (*three months in the previous White House*).

> Q Isn't there a danger for the President that he may be perceived as weak or indecisive as this policy or strategy review session drags on, fueled by the perception that many in his own party are against increasing the numbers of **troops** in the war?
> MR. GIBBS: When you say "drags on" -- I mean, Secretary Gates said this weekend it took three months in the previous White House to discuss a policy on a surge of **troops** in Iraq. Did anybody -- was there a suggestion by those then that the President was dragging this assessment on? (WH Web 29th, Sep, 2009)

It can be observed from the extract above that although both the journalist and Mr. Gibbs use the word *troops*, they tend to contextualize *troops* differently. More specifically, the journalist uses *troops* to refer to American troops in Afghanistan while the spokesperson uses the same word to indicate American troops in Iraq. In this way, both parties are able to shed light on the aspect they tend to emphasize. From the journalist's perspective, emphasizing the time that the President takes to give a new policy shows the weakness of the White House (governors' indecision and the disagreement among White House members). From the spokesperson's perspective, by comparing the length of time taken by the previous government and that taken by the current White House in a similar situation, he successfully portrays a positive image of the current White House.

The different emphases of these two parties are the result of their different responsibilities during institutional interaction (see chapter 3). Simply speaking, spokespersons have to give a positive spin to White House policies and decisions while journalists often aim to "detect or invent 'weakness in the administration stories'" (Partington 2002: 112)), often in order to promote the agenda of the media outlet for which they are working. By analysing the phenomenon of intertextuality against the background of the institutional constraints under which the White House spokespersons and the journalists have to phrase their various contributions, we can explore how a text segment is contextualized in different and often quite contradiction ways so that it will serve its purpose.

In conclusion, this study focuses on intertextual reference for two reasons. Firstly, it is the most obvious intertextual relationship within a discourse. More importantly, it directly shows how different parties within institutional talk tend to contextualize the same text segment differently under the impact of both institutional constraints and intertextual influence.

*b) Hyponymy*

Hyponymy refers to a relationship of 'hierarchy' (Jefferies 2006: 168), where the examined word or phrase is a more general (hypernym) or more specific (hyponym) description of shared lexical items. In other words, it is a relationship of "'inclusion' of a more specific term in a more general term" (Lyons 1968: 153). Normally speaking, a hypernym has several hyponyms; hyponyms which share the same hypernym are referred to as co-hyponyms in later discussion. Take *increase in contribution* and *500 more troops* given above as an example. The latter (*500 more troops*) is a more detailed description of the former (how many troops *increase in contribution*). It is therefore one of the hyponym candidates of the former (*increase in contribution*). Also, Lyons (1968: 455) points out that hyponymy can also be defined in terms of "unilateral implication". Furthermore, he gives an example that "*X is scarlet* will be taken to imply *X is red*; but the converse implication does not generally hold". Thus, *500 more troops* can be taken to imply *increase in contribution*; however, an *increase in contribution* does not only imply *500 more troops*.

The main reason for exploring this type of intertextual relationship drives from the observation that under the intertextual influence from journalists, White House spokespersons tend to use either a different hyponym candidate or the hypernym of shared lexical item(s) (e.g.: *increase in contribution*) in their responses to journalists' questions. It is assumed in this study that under the impact of both intertextual influences and institutional constraints, spokespersons seek to replace the original words of journalists with a different text segment which is related to what has been said by journalists (so that it seems that they are answering the right question). The text segment used by spokespersons (normally the hypernym or a different hyponym candidate) denotes a (perhaps only slightly) different meaning from what has been said by journalists. In doing this, spokespersons are able to give a response which seems to be related to journalists' words, while the response does not provide information that they are not supposed to give (as we will discuss in chapter three, there are institutional constraints on what information spokespersons may release to the journalists during press briefings).

### c) *Synonymy*

Synonymy is a relationship of similarity in meaning. Similarity of meaning among different words is the "most important lexical relation" (Miller & Fellbaum 1991: 202). According to Lyons (1968: 455), synonymy is a "special case of hyponymy" and has a property of "symmetrical relation". It, thus, "suggests the possibility of defining the relationship of synonymy as symmetrical hyponymy" (ibid: 455). Also, as pointed out by Murphy (2003), although synonyms are related in meaning, they differ in form.

Take the extract in 2.2.1.4 as an example again (see extract below). As we have explained in 2.2.1.4, the phrases *additional troops* and *additional forces* refer to the same group of people. The words *troops* and *forces* are therefore synonyms. They maintain an intertextual relationship of synonymy.

> MR. GIBBS: We will -- as part of any evaluation of and assessment of our strategy, we'll include consultation with Congress. The President -- without having a list in front of me of people that have or have not said where **they are on additional troops** -- I can assure that before any decision is made, that those senators will have an opportunity, or members of the House will have an opportunity to weigh in for or against **additional forces**.
>
> (WH Web, 30th, Sep, 2009)

### d) *Intertextual interpretation/description*

Intertextual interpretation/description refers to the intertextual relationship between two text segments, where one of them is a more detailed account or interpretation of the other of which it is an instance; or both of them are a more detailed account or interpretation of the shared lexical item of which it is an instance. It differs from the first relationship in the way that it involves longer text segments (more than three words). In the previous discussion, we have given an example (see extract below) where a journalist shows his observation of some people's rejection to setting a withdrawal timetable for American troops in Afghanistan. His words that *there have been arguments that setting up any date just encourages the Taliban, the insurgents to lay low and to wait people out* is a specific account of the spokesperson's words— *those who oppose identifying a time frame for our transition to Afghan responsibility*. These two text segments, therefore, have an intertextual relationship of intertextual interpretation/description. More specifically, the spokesperson's words are a general description of what has been said by the journalist; the journalist's words, on the other hand, are a specific example of *those* people.

> Finally, there are **those** *who oppose identifying a time frame for our transition to Afghan responsibility.* Indeed, some call for a more dramatic and open-ended escalation of our war effort -- (WH Web, 1st, Dec, 2009)
> Q: Thank you very much. Two quick questions, related. One, *on the issue of the timetable, I know you want to make sure this is not misinterpreted, but even the July 2011 timeframe there have been arguments that setting up any date just encourages the Taliban, the insurgents to lay low and to wait people out.*
> (WH Web, 1st, Dec, 2009)

The main reason for focusing on this type of relationship is the observation that under intertextual influence and institutional constraints (e.g.: spokespersons' "job security policy", see 3.3), White House spokespersons tend to use a general description of the journalists' words (while journalists tend to specify and interpret what has been said by spokespersons). It is not surprising because the more detailed information spokespersons provide, the more likely they will be to release information which should not be given to the public. Also, providing general description enables spokespersons to modify and re-explain what has been said if later on they find the necessity. Journalists, on the other hand, tend to specify what has been said by spokespersons because it enables them to explore the details relevant to their agenda on a given issue.

### e) Intertextual ellipsis

Intertextual ellipsis refers to the relationship between a text segment (A) and an omitted part (B) of subsequent texts. B plays a role of making connectivity between A and its subsequent texts; furthermore, B contains a text segment which is from the same intertext as that of A. In other words, the omitted part (B) contains a text segment which refers to the same conceptual area as that of A.

Take the following extract as an example (see chapter 5) in which the word *timetable* is explored as the shared lexical item. A journalist asks the spokesperson why the President does not give a timetable for American troops leaving Afghanistan. In his response, the spokesperson does not mention the shared lexical item (*timetable*) at all. However, his response can be understood as 'there is no timetable yet because there is an assessment going on right now' and 'there is no timetable yet because the President is going to take the time that he thinks is necessary to …..'. In other words, the spokesperson's response is an explanation of why 'there is no timetable yet'. All the words in his response (the subsequent texts) are related to the journalist's comment in the way of explaining why 'there is no timetable yet'. Both the omitted text segment ('there is no timetable' or 'there is no time plan') and its previous text segment (*But*

*there's no timetable*) contain a text segment (e.g.: time plan, timetable) which refers to the conceptual area, namely, a plan of time.

> Q But there's no *timetable* --
> MR. GIBBS: Because there's an assessment going on right now. ….. The President is going to take the time that he thinks is necessary to listen to -- hold on -- to listen to each of those involved in this decision, to talk to a multitude of voices, and ultimately decide on the very best strategy moving forward.
>
> <div align="right">(WH Web, 16th, Sep, 2009)</div>

The main reason for exploring this semantic relationship is that the White House spokespersons tend to be evasive in their responses. As we will discuss in chapter 3, spokespersons tend to be careful in selecting and spinning the information given to journalists (see 3.3); they "*put politicians' pronouncements in a favorable content and to ensure that the message that the politicians are trying to get across actually appears in the media*" (Stockwell 2007: 131). We will call this attempt being evasive. Therefore it is hypothesized that, in their responses, spokespersons tend to omit certain text elements contained in journalists' questions, especially those that would damage the White House's positive image.

In conclusion, this sub-section clarifies how text segments within an intertext relate to each other in this study, by explaining five intertextual relationships, namely, intertextual reference, hyponymy, synonymy, intertextual interpretation/description and intertextual ellipsis. In other words, any two text segments within an intertext maintain at least one of these five intertextual relationships we have demonstrated in this sub-section.

## 2.1.3 How intertext contributes to a corpus approach to the exploration of intertextuality

Having explained the notion of intertext (see 2.1.1.3), the significance of the shared lexical item (see 2.1.1.4) and five intertextual relationships between two text segments within an intertext (see 2.1.2), this section aims to explain how the notion of intertext (the shared lexical item) and intertextual relationships contributes to the corpus approach established in the current study from both theoretical and technical respects.

Theoretically, the notion of intertext enables the application of corpus approach to explore intertextuality. As we have discussed in 2.2.1, both intertextuality and corpus studies have received much interest; however, there has been little discussion on how to

apply a corpus approach to intertextuality. It is believed in this thesis that this gap is caused by the different goals of these two fields. Intertextuality was originally understood to deal with mental processes, emphasizing the role of readers' own understanding of a text in the light of other texts. Most corpus studies, on the other hand, tend to highlight the significance of real language data. These disparate goals make it difficult to bring the two fields together. The key point is therefore to find a point which connects these two fields.

In this study, it is intertext which functions as the connecting point. It shows us that although these two fields have different origins, they are not necessarily separate from each other; on the contrary, what connects them is that both of them aim to make sense of texts. Therefore it is reasonable to apply corpus data and techniques to the exploration of intertextuality. From this perspective, the notion of intertext provides us with a corpus viewpoint in understanding and exploring intertextuality.

Technically, the notion of intertext and shared lexical item and an understanding of intertextual relationships enables us to explore intertextuality in the following three steps via corpus data and techniques:

a. Identifying the investigated shared lexical item;

b. identifying the investigated shared semantic field;

c. identifying the intertextual influence (all five intertextual relationships and an extended context);

Firstly, it shows us that the exploration of intertextuality will start with defining the shared lexical item(s) because it is crucial in determining the intertext or the range of text segments which will be analysed (see 2.1.1.4). The process of defining shared lexical item(s) is in essence an exploration of salient text segments.

In general, corpus tools help us to find salient item(s) via quantitative calculation. Many software packages have been developed to provide statistics and to sort and rank the examined item(s) for research purposes, such as *WordSmith Tools* (Scott 2004, 2008) and *AntConc* (Anthony 2007). Frequency lists, for example, tell us how often words occur in a corpus (Tognini-Bonelli 2001; Hunston 2002; Meyer 2002; McEnery et al. 2006; Gries 2009). In this way, corpus tools show us which lexical items occur more frequently or more rarely than its normal use under a random distribution. Also, by comparing the frequency lists of two corpora, how different the frequencies are between two lexical items can be identified. In this way we can identify salient lexical item in the corpus. These salient lexical items can be set as the shared lexical items.

It should be pointed out that any text segments can be set as the shared lexical item for furthermore analysis; yet, those with a high frequency are the main focus in this study. Take the word *troops* in chapter 6 for example. The corpus shows that it is one of the most frequently used nouns in the corpus (in terms of relative frequency); at the same time, it shows the most obvious difference between the relative frequencies in two sub-corpora (see 6.1). This is the main reason for choosing the word *troops* as the investigated shared lexical item in chapter 6.

Also, we shall analyse what the shared semantic fields is to specify which text segments are included within the investigated intertext. Corpus tools contribute to the interpretation of the shared semantic field in the way of presenting concordance lines as well as extended context in which the shared lexical item occurs. All the concordance lines generated via corpus tools show us how the shared lexical items is actually used in the corpus. In this way, we have access to the meaning of the shared lexical item in the corpus. These meanings further help us to interpret the shared semantic field to which all the investigated text segments refer. Any text segment, as long as it refers to the shared semantic field or one of the shared semantic fields, shall be included as a part of the investigated intertext.

The final step is an interpretation of whether a text used by a spokesperson is the result of intertextual influence from journalists; more specifically, whether what has been said by journalists can be found or are indicated in the spokesperson's responses. Corpus tools contribute to this phase by providing us with an extended context of the shared lexical item, or of the text segment which refers to the shared semantic field(s). It, thus, enables us to analyse whether there is an intertextual relationship between a text segment used by a journalist and subsequent texts created by spokespersons based on an extended context.

## 2.1.4 The primary focus of this study – intertextual influence from journalists

So far, we have established the material connexion, namely the notion of intertext, which links the analysis of intertextuality to corpus linguistics. We have also explained how two text segments are related to each other intertextually within an intertext.

This sub-section presents another core notion in this study, namely, intertextual influence. Exploring how what White House spokespersons say is intertextually influenced by what the journalists say is the primary focus of this study.

### 2.1.4.1 Definition

In order to understand what intertextual influence refers to in the current study, we first have to turn to the diachronic dimension of discourse. All discourses have a diachronic dimension. As Teubert (2005: 4) puts it, "[w]hat is said today is a reaction to what has been said before, an argument in a simultaneous debate and an anticipation of what we expect to be said tomorrow". From this perspective, any text is constructed from or refers to previous text segments; any text segment changes over time because it interacts with previous or contemporaneous text segments. Intertextual influence, in this study, refers to the creation or change of subsequent texts which is the result of a melange of previous or contemporaneous text segments. Intertextual influence from journalists (on spokespersons' statements), therefore, refers to the idea that the creation or change of subsequent GS texts is the result of a melange of previous MCQ texts.

We now turn to an example to demonstrate the intertextual influence from journalists' questions and newspaper articles.

### 2.1.4.2 An example of intertextual influence in the corpus

On 17th of August, 2009, President Barack Obama gave a speech to the Convention of Veterans of Foreign Wars. In his speech, he said,

> "This is not a war of choice. This is **<u>a war of necessity.</u>**"
>
> (White House Official Web, 17th, Aug, 2009)

The phrase "war of necessity" (underlined and bold) will be explored as an example to illustrate what intertextual influence refers to in this study.

####   a.   *Tendency not to use the phrase*

The most obvious intertextual influence from the journalists on how this phrase is used by spokespersons is the fact that spokespersons tend to avoid using it in the corpus afterwards. Table 2.1 below shows the raw frequency of "war of necessity" in the GS corpus (a collection of texts created by spokespersons), the MCQ corpus (a collection of

texts created by journalists), the Q corpus (consisting of journalists questions during press briefings) and the MC corpus (consisting of newspaper articles and editorials). It can be observed that this phrase occurs 29 times altogether in the corpus, including only once in the GS corpus and 28 times in the MCQ corpus. In the MCQ corpus, "war of necessity" is used less and less each month and vanishes altogether in January, 2010.

| Frequency | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec | Jan | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GS Corpus | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| MCQ Corpus | 9 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 28 |
| Q Corpus | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| MC Corpus | 9 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 25 |

Table 2.1 Raw frequency of "war of necessity" in each sub-corpus

This phrase was firstly used by the President in the corpus; immediately afterwards it occurred in the GS corpus, and subsequent text segments which contained the phrase were produced in the MCQ corpus. Meanwhile, although it was a White House spokesperson who used this phrase in the first place, they never used it again; as we will see in this analysis, the avoidance of this phrase is due to the negative responses it initially reviewed from journalists. In what follows there are some examples of how journalists respond to the claim that war in Afghanistan is a "war of necessity". In the first citation below, using the word *defend*, the journalist points out that the President is trying to prove that his decision is reasonable. If the journalist agreed with President's wording, he would not use this verb to show that President is actually right. It is clear that the journalist indirectly expresses his suspicions by using *defend*.

> (1) President Obama on Monday defended his decision to increase American involvement in Afghanistan, calling it a "a war of necessity" and warning an audience of military veterans that Al Qaeda was still plotting to attack the United States and would not easily be defeated.     (NYT, 17th, Aug, 2009, Stolberg, S. G)
> (2)  But is Afghanistan a **war of necessity**? And if not – if in fact it is a war of choice— so what?
> Wars of necessity must meet two tests. They involve, first, vital national interests and, second, a lack of viable alternatives to the use of military force to protect those interests. World War II was a **war of necessity**, as were the Korean War and the Persian Gulf war.
> In the wake of 9/11, invading Afghanistan was a **war of necessity**. The United States needed to act in self-defense to oust the Taliban. There was no viable alternative.
> Now, however, with a friendly government in Kabul, is our military presence still a necessity?                                      (NYT 20th, Aug, 2009, NAASS, R. N.)
> (3) All of which makes Afghanistan not just a war of choice but a tough choice…
> If Afghanistan were a **war of necessity**, it would justify any level of effort. It is not and does not.                                  (NYT 20th, Aug, 2009, NAASS, R. N.)

The second and third citation shows a strong rejection of the President's claim that the war in Afghanistan is a "war of necessity". In the second example, the journalist directly states that Afghanistan is *a war of choice* rather than war of necessity. He claims that a "war of necessity" should meet two tests— (1) *vital national interests* and (2) *a lack of viable alternatives to use of military force to protect those interests*. Based on the two points, the journalist suggests that in the case of 9/11, there was a "war of necessity" because American people were threatened by terrorists and America needed to "act in self-defense". However, the war in Afghanistan is not a "war of necessity" because the allied and friendly Afghan government does not threaten the security of the American people.

An inference can be drawn that it is likely that the spokesperson is inclined to avoid using the phrase "war of necessity" as a result of being intertextually influenced by journalists, more specifically, by negative comments from journalists.

### b. *Employment of other text segments*

Although spokespersons tend to avoid using "war of necessity", journalists are still interested in this phrase and continue to use it in the corpus. As a result of intertextual influence from journalists, spokespersons have to respond to what has been said by journalists about "war of necessity", by replacing it with other text segments.

Take the following extract as an example. A journalist asks the spokesperson — Mr. Gibbs—whether the President still considers the war in Afghanistan as a war of necessity. Instead of directly answering the question (giving a YES or NO answer), Mr. Gibbs turns to explaining the goal of the President's new strategy—*disrupt, dismantle and destroy al Qaeda and its extremist allies* and *to prevent terrorist organizations from setting up safe havens -- having safe havens to set up terrorist camps to plot attacks*. By re-emphasizing the goal, the spokesperson actually explains the reason why the war in Afghanistan is a "war of necessity". His answer is the response to what has been asked by the journalist; at the same time, it is a detailed explanation of why the war is a war of necessity. In terms of the five intertextual relationships we have discussed, his answer and the phrase "war of necessity" maintain an intertextual relationship, more specifically, intertextual interpretation/ description.

> (4) Q Two questions, Robert, the first one also on Afghanistan. Does the President still view the war there as a **war of necessity**?
> MR. GIBBS: I think the President believes strongly that the goals that he outlined are still very key to our national security -- that we have to disrupt, dismantle and

> destroy al Qaeda and its extremist allies; that we have to prevent terrorist organizations from setting up safe havens -- having safe havens to set up terrorist camps to plot attacks on this country. There's no question about that. The President will, again, meet with advisors today to figure out the best way forward in doing that.                             (WH Web, 30th, Sep, 2009)

### c.  Re-formulation of the phrase

It can be observed from the corpus that the journalist still uses the phrase "war of necessity" even if the spokesperson replaces it with different text segments. Another result of being intertextually influenced by journalists is the fact that spokespersons attempt to re-explain what was meant by this phrase in the very beginning.

Table 2.2 shows the difference between two extracts in which the phrase "war of necessity" is explained by the spokesperson (see extended extracts in Appendix 2.1). The second column on the left shows the content of an extract from a speech by the President on the 17 August, 2009 while the third column shows that of an extract created on the 30 September, 2009.

| | It is a war of necessity | |
|---|---|---|
| | **17th Aug 2009 (WH Web)** | **30th Sep 2009 (WH Web)** |
| **goals** | to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda and its extremist allies | to disrupt, dismantle and destroy al Qaeda and its extremist allies |
| **Reasons** | *Those who attacked America on 9/11 are plotting to do so again. If left unchecked, the Taliban insurgency will mean an even larger safe haven from which al Qaeda would plot to kill more Americans. This is fundamental to the defense of our people.* | *we have to prevent terrorist organizations from setting up safe havens-- having safe havens to set up terrorist camps to plot attacks on this country.* |

Table 2.2 Explanations of "war of necessity"

It can be observed from the table above that on 17 August, 2009, when the President firstly used "war of necessity", he claims that the main reason for starting the war in Afghanistan is that people *who attacked America on 9/11 are plotting to do so again*; also, it they do not take any strategy, the Taliban insurgency means a safe haven

for al Qaeda who *would plot to kill more Americans*. He also emphasizes that the war in Afghanistan *is fundamental to the defense of our people*. Yet, two months later, when the spokesperson discusses the phrase again, he re-formulates the reason, but avoids mentioning the 9/11 event and only emphasizes that it is necessary to destroy the safe havens for *terrorist camps to plot attacks on this country*.

The change is so slight that we would not pay attention to it unless we read what has been said about the President's claim. On the 20 August, 2009, a journalist writes in an article, pointing out that the war in Afghanistan is not necessary because the government is not like the one during the 9/11 event. Also, war in Afghanistan can be called a war of *self-defense* during events such as 9/11. Yet, the war in Afghanistan now is not *fundamental to the defense of our people*; rather, it is an act of intrusion (*invading*) into a country of which the government is friendly.

> In the wake of 9/11, invading Afghanistan was a **war of necessity**. The United States needed to act in self-defense to oust the Taliban. There was no viable alternative.
> Now, however, with a friendly government in Kabul, is our military presence still a necessity? (NYT 20th, Aug, 2009, NAASS, R. N.)

On the other hand, it seems that the other reason (*If left unchecked, the Taliban insurgency will mean an even larger safe haven from which al Qaeda would plot to kill more Americans*) given by the President is acceptable for the journalist.

> Afghanistan is central to this effort partly because it could again become a safe haven to terrorists, but mostly because of its effects on the stability of Pakistan.
> (NYT 24th, Sep, 2009, )
> (2) I believe we are: 9/11 told us all we need to know about the risks of allowing Afghanistan to become a safe haven for Al Qaeda.
> (NYT 22nd, Sep, 2009 Brown, G.)

It is therefore likely that the spokesperson keeps the second reason and omits the first because the former is more acceptable in terms of what has been said by the journalists. The reformulation of the reason on why the war is necessary given on 30th of September, thus, is the result of being intertextually influenced by what has been said (by journalists) about the "war of necessity".

## 2.2 Limitations of the corpus approach and corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS)

In the first part of this chapter, we have explained the feasibility and theoretical procedure of developing a corpus approach to intertextuality. This part explores the

limitations of the corpus approach we have proposed in the first part of this chapter, highlighting the first reason why corpus data only is not enough in the current study. More specifically, the language in corpus studies is investigated "out of its context" (Hunston 2002: 23), especially out of the "context of communication" (Partington 1998: 145).

It then suggests in the second part that, in order to minimize this limitation, the current study is positioned into the field of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) (see 2.2.2), taking into account the environment where the discourse is produced.

### 2.2.1 Limitations of the corpus approach

The use of corpora in linguistic studies has been explored and discussed in many studies (Hunston 2002; Tognini-Bonelli 2001; Partington 1998; Adolphs 2008; Meyer 2002; McEnery & Hardie 2012; McEnery & Wilson 2001; McEnery et al. 2006; Flowerdew 2008; Teubert & Cermakova 2007).

However, using corpora has some problems and limitations (Hunston 2002; Flowerdew 2008; Xiao 2009; McEnery et al. 2006; Widdowson 2000; Dash 2005; Partington 1998; Puurtinen 2003; Halliday 1992). For example, Partington (1998: 144-145) points out that as a result of the technology employed in corpus studies, linguists pay too much attention to collocation and phraseological patterning, rather than to "any intrinsic importance of the phenomenon itself". Hunston (2002: 22- 23) writes that a corpus can only provide information about how frequent something is rather than whether something is possible or not; it can only show information which is included in itself, that all the evidence provided by it is in need of further interpretation; and finally, that a corpus presents language "out of its context".

The main concern of this chapter is the criticism that, in corpus studies, "language is studied divorced from its context of communication" (Partington 1998: 145). This can be seen to be one of "the most serious drawbacks" (Flowerdew 2008: 15; Hunston 2002). The problems caused by the a of attention to contextual features and social practices have been discussed by several researchers. Flowerdew (2008: 16), for instance, points out that it is particularly problematic when dealing with pragmatic features. She maintains that while corpus data are very useful for revealing lexical patterns as well as functional aspects of language, they do not help much in interpreting

the pragmatic use of language. She further quotes Widdowson's work to show that a methodical analysis of the data is not sufficient for a pragmatic interpretation:

> …on the evidence of their customary collocates, particular words can be shown to have a typical positive or negative semantic prosody, and it can be plausibly suggested that facts of co- textual co- occurrence should be recognized as part of the semantic signification of such words. But this, of course, does not tell us about what pragmatic significance might be assigned to such a co- occurrence in a particular text. The point about these co- textual findings is that they are a function of analysis, with texts necessarily reduced to concordance lines. Once might trace a particular line back to its text of origin, but then if it is to be interpreted, it has to be related to other features of the original text.

(Widdowson 2004: 60 quoted in Flowerdew 2008)

Having been aware of linguistic differences in different contexts, a great number of corpus studies tend to employ specialized corpora and compare their language use to that in (a) a different specialized corpus or (b) a reference corpus (which is comparatively bigger than the corpus being examined). (a) Comparing two specialized corpora can provide powerful evidence in revealing (1) different linguistic features in different types of corpora or (2) "opposing stances or ideologies concerned with the same topic" (Bastow 2006: 23). Stubbs, for example, has observed that there are more transitive forms in Environmentalist texts [compared to texts of a reference corpus], which is "consistent with explicit orientation to the responsibility for environmental damage" (Stubbs 1996: 137). (b) Comparing a specialized corpus against a reference corpus contributes to the examination of "what is 'normal'" (Baker 2006: 43) in the specialized corpus and which characteristics are specific to the special corpus. The study of keywords, defined by Scott (1997: 236) as "word[s] which [occur] with unusual frequency in a given text", points out the lexical characteristics of a special corpus. For example, Qian (2010) explores how language in terrorism discourses is constructed in two popular newspapers – the People's Daily (from China) and the Sun (from the U.K.) during the period between 2000 and 2002 (before, around and after 9/11). She uses two specialized corpora (The Sun Terrorism corpus: STC and The People's Daily Terrorism Corpus: PTC) as well as two reference corpora (Chinese Gigaword corpus and the English Gigaword corpus, published by the Linguistic Data consortium: LDC) to generate keywords from the examined corpora. She observes that,

in terms of the keywords, terrorism and peace were crucial international issues before 9/11 in PTC. STC is more direct and emotional and there are more subjective and evaluative adjectives in STC, whereas PTC's stance is not so explicit as that of STC, using words which appear neutral. Also, these two corpora personalize the attack differently. For example, STC focuses more on American's acts of anti-terrorism while PTC emphasizes both acts of anti-terrorism and wars on terror.

However, comparing a specialized corpus with a different corpus cannot "account for the complex interplay of linguistic and contextual factors whereby discourse is enacted" (Widdowson 2000: 7) because the "analyst does not have recourse to the communicative context in which the text was produced" (Flowerdew 2008: 15).

The current study is therefore located into the framework of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS), for the kind of study in which both quantitative data and qualitative analysis are incorporated (Partington et al 2004; 2006a; Partington et al 2013).

## 2.2.2 Corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS)

Corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) is the label for "a set of studies into the form and/or function of language as communicative discourse which incorporate the use of computerized corpora in their studies" (Partington et al 2013: 10). It is a subset of corpus linguistics which explores real language samples.

CADS is inspired by previous work, especially that of Stubbs (1996, 2001). Stubbs (1996: 3) points out that "our knowledge of a language is not only a knowledge of individual words, but of their predictable combinations, and of the cultural knowledge which these combinations often encapsulate". He also emphasizes that "an exclusive concentration on the text alone is, not an adequate basis for text interpretation" (2001: 3), showing that text interpretation must involve more than isolated words or sentences only. Influenced by Stubbs, Partington (2004; 2006a; Partington et al 2013) proposes CADS to show how "observation and contemplation, the eye and brain, can fruitfully interact" (Partington et al 2013: 191), and aims to reveal "non-obvious meaning" (ibid: 11) which is beyond the observation of our naked eyes.

CADS is different from other forms of corpus linguistics mainly because it takes more sources into account. In other words, besides corpus data, other techniques

are also employed in order to obtain the "most satisfying and complete results" (Partington 2013 et al.: 10). By using the combination of quantitative data and qualitative analysis, according to Partington (ibis: 11), "it may be possible to better understand the processes at play in the discourse type. It may be possible, in other words, to access such non-obvious meanings".

## 2.3 Chapter summary

The first part of this chapter is the core theoretical part of the current study because it shows the feasibility of applying a corpus approach to exploring intertextuality; also, it presents the theoretical basis of the following discussion on methodology.

First of all, this chapter undertakes to explore the reasons behind the fact that there have been few studies exploring how to apply the corpus approach to the field of intertextuality, highlighting that it is the fundamental dissimilitude between intertextuality and corpus linguistics that causes difficulties (2.2.1.1 and 2.2.1.2). However, these two fields can be connected via the notion of intertext (2.2.1.3, a collection of text segments, all of which refer to the same conceptual area(s)).

The chapter then explains how the notion of intertext contributes to the methodology we aim to develop in this study, based on two theoretical parts. In the first part, it introduces two terms, namely, the shared lexical item (a text segment which can be found repeatedly occurring in an intertext) and the shared semantic field (the same conceptual area to which all the text segments within an intertext refer) (2.2.1.3), pointing out that it is the shared lexical item that determines the range of text segments which shall be included within the investigated intertext (2.2.1.4). The second part explains the five intertextual relationships within an intertext on which this study focuses (2.2.2, intertextual reference, hyponymy, synonymy, intertextual interpretation/description and intertextual ellipsis).

Having established the theoretical basis of the corpus approach, it then presents three steps to explore intertextuality (2.2.3), namely, (1) identifying the investigated shared lexical item; (2) identifying the investigated shared semantic field; and (3) identifying the intertextual influence. The last section of the first part in this chapter exemplifies the notion of intertextual influence as used in this study.

Based on the notion of intertext, the exploration of intertextuality in the current study is, in essence, an investigation of whether or not a text segment used by journalists is responded to in subsequent texts created by White House spokespersons and maintains an intertextual relationship with subsequent texts.

The second part of this chapter emphasizes the necessity of carrying out the current study within the framework of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) – the type of study in which both computerized corpora and other sources of information outside corpora are incorporated. The next chapter, therefore, will set the study into the field of institutional talk, taking the context of the corpus into account.

# CHAPTER 3 INTERACTIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS AS A TYPE OF INSTITUTIONAL TALK

## 3.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter and of chapter 2 is to establish the conceptual apparatus that underpins this study. This chapter consists of four parts in addition to the introduction. The first part of this chapter (3.1) explores discourse interaction between politics and the media by briefly examining previous studies in this area.

The second part of this chapter (3.2) is a more detailed analysis of Partington's scene-setting study (2002; 2006b) in which he investigates White House press briefings as a special type of institutional talk. In his work, the traditional definition of institutional talk (talk between "an institutional representative and a client" Hartford & Bardovi 2005: 1) is expanded to talk between "two groups of professionals with an audience of lay people" (Partington 2002: 30). By "lay people" he refers to the TV and Internet audience of press briefings, which, in this study, is further stretched as the TV and Internet audience and newspaper readers (section 3.2). It explains how the type of institutional talk in this study differs from others and provides a discourse analysis perspective in understanding and analysing the corpus.

The third part highlights a unique feature of the discourse in this thesis which puts further constraints on the application of corpus tools—evasion (3.3); it is assumed as the second reason (see the first reason in 2.2) for proposing this thesis as a study in the field of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS, see 2.2). Within institutional talk, participants have to be careful about the language they use (section 3.3). They tend to be evasive, "spin" the information given to journalists (Partington 2002) and respond to the journalists without directly answering the question. Occasionally, they even attempt to shift the topic when they feel they are not at liberty to provide a straightforward answer to a journalist's question. As a result, the information required by journalists can barely be found in the corpus because corpus data only provides us with access to the content which is explicitly presented. Thus, it is necessary to apply a combined method of corpus data and theories within conversation analysis, in particular, institutional talk.

The final part summarizes the main points emphasized in this chapter.

## 3.1 Previous studies of political discourse in the media

Many studies have explored the way in which governors tend to manipulate the media. The primary reason why the media is vital for politics is probably because it is "for most people the only way in which they ever encounter politics" (Lauerbach & Fetzer 2007: 3) and "we tend to remember important events in modern history through their media coverage" (Oates 2008: 1). In this respect, most previous studies investigate the role of spin doctors (a spin doctor is "a political adviser who tries to convince journalists of the truth of a particular interpretation of events", Schmidt et al. 2011: 134) and their manoeuvres which ensure the desired interpretation is conveyed (Wright 2000; Roberts et, al. 2012; Temple 2008).

Previous studies in which the role of the media has been emphasized can be categorized into three main fields. Firstly, the ways in which the media has been reshaped not only have led to a transformation of the public and political spheres (Graber 1990; Dahlgren 1995), but also have expanded the public debate (Corner 1997; Scannell 1996). The second field includes a number of studies showing how diverse patterns of the media construct political reality (Graber et al. 1998; Perloff 1998; Curran & Seaton 1998). The third dimension focuses on the way in which the "political orientations of their addressees" (Meyer & Hinchman 2002: vii) is affected by the media (Hall 1980).

Among all the fields focusing on politics and media discourse, linguistics plays an important role. Many linguists have investigated the interaction between political discourse and media discourse. For them, political discourses which have their origin in media discourse are especially important (Fairclough 1995). The main reason for this is probably because "much of contemporary political discourse is mediatised discourse. Its major genres are no longer just the traditional genres of politics; they are also genres of the media" (Hutchby 2006: 141). Therefore, the majority of linguistic studies exploring the interaction between political discourse and media discourse focus on TV programs, radio and broadcasting (Ekström & Patrona 2011; Hutchby 2006; Montgomery 2007; Tolson 2006), interviews and debates (Proctor & Su 2011; Hutchby 2006; Chilton 2004; Clayman & Heritage 2002; Lauerbach 2004; Young 2008), press briefings (Partington 2002; 2006b) and so on.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is one of those fields which focuses on the interaction between political discourse and media discourse, with a special focus on

how ideology is constructed during the interaction. Simon and Jerit (2007), for example, have studied the government-media-public interaction during the partial-birth abortion (PBA) debate in the U.S., attempting to explore whether it is the political discourse that determines public opinion or the other way around. Based on a framing analysis of how two words are used, namely, "*baby*" and "*fetus*", they found that political discourse, which is transferred via the media, influences word choice in the news; and word choices in the media, furthermore, have an impact on citizen's responses to opinion surveys.

There are also cognitive studies exploring political-media discourse interaction. Scheithauer (2007), for instance, presents a quantitative and qualitative study in combination with a cognitive metaphor theory, focusing on the metaphors used by nine television stations which cover the 1997 British general election, the German parliamentary election in 1998 and the 2000 U.S. presidential election. His study shows a great number of similarities in the use of conceptual metaphors. For example, his data shows that there are a number of metaphor clusters which are frequently and systematically used, such as "election is contest" (highlighting the "confrontational nature of elections" 2007: 88) and "election is sport" (with the basis of a competitive nature 2007: 87). Also, he suggests, while differences between national channels and international channels are obvious (e.g.: international channels use much fewer controversy metaphors than the national channels, about 20% difference), there are minor differences between public-service stations and commercial channels.

The third field in the exploration of political-media discourse interaction is conversation analysis. One of the most famous aspects explored in this field is the turn-taking system and how this system influences other aspects of discourse construction. For instance, Greatbatch (1988) explores turn-taking in British news interviews, showing that there are systematic differences between news interviews and other common conversation, caused by different rules for turn-taking. Heritage and Roth (1995) have also conducted a quantitative analysis of news interviews. Their study demonstrates that, in political news interviews, turn-sequence is a normative organization of the turn allocation; in other words, this turn-sequence typifies news interview talk. Other studies in this field focus on different forms of questioning and answering (e.g.: Clayman & Heritage 2002; Clayman & Romaniuk 2011) as well as how the social status of the interviewee influences interviewing practices (e.g. Montgomery 2007).

In addition to the three fields, some corpus studies have also shed light on political-media discourse interaction. Proctor and Su (2011), for example, collected three interviews for each of four politicians during the 2008 American presidential election, namely, Palin, Biden, Obama and Clinton, aiming to show how different politicians develop their self-identification through their pronominal choice in interviews. Their study demonstrates how pronouns play a significant role in evoking nationalistic emotions and how different politicians use them in different ways; it also shows that a politician's choice of pronouns during a debate is different from that in an interview.

The present study is most strongly influenced by the work from Partington (2002; 2006b), whose analytic framework is informed by both conversation analysis and corpus analysis. His work (2002) explores a corpus consisting of 48 White House briefings (approximately 250,000 words), aiming to explore how rhetorical strategies can be analysed via corpus techniques. Developed from a similar corpus which also consists of press briefings, Partington (2006b) examines how the tactical uses of laughter- talk ("the talk preceding and provoking, intentionally or otherwise, a bout of laughter", 2006b: 1) contributes to achieving a certain rhetorical effect. He points out that press briefings are a peculiar kind of news text and that they manifest an ongoing process of communication between politicians and the press. Journalism is a process of "manufacturing news" and therefore briefings are "news-making activities where no newsworthy events occur outside the words themselves. The news is in the language – the topics, the controversies, the arguments among sources real and invented" (Partington 2002: 27-28).

Inspired by Partington's work (2002; 2006b), this study also explores press briefings as a type of institutional talk (see 3.2). The following part of this chapter, therefore, will examine issues related to institutional talk.

## 3.2 Government statements and media comments as a type of discourse

Both government spokespersons and journalists are assigned an institutional task that they must carry out during their interaction with each other. Journalistic discourse (including both the transcripts of press briefings and the newspaper editorials and

articles in this study) according to van Dijk (1996), Rodrigo Alsina (1993) and Tuchman (1972), not only reflects the reality, but also re-constructs the social world. As Altschull (1995: 30) puts it, "journalists rarely present the cold facts, and rarely in the order they happened. What appears as a reality in newspapers, radio and television is inevitably a reconstruction of reality to suit the needs and requirements of journalism". In other words, it is the journalists' institutional task to reconstruct reality to suit the needs of the story and the publication they are writing for. Government spokespersons are assigned to carry out a particular institutional task, in particular, "to convince reporters that a particular interpretation of an event is true" (Schmidt et al. 2011: 137) and to convince the reader "of the message they want us to believe and perceive" (De Krassel 2004: 336). Therefore, the interactions of the journalists and spokespersons can be explored as instances of institutional talk on both sides.

Institutional talk (see 3.2.1.1) is, simply speaking, "task-related" talks which involve at least one participant "who represents a formal organization of some kind" (Drew & Heritage 1992: 3)  The second part of this chapter clarifies three main issues involved in the institutional analysis of the corpus, namely, it (1) defines the notion of institutional talk in this study, (2) explains the necessity of studying the corpus as a type of institutional talk in this study; and (3) demonstrates how institutional talk is explored in this thesis based on Heritage's framework (1997). The second issue comprises two further parts; more specifically, it explains (a) how the framework of institutional talk contributes to understanding the corpus and (b) how the notion of institutional talk relates to intertextuality.

## 3.2.1 Institutional talk

The current study is inspired by the work of Partington (2002, 2006b), in which press briefings are explored as a type of institutional talk. Yet, the current study does not adopt this definition directly. We now turn to the definition in this study in detail.

### 3.2.1.1 Definition in this study—newspaper editorials and articles as a part of institutional talk

Hartford and Bardovi define institutional talk as the talk which "occurs in the course of carrying out an institution's business, usually between an institutional representative and a client" (2005: 1). Drew and Heritage explain that institutional interactions "may occur within a designated physical setting, for example a hospital, courtroom, or educational establishment, but they are by no means restricted to such settings" (1992: 3). Interaction in this case is task-based; furthermore, institutional talk involves at least one participant "who represents a formal organization of some kind" (ibid: 3). In short, institutional talk refers to the "task-related" (ibid: 3) interaction among professionals and lay persons.

As mentioned previously, the current study is inspired by Partington's work (2002; 2006b) in which American government press briefings are investigated as a type of institutional talk. He defines institutional talk as talks "between two groups of professionals with an audience of lay persons (the TV and Internet audience)" (2002: 30). This notion of institutional talk is expanded in this thesis, such that it includes both "talks" and "texts". More specifically, it not only includes transcripts of press briefings and public statements, but also subsequent newspaper editorials and articles which explicitly or implicitly refer to issues discussed during previous press briefings. In other words, it stretches "institutional talk" to institutional interaction, including both journalists' instant questions or responses during press briefings and their further responses (to the issue dealt with during press briefings) which are published in newspaper articles and editorials afterwards.

Although this study explores both transcripts of press conferences (spoken language) and newspaper editorials and articles (written texts) as a whole, it does not deny the fact that "language and writing are two different systems of signs" (Saussure 1916/1967: 28, quoted in Ludwig 1983: 32). In this study, the talks during press briefings in the corpus are not spontaneous spoken language. On the one hand, transcripts of press briefings, official announcement and speeches are prepared before the press conference starts. As pointed out by Hervik (2011: 186), "offering prepared statements" is one of the many "practices involved in this sort of political communication practice". Press secretaries "write media releases and opinion pieces to publicize the efforts of the government officials for whom they work" (Ferguson 2009: 16). Also, most spokespersons "prepare answers to all kind of difficult questions" which

they expect from journalists (Georgiew 2012: 35). In other words, announcements/speeches are not spontaneous; instead, they have been well-designed and well-prepared "in order to present the maximum positive message" (ibid: 35; see also Strobel 1997; Rozell 1992; Patterson 2008; Leinemann & Baikaltseva 2006; Dziewulska 2012). As McClellan writes, "Bush would sit at his desk for these "murder board" sessions, where we'd throw the tough or killer question at him" (2008: 197). On the other hand, journalists have organized the type of questions they will ask before they attend the press conference. Normally speaking, journalists, even the most experienced, prepare and practice their written questions (Lynch 2012). Stephenson (1998: 28) points out that, before a press conference, a journalist should "jot down at least four bullet points" and try not to be "led by other journalists or those who have arranged the event". In a word, during the type of institutional talk explored in this study, "talks" are actually developed from prepared written texts. Taking this factor into account, the current study does not separate transcripts of press conferences from subsequent newspaper editorials and articles, nor treat them differently.

The primary reason for including subsequent newspaper articles and editorials lies in the observation that they play an agentive role of indirect interaction between spokespersons and journalists. More specifically, spokespersons and journalists interact with each other not only during press conferences, but also afterwards. Issues which have been discussed during press briefings continue to be discussed in subsequent newspaper editorials and articles. By reading these editorials and articles, spokespersons and journalists are able to interact with each other in two ways. Firstly, spokespersons respond to issues under discussion in these editorials and articles in later press conferences, especially those which are potentially damaging to the government's positive image. For example, on 1 December, 2009, in his speech, the President says that "there are those who oppose identifying a time frame for our transition to Afghan responsibility" (WH Web). It can be found in the previous editorials and articles that there has been some discussion on the drawback of setting a withdrawal time (e.g.: "But more hawkish Republicans cautioned that setting a deadline for withdrawal could signal a lack of resolve to allies, including Afghanistan and Pakistan", (NYT, Baker, P. et., 30th, Nov, 2009)). It is likely that what the President refers to ("those who oppose identifying a time frame") is what has been questioned ("setting a deadline for withdrawal would signal..."). Secondly, during press briefings, journalists tend to attribute potentially damaging views to other sources, including newspapers, in order to

show a neutral stance. Partington (2002: 93-96) exemplifies how journalists attribute their views to newspaper articles (e.g.: *Post* and *Times*) via corpus data. The current corpus also shows that journalists tend to refer to previous newspaper editorials and articles or attribute what they have said to a newspaper (e.g.: "Robert, it seems that the President may have already -- back to Afghanistan -- may have already made some decisions, according to The New York Times", WH Web,7th, Oct, 2009; " That was in the New York Times. What's your reaction?"  WH Web, 13th, Oct, 2009). It therefore can be observed that the interactions between journalists and spokespersons do not stop immediately after the press briefing ends; rather, both participants continue to interact with each other via newspaper editorials and articles afterwards. This institutional interaction, as we will discuss in detail in 3.2.4.2, can be explored as a special type of turn-taking system.

The second reason for including subsequent written texts (newspaper editorials and articles) as a part of institutional talk is that fact that there has been little exploration of newspaper editorials and articles as a part of institutional talk in the literature. Although it has been emphasized in previous studies that newspapers are employed as a third source by journalists, it is only studied as a strategy to acknowledge interviewers' neutral stance.

Based on the observation (1) that newspaper editorials and articles serve as an agent of indirect interaction between spokespersons and journalists and (2) that there is little study in the literature emphasizing this role of newspapers in the study of institutional talk, the current study stretches the notion of institutional talk given by Partington (2002) to include both (1) direct talks between spokespersons and journalists during press briefings and (2) indirect interaction afterwards via newspapers. However, it should be pointed out that newspaper texts are not the main focus of this study; rather, they are explored to verify what has been found in the process of examining transcripts of press conferences.


### 3.2.1.2. Features of institutional talk in this study

As Drew and Heritage (1992: 22) point out, there are three features of institutional talk. Firstly, institutional interaction is goal-oriented (see also Habermas 1984). A participant's goal is set by the institution the speaker works for. Secondly, institutional talk often involves special constraints on how the participant behaves. That is to say,

participants in institutional talk are restricted in their behaviours. For instance, the radio news interviewer is normally asking the questions, while the interviewee answers. Finally, it is likely for institutional talk to be associated with procedures and frameworks that are particular to specific institutional contexts, including reasoning and inferences. These three features contribute to the differences between institutional talk and other forms of conversation.

In addition to the three features outlined by Drew and Heritage (1992: 22), the current study sheds light on the other two features of the type of institutional talk explored in this thesis, namely, the property of intertextuality and a third participant in the corpus.

## a. Inherent intertextuality within institutional talk

One of the main assumptions in this study is the inherent property of intertextuality within the corpus we investigate.

The intertextual property of institutional talk has not been much emphasized in previous institutional discourse studies (e.g.: Drew and Heritage 1992). More specifically, previous studies have not discussed the fact that later texts always respond to previous texts, re-structuring, repeating, interpreting, discussing, or commenting on what has been said before. However, no text is isolated (see chapter 2). In other words, a later text is always linked, sometimes explicitly but often implicitly, to former texts. The intertextual influence from previous texts cannot be ignored, even in institutional talk in which participants are directed by the institution they serve (in particular the way different participants choose the lexical item they use).

Based on this observation, this study intends to explore how participants within institutional talk (in particular, White House spokespersons) choose the lexical item they use under both institutional constraints and intertextual influences. It is assumed in this study that although institutional constraints have a great impact on participants' lexical choice, intertextuality cannot be neglected.

In addition to the inherent property of intertextuality, there is another point which should be emphasized – the invisible audience. It is worth noting because it is the third participant (the invisible audience) that both spokespersons and journalists seek to reach. We now turn to the details of the invisible audience as well as the reason for emphasizing this participant in the next sub-section.

*b. A third participant in the corpus*

Unlike other types of institutional talk, such as doctor-patient/ nurse-patient interaction (Fisher & Todd 1983; Silverman 1987; Heath 1986; Jones 2003), court room language (Atkinson & Drew 1979; Levi & Walker 1990), emergency telephone calls for police assistance (Zimmerman 1992), customers and customer-service providers (Cameron 2000) and so on, there is an invisible third participant who plays a crucial role in the type of institutional talk in this study, namely, the audience.

In the interactions between government and the press, it is not so much the journalists whom the government attempts to persuade. As Bell et al says, "no media product is put together without some idea of the audience that is going to see, read or hear it" (2001: 15). Similarly, it is not so much the journalists whom the government tries to convince. It is the public which both government and the press seek to reach. The public is therefore an invisible, silent, but crucial participant in this study.

According to Gillespie, there are two notions of audience (2005: 10-11): citizens and consumers. The first concept—citizens—explains why the government tries to obtain support from the audience. As Gillespie (2005) sees it, the consent of citizens to a government's agenda is crucial to sustain democratic governance. Simply speaking, the government needs the audience to establish a legitimacy of governance. Therefore government spokespersons are likely to make great efforts to portray a positive image of their governing. The second concept – the audience as consumers— explains why governments want to influence their audience's attitudes and opinions. As consumers, an audience is "vulnerable to political manipulation and commercial exploitation by the culture industries through subtle and pervasive strategies" (ibid 2005: 11).

Therefore, it is not enough for a White House spokesperson to only answer journalists' questions during press briefings; their aim must be to convince the audience that the government's policy is in the people's own interests.

This is more obvious when we turn to the word *interests* and *interest* in the corpus. There are 36 occurrences of *interests* and 46 *interest* in the GS corpus, which consists of government statements only (see the structure of the corpus in 4.1.2.3). In table 3.1 below, the third and fourth column from the left shows the top 15 collocates (words which frequently co-occur with the investigated word, see 4.3.2) of *interest* and *interests* respectively. The second and last column from the left demonstrates the raw frequency of each collocate. Apart from grammatical collocates (e.g.: *in, the, of, and, or,* etc.), the most frequent collocates are words (1) which implies the country or people in

the country (*national, our, country*) or (2) which imply a positive image of the government's work in respect to the nation (*security, best*). In other words, White House spokespersons tend to talk about American's interests (*national interest(s)*, *country interest, security interest(s)* etc.) more than other type of interests. In this way, White House spokespersons try to portray an image of a government which is concerned about people's interests, or about the audience's interests.

| Rank | Freq | interest | interests | Freq |
|------|------|----------|-----------|------|
| 1 | 32 | in | the | 24 |
| 2 | 30 | the | and | 16 |
| 3 | 17 | of | of | 14 |
| 4 | 14 | national | our | 11 |
| 5 | 13 | best | in | 6 |
| 6 | 12 | our | common | 5 |
| 7 | 11 | and | their | 4 |
| 8 | 7 | security | s | 4 |
| 9 | 7 | country | national | 4 |
| 10 | 5 | to | special | 3 |
| 11 | 5 | mutual | security | 3 |
| 12 | 5 | have | or | 3 |
| 13 | 5 | a | i | 3 |
| 14 | 4 | this | we | 2 |
| 15 | 3 | s | vital | 2 |

*Table 3.1 Collocates of interests and interest*

The assumed effect on the audience, thus, plays a significant role in the language used by White House spokespersons. This is the first reason why we need to shed light on this silent participant even if it does not directly contribute to the discourse.

The second reason to emphasize the audience is the fact that White House spokespersons also form part of the newspaper audience and keenly observe what journalists write, just as journalists are among the key readers of official government websites. Therefore, apart from direct interactions during press briefings, White House spokespersons and the journalists also communicate indirectly by being a special type of audience of each other.

It should be highlighted that as a part of the government website audience, journalists differ from the rest of the audience since they usually have access to more information. Rather than passively absorbing limited amount of information provided by government, they try to obtain as much information as possible and do not accept that they are themselves susceptible to political manipulation by the government. They see it as their task to challenge the government's ideas, opinions, descriptions and even its new strategies. Sloan and Parcell (2002: 28) say that by the end of Second World War, "journalists began challenging government policies" (Sloan & Parcell 2002: 28). Furthermore, not only do journalists doubt what has been said by the government, they also comment on and evaluate what has been said by the government. They intend to have an impact on other audiences, e.g. showing them that what has been said by government is not always right. As a part of the newspaper audience, White House spokespersons are different from other audiences because they are able to control the sort of information which will be released, or "leaked" (Bruce 2013) to the public. As pointed out by Snow, the spin doctor is not just spinning stories, but is also a source (Quoted in Davis 2002: 32). On the one hand, spokespersons work for a positive media coverage, normally via putting on "a good spin on a news story to best suit the purpose" (Ferguson 2009a: 139) of the government. On the other, in some cases, spokespersons may leak information (probably on purpose) in order to manipulate the journalists. According to Bruce (2013: 210), journalists tend to believe what comes from a hidden source, ignoring "the percentage of truth of what they are being told, or the leaker's motives"; meanwhile, "the same story given out publicly is always treated as an untruth, or at least only a partial truth" (ibid: 211), and "a reporter with greedy thoughts along these lines is ripe for manipulation" (ibid: 210). In this way, spokespersons manipulate and contribute to what will be written in newspapers.

Unlike spokespersons and journalists, the rest of the audience receive information passively from other participants because they have no means to contribute to the discourse themselves. They depend on the government and the press to filter and provide information according to their own interests.

From this perspective, texts by journalists and texts by White House spokespersons are associated with each other and therefore are a part of the specific type of institutional talk explored in this thesis; this particular type of institutional talk is our main focus. In summary, there are three participants in the corpus: spokespersons, journalists and the audience. The third participant is unseen but significant for both

spokespersons and journalists; moreover, spokespersons and journalists are the audience for each other.

## 3.2.2 A better comprehension of the corpus

So far, we have defined what institutional talk is in this study and explained how the type of institutional talk in this study differs from others. This section, as well as the next section, aims to present the main reasons for investigating the corpus as a type of institutional talk. The main focus of this section is to show the fact that exploring the corpus as a type of institutional talk contributes to our understanding of the corpus.

### 3.2.2.1 An emphasis on the goal

The main reason for exploring the corpus as a type of institutional talk is that it emphasizes the importance of understanding the fact that participants within institutional interaction are goal-oriented (e.g.: Drew & Heritage 1992: 22; Habermas 1984). In particular, the word that they choose to use is determined by their goals which are set by the institution they serve. Different interests and aims in the process of interaction lead to different ways of producing texts and of responding to previous texts. Bearing this in mind, we can understand why participants interpret and respond to what has been said by other participants in accordance with the interests of the institutional groups they belong to.

*a. Contributing to an understanding of why White House spokespersons and journalists interpret and respond to words differently*

The way that we choose and structure the words we use is largely determined by our purposes. This is also true for texts interpreting or commenting on previous texts. Even where we use the same sequence of words, we can contextualise it differently, thus giving it a twist that was not present originally.

In the interaction between White House spokespersons and journalists, driven by different interests and aims, the participants interpret and respond to words in a way which benefits them most. More specifically, in the process of interacting with journalists, White House spokespersons tend to interpret and explain what has been said

by the press in a way which minimizes the potential harm to their positive public image. Those people are referred to as the so-called 'spin-doctors', who try "to influence public opinion by putting a favourable bias on information presented to the public or to the media" (Carty 2004:209). Meanwhile, the press also summarizes what has been said by government in a way which enables them "to make the news and not just report it" (Jones 1996: 21) and make the words "fit a predetermined story line" (ibid 1996: 20).

We now turn to an example which shows how the White House spokesperson and journalists respond and interpret their interlocutor's words differently. The extract below is part of a press briefing held on 23 September, 2009. A journalist attempts to get a definite answer from Mr. Gibbs about whether it is possible that the administration would consider a reduction in troops in Afghanistan.

> Q ① Is a reduction in troops in Afghanistan one of the proposals, like an option being considered by the administration after these assessments?
> MR. GIBBS: Well, the administration is -- let me go a little bit broader here on Afghanistan. We've talked about this topic a number of times. The President, during the transition and in the beginning part of his administration, asked for an assessment of where we were in Afghanistan. The President, on March 27th, outlined and defined the goal in Afghanistan of dismantling, disrupting, and ultimately destroying al Qaeda and its extremist allies.
> Throughout this process -- and in that speech, the President okayed 21,000 additional troops to create a secure environment for recently conducted national elections, understanding that this would be done in phases. We are at a point now where we are evaluating what's been achieved, evaluating the situation on the ground, assessing the elections. And I think the President will take some time now to look at and talk to many stakeholders involved in assessing where exactly we go from here.
> Q ② So a reduction in troops is an option? ③ You're not ruling it out?
> (WH Web, 23rd, September 23, 2009)

① A "wrong" answer

Mr. Gibbs does not answer the first question directly. Instead, he starts with a description of what has happened since the President took office (asked for an assessment, outlined and defined the goal of the war, okayed 21,000 troops). The spokesperson also emphasizes that the White House is in a phase in which an assessment is needed (underlined). Finally, rather than directly admitting that there is no decision on troop-numbers yet, he says it takes time for the President to finally make a decision. In other words, the spokesperson does not answer the journalist's question on whether the President will consider reducing troops in Afghanistan or not.

Taking the spokesperson's goal into account, it is not surprising that his answer is not what is required by the journalist. As a White House spokesperson, he is supposed to "frame or interpret news event in a manner that makes their employer look good" (Schraufnagel 2011: 212). In other words, the spokesperson is responsible for

maintaining the positive image of the government. In this case, Mr. Gibbs is unable to give a straight-forward answer because the President has not made any decision yet. However, it is risky to directly admit that the President has not made a decision yet because it may indicate that the President is hesitant or that the White House is not effective. Also, he is not able to give a positive answer like "yes, it is one of the proposals" which shows the President's inclination towards reducing troop-number in Afghanistan, nor a negative answer like "no, we will never consider it" which suggests that it is likely that the President will deploy more troops to Afghanistan. Neither of these two answers is available to the spokesperson because he needs to consider the fact that the President's final decision may turn out to be different. Obviously, the spokesperson has considered the possible consequences of giving a direct answer and decides to provide the "wrong" answer (probably on purpose).

② A "wrong" interpretation

The journalist obviously observes the spokesperson's attempt to divert the audience's attention from troop-numbers to what the President has been doing since March 2009. He, thus, rephrases the original question starting with "so" ("so a reduction in troops is an option? You're not ruling it out?"). It can be observed that the journalist directly ignores what has been said by the spokesperson and simply "interprets" Mr. Gibbs' response as a "YES". Yet, there is no evidence in the spokesperson's response showing that the administration is likely to reduce troops in Afghanistan. Actually, he does not answer that question at all. In addition to a wrong "interpretation" of the spokesperson's response, the journalist brings a second question to emphasize his "interpretation" – "You're not ruling it out"— which equals to the question "are you saying that you are not ruling the option of reducing troops in Afghanistan"?

> Q ① Is a reduction in troops in Afghanistan one of the proposals, like an option being considered by the administration after these assessments?
> Q ② So a reduction in troops is an option? ③ You're not ruling it out?
> (WH Web, 23rd, September 23, 2009)

His interpretation is clearly not what the spokesperson tries to express. Press conferences, for journalists, are one of the most direct ways to clarify issues which they do not understand or to explore information which attracts the public's attention the most. Having observed the spokesperson's attempt not to provide related information, it is not surprising, in this case, that the journalist interprets what has been said by the spokesperson in a way which forces the spokesperson to answer his question.

It can therefore be observed that in order to understand why participants within institutional talk respond to and interpret what has been said in a certain way, it is necessary to be aware that they are driven by different institutional goals.

*b. Contributing to a better understanding of meaning*

Knowing the nature of an activity in which the words occur contributes to the understanding of the actual meaning of these words. The nature of an interaction, in other words, leads to a better understanding of texts. Therefore, in order to explore the meaning of an interaction, we need firstly to understand the participants' stances and aims. In the case of this study, exploring the meaning of words used by the government and the press involves knowing the goals of both sides. In other words, to understand what the government and the press really want to express, we need to understand what their goals are.

Institutional talk emphasizes that (1) at least one of its participants aims to accomplish a task which is normally associated with a specific goal, set by the institution the participant serves; and that (2) participants' aims define what they say. Simply speaking, the theory of institutional talk believes that different participants have different goals during their talk; their goals thus influence what they say and how they behave. The emphasis on participants' different goals contributes to a better understanding of the actual meaning of the corpus. From this perspective, it is therefore necessary to explore the corpus as a type of institutional talk.

### 3.2.2.2 Subsequent discourse events as responses

Another reason for exploring the corpus as a type of institutional talk is to demonstrate how a certain discourse event (the spokespersons' deflecting answers) can be viewed as a subsequent response to a previous one, even if on the surface they may seem irrelevant to each other.

Take the following instance for example. In order to show how deflecting a spokesperson's answer can be, we turn to the answer first. Before December 1, 2009, when the President announced his new strategies in Afghanistan, there were several meetings during which the new strategy was discussed. The extract below was produced after one of those meetings. We can see that, in his answer, the spokesperson (Mr. Gibbs) tries to show that "the meeting" was very productive and the President and his

followers were making progress. He also points out that the President is evaluating the options and wants to ensure that America has "the strongest partner in the Afghan government".

> MR. GIBBS:  Well, let me start by saying I think everybody thought coming out of yesterday's meeting that the meeting was very productive and that we made progress.  I know you may have seen Secretary Gates say today that the President is evaluating the options, choosing what's best in all of them.
> What the President wants to ensure is that we take into account -- and understand, so that the American people can understand -- our time commitment and ensure that we have the strongest partner in the Afghan government.  And we want to make sure that we continue to work on those aspects.   (WH Web, 12th, Nov, 2009)

Gibbs' answer seems to be a reply to the questions "how was yesterday's meeting?" and "What is the President's concern?" However, these were not the original questions. The journalist actually attempts to explore the President's preferred strategy (see extract below) based on the speculation that the President is not satisfied with any of the options presented (because he has not made a decision yet). Instead of asking which option the President prefers, the journalist asked in what way the President thought the options on the table were insufficient.

> Q    Okay.  Can we start with Afghanistan, and why the President felt that the options he was presented were not sufficient, why he sent them back?
> (WH Web, 12th, Nov, 2009)

Although Mr. Gibbs's reply does not answer the journalist's question, in terms of the turn-taking system (Sacks et al 1974, see 3.2.4) in institutional talk, we know that Mr. Gibb's reply is actually his evasive response to the journalist's question. This is because Mr. Gibbs is the person "to whom the question was addressed", or "the answerer" (Wilson & Zeitln 1995: 73); his response, regardless of its irrelevance, is the answer to the question.

In a word, this section showed the necessity of positioning the current study in the field of institutional talk from the perspective of how it contributes to our understanding of the corpus. It shows us why the participants in the discourse respond to previous texts in a certain way, which improves our understanding of the meaning of texts. Also, it explains why a discourse event (especially a spokesperson's deflecting answer) can be considered as the response to previous text.

The next section demonstrates another theoretical rationale for exploring the corpus as a type of institutional talk; more specifically, it shows that institutional talk and intertextuality are complementary to each other.

### 3.2.3 Institutional talk and intertextuality

Intertextuality, simply speaking, refers to the idea that a text segment is referred to in subsequent texts, either with a repetition of the expression or by replacing this expression by a different expression belonging to the same semantic field (see 2.1.1.5).

As we have discussed in 3.2.1.2, there is an inherent property of intertextuality in institutional talk, as in discourse in general. This does not deny the fact that no text is isolated; but it tends to emphasize that the intertextual property within institutional talk is more direct and obvious. Institutional talk involves goal-oriented responses to, or discussion of, what has been said by another participant (either by the press or government). The interaction among former and later texts, therefore, has an inherent intertextual property. Intertextuality cannot be separated from institutional talk; rather, they provide complementary perspectives to give a better understanding of each other.

From the intertextual point of view, the comprehension of a text requires understanding of intertextual links between this text and previous texts. Intertextual links are explicit or implicit references in a later text to text segments in previous texts, e.g.: by direct citation or indirect evocation. This has not formerly been emphasized in institutional talk studies. Allen (2000) notes that the act of interpreting a text and discovering its meaning is to trace the intertextual links among different texts. In other words, assessing the intertextual links between previous texts and subsequent ones is essential to interpreting and understanding a given text.

From the institutional perspective, in order to understand a text, we should be aware of the fact that different participants have different goals. However, the focus on institutional goals is not a necessity in intertextual theory. As we have discussed in 3.2.3, only after we have understood a participant's goal, can we know why a representative of an institution expresses his ideas in a certain way and why some representing a different institution avoid certain topics. Therefore, studying the corpus as a type of institutional talk helps us to read the text from a complementary perspective and to enhance our understanding of institutional texts.

In conclusion, theories related to both institutional talk and intertextuality are required in order to study the discourse in appropriate depth.

### 3.2.4 Analysing the corpus as a type of institutional talk

We have explained what the notion of institutional talk has been defined in this study as well as why we need to explore the corpus as a type of institutional talk. This section focuses on the issue of how to explore the discourse as a type of institutional talk based on the framework proposed by Heritage (1997: 164). He suggests that there are six basic aspects we should consider for analysing institutional talk:

    *1. Turn-taking organization;*

    *2. Overall structural organization of the interaction;*

    *3. Sequence organization;*

    *4. Turn design;*

    *5. Lexical choice;*

    *6. Epistemological and other forms of asymmetry.*

    This study focuses mainly on three of them, namely, turn-taking organization in the discourse, lexical choice, and different forms of asymmetry. The first part of this section (3.2.4.1) briefly explains what these three parameters refer to as well as the reasons for emphasizing these parameters. The second and third parts of this section (3.2.4.2 and 3.2.4.3) attempt to show issues related to the turn taking system. The fourth part (3.2.4.4) deals with the phenomenon of asymmetry, in particular the fact that spokespersons take control of what information shall be released to the public. Lexical choice, as the core of this thesis, is studied in detail in chapter 5 and chapter 6.

### 3.2.4.1. Three focuses in analysing institutional talk in this study

All interactions involve certain kinds of turning-taking organization (Sacks et al. 1974); turning-taking organization is thus the basic structural unit of institutional talk and has "the potential to alter the parties' opportunities for action, and to recalibrate the interpretation of almost every respect of the activities that [it] structure[s]" (Heritage 1997: 164). Also, analysing the turn-taking organization contributes to a better understanding of the intertextual links in the corpus because it shows an inherent intertextual property of the institutional talk. The following sub-section (3.2.4.2) will show this point in detail.

    Interactional asymmetries exist not only in institutional talk, but in all forms of interaction. As Linell and Luckmann (1991: 4) suggest: "if there were no asymmetries

at all between people, … there would be little or no need for most kinds of communication". The most obvious difference between institutional talk and ordinary conversation, however, is that institutional talk is normally tied to a particular set of roles as well as to participants' tasks. From the standpoint of "asymmetries of participation" (Heritage 1997: 177-178) in institutional talk, we are able to understand how a topic is developed and concluded during the interaction and to have expectations of what participants' behavior should be. These expectations, furthermore, enhance our capacities for interpreting the texts. The "asymmetries of participation" will be explored in the current research in 3.2.4.3.

Examining participants' lexical choices gives "a very exact window into how they are oriented to the state of affairs they wish to describe, the circumstances they are in, and the ways in which those circumstances are to be navigated" (Heritage 2004: 137). Lexical choice is therefore the core of this study and will be analysed in detail in both chapter 5 and 6. It should be pointed out in the beginning that the focus in this study is not the same as that in Heritage (1997). Heritage (1997: 173) believes that "a clear way in which speakers orient to institutional tasks and contexts is through their selection of descriptive terms"; in other words, he claims that participants during the institutional talk tend to choose different lexical items during their interaction, in order to express their reflection on what has been said. In addition to what has been found by Heritage (1997), this study observes that respondents also use the same lexical items under intertextual influence, in particular, the intertextual impact of what a journalist has said on the reaction of the spokesperson; more specifically in this study, it shows that although White House spokespersons have a preference for certain lexis; they have to take up the lexical items chosen by the journalists as a way of linking their response to what has been said. Meanwhile, under institutional constraints, different participants tend to contextualize the same lexical item differently and thus give it a (slightly) different meaning (see both chapter 5 and chapter 6).

### 3.2.4.2. The turn and structure of institutional talk in the discourse

Institutional talk is, according to Antaki (2011), one of the six fields within conversation analysis (CA) which can be understood in both broad and restricted senses (ten Have 2007: 5). In the broad sense, CA denotes "any study of people talking together, 'oral communication', or 'language use'"; while in a more restricted sense, it

points to the field developed by Harvey Sacks and his collaborators, especially, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, which focuses on the study of the "orders of talk-in-interaction" (ten Have 2007: 4). Various aspects of conversation analysis have been explored, including sequential organization of speech acts (Drew 2012; Schegloff 1972), organizational structure and turn-taking (Goodwin 1981; Jefferson 1972; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) as well as construction of conversation (Goodwin 1979; Lerner 1991).

Institutional talk is studied as a branch of conversation analysis. The main structural unit of institutional talk, therefore, is the same as that of other types of conversation, namely, the turn at talk (Partington 2002: 34). The turn, simply speaking, refers to the shift from one speaker to another in ordinary talk. It is within the turn that participants perform their actions. A speaker's next turn is the indication of both (1) the completion of the prior turn and (2) the participants' analysis and understanding of the prior turn's content (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998). It is therefore crucial to understand each single turn in the discourse, especially the sequential organization of turns. This part of 3.2.1.2 explains the turn structure of institutional talk relevant to this study as well as how the basic turn structure contributes to understanding the intertextual property of the investigated discourse. We begin with a preliminary discussion of a particular type of conversational sequence: the adjacency pair, which Partington claims to be the "bed-rock form" (Partington 2002: 36) of institutional talk.

As a type of conversation, institutional talk shares a noticeable property with other types of conversation that "utterances conventionally come in pairs", such as "questions and answers; greetings and return greetings; or invitations and acceptances/declinations" (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998: 39). These sequences of two utterances which are produced by different speakers are called adjacency pairs.

Questions and answers (Q-A) adjacency pairs are one of the basic turn-taking system in this discourse; as Greatbatch puts it, "IRs (interviewers) and IEs (Interviewees) systematically confine themselves to producing turns that are at least minimally recognizable as questions and answers, respectively" (1988: 404). An understanding of the questions and answers (Q-A) adjacency pair contributes to this study in three ways:

(1) It explains why the White House spokesperson has to respond to journalists' questions even if the topic is sensitive or irritating. Normally speaking, adjacency pairs require a particular second part (Schegloff & Sacks 1973). As explained by Bamford

(2005: 131) "the first part of an adjacency pair denotes to the listener that he should produce the required discourse act to complete the proposition".

(2) It shows why, on some occasions, especially when journalists feel that White House spokespersons are not answering their questions, they tend to reformulate their question, using different lexical items, to get White House spokespersons to respond. As Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998: 42) put it, "whatever utterance follows a first pair part will be monitored by the first speaker for whether, and how, it works as a relevant second part. Inferences can be drawn about the non-appearance of a second pair part". A question is supposed to be associated with an appropriate answer; an irrelevant answer, which is referred to as a "noticeable absence" will be resisted by the journalists. Furthermore, the questioner may "infer a reason" for that.

(3) It shows how a certain discourse event (especially spokespersons' deflecting answers) can be viewed as a subsequential response to a previous one, even if it seems irrelevant to the question. In terms of Renkema (2004: 166), the first part of the adjacency pairs "has a role in determining the subsequent utterance or at least in raising expectations concerning its contents". Even if the second part is not produced as strictly adjacent, the second part is still relevant to the first part (Hutchby& Wooffitt (1998).

In addition to these three respects, this specific turn system further contributes to the inherent intertextual property of my corpus. Theoretically, spokesperson's responses are supposed to be relevant to journalists' questions (e.g.: in the way that they are talking about the same issue); otherwise, journalists tend to get spokespersons to give relevant questions (as shown in the third respect above).

There is another group of researchers who believe that, instead of Q-A, the basic exchange in institutional discourse, such as classroom discourse consists of an "initiation" by the teacher, a "response" from the pupil as well as a follow up "feedback" (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975) or "evaluation" (Cazden 1988) (referred to as I-R-E hereafter). This kind of exchange also occurs in the corpus (underlined and bold):

> （1） **Q:** Is a reduction in troops in Afghanistan one of the proposals, like an option being considered by the administration after these assessments?
> **MR. GIBBS:** Well, the administration is -- let me go a little bit broader here on Afghanistan. We've talked about this topic a number of times. The President, during the transition and in the beginning part of his administration, asked for an assessment of where we were in Afghanistan. The President, on March 27th, outlined and defined the goal in Afghanistan of dismantling, disrupting, and ultimately destroying al Qaeda and its extremist allies.
> Throughout this process -- and in that speech, the President okayed 21,000 additional troops to create a secure environment for recently conducted national

elections, understanding that this would be done in phases. We are at a point now where we are evaluating what's been achieved, evaluating the situation on the ground, assessing the elections. And I think the President will take some time now to look at and talk to many stakeholders involved in assessing where exactly we go from here.

**Q: So a reduction in troops is an option? You're not ruling it out?**

(WH Web, 23$^{rd}$, Sep, 2009)

As we have mentioned before, this study differs from Partington's work (2002, 2006b) in the way that the institutional talk in this study includes not only journalists' instant responses during press briefings, but also subsequent newspaper articles dealing with issues discussed in previous press briefing; these articles, furthermore, are often accompanied by evaluated editorials on government's statements and policies. Take the following extracts as example. All the extracts listed below are to some extent responses to and comments on example (1) above:

1. Obama Rules Out Large Reduction in Afghan Force.
   (NYT, Baker, P. & Zeleny, J 6th, Oct, 2009)
2. It is likely that there will be no big reduction in troops, but there may not be a significant increase, either.          (NYT, Goldstein, G.M, 17$^{th}$, Oct, 2009)
3. Top Officers Weigh Need To Increase Troop Levels
   (NYT, Bumiller, E, 26$^{th}$, Sep, 2009)

The I-R-E exchange format can, therefore, be stretched as initiation-response-evaluation-further evaluation (I-R-E1-E2). E1 refers to journalists' evaluation during the press briefings while E2 indicates a following evaluation in newspaper articles. These two kinds of evaluation are different. E1, according to Partington (2002: 37), "functions as a form of question, even if no explicit interrogative is forthcoming" and is seen as "requiring a further podium response". E2, on the other hand, is mostly used as a device which often shows the government's insufficiency in order to develop newspaper articles.

It should be pointed out that White House spokespersons have the opportunity to respond to journalists' evaluations (when they feel the necessity) instantly during the press briefing; yet, they do not have the opportunity to comment on the second type of evaluation directly. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that negative comments can be brought to the table by journalists during press briefings where White House spokespersons have no choice but to respond to them. We now turn to an example in which a White House spokesperson was forced to respond to newspaper comments.

On October 21, 2009, Dick Cheney, U.S. Vice president from 2001 to 2009, said in the centre of the national security debate that "the White House must stop dithering while America's armed forces are in danger". His words, especially the word *dithering*,

were then quoted by many newspaper articles criticizing the President are being afraid of making a decision on the troop level in Afghanistan (bold and underlined).

> The Obama administration is **<u>dithering</u>** on a decision about whether to send more troops to Afghanistan, former Vice President Dick Cheney said Wednesday night, and accused the White House of trying to shift the blame for its inaction on the Bush administration. (NYT, by Cooper, H., 22nd, Oct, 2009)
> In a speech in Washington this week, Mr. Cheney complained that Mr. Obama was "**<u>dithering</u>**" in deciding whether to send more troops to Afghanistan and had committed a "strategic blunder" in scrapping the last administration's missile defense plan in Eastern Europe. (NYT, by Baker, P., 23rd, Oct, 2009)
> like former Vice President Dick Cheney, who has complained that Mr. Obama was **<u>"dithering"</u>** in deciding whether to send more troops.
> (NYT, by Zeleny, J., Baker, P. & Cooper, H., 27th, Oct, 2009)

In the press briefing on October 22, 2009, the second day after former vice president Cheney's claim, a journalist directly refers to Cheney and asks for the White House's comments on Cheney's words.

> Q  Okay.  Vice President -- former Vice President Cheney was quite critical of the President over the timeline of the decision on going forward in Afghanistan, saying that the President seems afraid to make a decision, that this delay hurts our allies and emboldens our adversaries.  I'm wondering if there's any comment on that from the White House. (WH Web 23rd, Nov, 2009)

Mr. Gibbs' response (the following extract) highlights the word *dithering* and explains that the President has a different understanding of the word (from that of Dick Cheney). It can be observed that his emphasis on this word is not the direct result of the intertextual influence by the journalist (in the press briefing) because the journalist does not use the word *dithering* at all. It is likely that the emphasis on this word is the result of a possible intertextual influence from newspaper comments because there is no need to especially emphasize the word *dithering* if there had been no newspaper article highlighting it.

> MR. GIBBS:  Well, I think it's a curious comment, given -- I think it's pretty safe to say that the Vice President was for seven years not focused on Afghanistan.  Even more curious, given the fact that an increase in troops sat on desks in this White House, including the Vice President's, for more than eight months, a resource request filled by President Obama in March.
>  **<u>What Vice President Cheney calls "dithering,"</u>** President Obama calls his solemn responsibility to the men and women in uniform and to the American public. *I think we've all seen what happens when somebody doesn't take that responsibility seriously.* (WH Web 23rd, Nov, 2009)

The exchange form of I-R-E1-E 2 shows another reason for including newspaper editorials and articles as a part of the institutional talk. It also sheds light on the intertextual property of the discourse in the way that (1) E1 functions as a form of question which requires a further response while (2) E2 functions as the resource of

later initiation which requires a relevant response. However, this turn-taking system will not be the focus of this thesis.

### 3.2.4.3 Macro-context and micro-context of the corpus

Having explained the type of turn-taking in this study, there is an important issue which we should take into account, namely, the context. "To understand any single turn in institutional talk, the analyst must take into account its context", including "the immediate co-text (or context of production, or micro-context), and the wider institutional generic context (or context of communication, or macro-context)" (Partington 2002: 34). This section therefore aims to provide a brief summary of the macro-context and highlight an inevitable phenomenon which leads to the cohesion of a topic, namely, reformulation.

*a. Macro-context of the corpus*

Texts in the corpus are of two main kinds, (1) transcripts of press briefings and (2) newspaper articles and editorials. In a press briefing, there is at least one speaker who either makes a statement or answers questions from journalists. Apart from the President, one of the main White House spokespersons was Robert Lane Gibbs. He worked as the Chief Press Secretary of the United States for President Barack Obama between November 2008 and February 2011. There are also other spokespersons (in my corpus), including Deputy White House Press Secretaries Bill Burton and Josh Earnest and Vice President Joe Biden. All the press briefings in the corpus took place between 1 August, 2009 and 31 January, 2010. All the newspaper articles and editorials are from the online New York Times, published between 1 August, 2009 and 31 January, 2010. Both press briefings and newspaper articles and editorials have the same main topic, namely, American policy on Afghanistan (see 4.1).

*b. Reformulation in the corpus*

In addition to macro-context, Partington (2002) emphasizes the significance of micro-context, in which the coherence and cohesion of a topic is explored. This sub-section aims to highlight a crucial issue related to the cohesion of the corpus, namely, reformulation.

Reformulation refers to the phenomenon where a piece of previous information is reworded either by the speaker himself (self-reformulation) or by different people (other-reformulation) (Partington 2002: 177).

There are two main reasons for briefly highlighting the phenomenon of reformulation. On the one hand, any form of reformulation is in essence a manifestation of intertextuality. Any form of reformulation is a response to previous text or text segment; furthermore, it is likely to be responded to by subsequent texts and text segments because "subsequent talk initially builds upon the reformulation rather than the original question" (Clayman 1993: 164). On the other hand, there is no innocent reformulation, especially in institutional talk. Any form of reformulation serves the institution for which the speaker works.

Given that reformulation is an inevitable phenomenon in the corpus and that it is a manifestation of intertextuality, it will need to be taken into consideration during the process of data analysis.

### 3.2.4.4. Understanding the interactional asymmetries in the discourse

All social interactions, according to Heritage (2004: 176), are inevitably "asymmetric on a moment to moment basis". This study is not an exception.

Heritage (2004: 175-179) has categorized four types of interactional asymmetries, involving "(a) participation; (b) 'knowhow' about the interaction and the institution in which it is embedded; (c) knowledge; and (d) rights to knowledge". Among those four aspects, participation is taken to be the most crucial in this study because it "can often direct the interaction in ways which are not found in ordinary conversation" (Heritage 2004: 176). This section, therefore, aims to illustrate the relationship between the politician or White House spokespersons and the journalists as well as show how this relationship influences the interaction between them.

*a. Understanding the relationship between politicians and journalists*

The relationship between politician and journalists is both symbiotic and adversarial.

They rely on each other. On the one hand, "politicians, even minor local government politicians, cannot survive without the help of the press" (Greer 1999: 155) not only because of its supplements of government information for the public, but also because of the "capacity of the modern media to influence the presentation of news"

(Start 2002: 177). As written in Jamieson and Valdman (2003: 1), "if a story is compelling enough, it can increase the chances that coherent but inaccurate information will pass through to the public". The journalists, on the other hand, need White House spokespersons to collect information. As pointed out by Tanner (1998: 95), "the media would find its job almost impossible if it did not have access to the informational resources provided by the politicians and institutions of government". However, their relationship is always symbiotic, but also adversarial.

> The adversarial relationship can be explained by Hallin's claim (1989: 69) that:
> There were certainly points of tension between these two developments,
> the rise of objective journalism and the tightening of the bond between the
> press and government. Journalists were aware of and often lamented the
> fact that objectivity, as it was practiced, frequently left them open to
> manipulation by government officials; officials often lamented their
> dependence on an institution they could not control directly and were often
> unsuccessful in manipulating. Both often described their mutual relations
> as adversarial.

Borrowing terms from Sabato (1991: 27), the current relationship between the U.S. president and U.S. media can be understood as a phase in which reports are "harsh, aggressive and intrusive, where feeding frenzies flourish and gossip reaches print". An example of this claim is a letter by the Presidential candidates—Edmund Muskie, published in the *New Hampshire Union Leader,* which showed that he held prejudices against French-Canadians. This letter was later on proved to be forged; however, it directly led to the implosion of Muskie's candidacy.

Given the symbiotic and adversarial nature of the relationship between politicians and journalists, it is not surprising that spokespersons tend to carefully select what information they release to journalists. It should also be pointed out that although journalists are sometimes adversarial, they do not have direct access to classified information. From this perspective, one of the interactional asymmetries in the discourse is that it is the spokesperson who decides whether to respond to an issue or not.

*b. Access to the desired information*

During a press conference, it is the spokesperson who is in control of the information that the journalist is seeking. In other words, although the press "has the right to ask, the

press does not have the right to know everything" (Garcia & Doorley 2011: 89). Garcia and Doorley furthermore specify the information that will not be released to journalists (ibid: 89), including "proprietary information, personal information" and "information that is not fully developed; or information that might threaten security". From the spokespersons' perspective, any type of question should be expected during a press conference, including questions that "(1) ask more than one question, (2) are long and complicated, (3) are based on erroneous information, (4) are multiple choice with unacceptable options, and (5) are tricky and tough" (Coombs 2008: 205).

Therefore, within the type of institutional talk studied in this thesis, it is asymmetry in the way that spokespersons control what information shall be given to journalists. This asymmetry leads to the creation of the type of institutional interaction that this study focuses on. On the one hand, journalists have to dig out as much information as possible during press conferences, taking into account the fact that they have limited sources except from spokespersons. On the other, spokespersons have to keep control of the information released to the public and respond to journalists' questions selectively. They have the right to answer or not answer certain questions.

There are many manoeuvres employed by spokespersons to respond to questions without giving the information which journalists are seeking. The next section, therefore, sheds light on one of the strategies taken by spokespersons to avoid giving the desired information, namely, evasion.

## 3.3 Evasion

Given that White House spokespersons serve the government, it is not surprising that they have to be careful in selecting information which they can or cannot give to the press. In the process of press briefings, they tend to "spin" (Partington 2002) the information given to journalists and audience; in other words, they tend to "put politicians' pronouncements in a favorable context and to ensure that the message that the politicians are trying to get across actually appears in the media" (Stockwell 2007: 131 ).

This section deals with the phenomenon of evasion as it will be understood in this study as well as the constraints it places on applying corpus data and technique to this study, emphasizing again the necessity of locating the thesis into the field of CADS.

### 3.3.1 Definition

In the process of a press briefing, government officials are expected to give proper answers because answering questions is considered as a "moral obligation" (Clayman 2001: 404). Therefore, giving no answer is considered to be rude because it "sounds like you are uninformed about the issue, or that you do not care about people to answer their questions" (Olds & Taylor 2004: 3); also, it is perceived as a "negative, defensive and reactive message" (2004: 5).

However, most politicians are evasive under media questions (Bavelas et al. 1988; Bull & Mayer 1993; Clayman 1993; Harris, 1991) and seek to avoid direct replies. This is mainly because most journalists ask questions to "uncover as much as possible, which entails digging below the surface of the politician's account, suggesting other versions, highlighting the negative, pursuing any signs of weakness, doubt and duplicity" (Partington 2002: 234) and try to appear objective.

The phenomenon of using ambiguous language has been studied in much previous research. Hamilton and Mineo (1998: 3) term this phenomenon as "equivocation" and define it as "intentional use of imprecise language". Bavelas and Smith (1982) define the term as a departure from essential elements of clear communication. The same term is used by Bavelas et al. (1990: 28) and described as "nonstraightforward communication . . . ambiguous, contradictory, tangential, obscure or even evasive". Other words, such as "evasive" (Bull & Mayer 1993; Harris 1991), "evasiveness", "evasion" (Clayman 2001) and so on, are used to present the same phenomenon. The term evasion will be used in this study to present this phenomenon in the following discussion. We now turn to an example of evasion.

### 3.3.2 An example of evasion – "I appreciate you answered my questions"

The title of this section is from a transcript of a press briefing held on 30th of September, 2009, part of which is presented below. In the passage below, the journalist asks two questions: firstly, "Do you have any reaction to the firing of Peter Galbraith, the highest ranking American in the U.N. Mission in Afghanistan?" and secondly, "do you have any reaction to the EU report today which found that Georgia effectively started last year's

war?" In his reply, although Mr. Gibbs promises ("I will try to find something right after this") to get something after the press briefing, he denies any knowledge of the two questions by saying that "I have not seen that" and that "I don't have anything on that report".

> Q Do you have any reaction to the firing of Peter Galbraith, the highest-ranking American in the U.N. mission in Afghanistan? Apparently he was pushing the Afghans on the corruption in the elections and --
> MR. GIBBS: Let me get some information. I have not seen that but I can -- I will try to find something right after this.
> Q And then do you have any reaction to the EU report today which found that Georgia effectively started last year's war by firing on --
> MR. GIBBS: Let me get guidance on that. I don't have anything on that report.
> Q Thank you, Robert. I appreciate you answered my questions.
> MR. GIBBS: Absolutely.                    (30th, Sep, 2009, WH Web)

Before further discussion, it may be necessary to provide some background about the first question (we will not explain the background to the second question since it is not our focus). Peter Galbraith was announced as the next United Nations' Deputy Special Representative for Afghanistan in March, 2009. After that, Galbraith was sent to Afghanistan to assist the handling of the reported fraud in the Afghan presidential election but fired shortly afterwards. According to New York Times, Galbraith "was forced out because he was feuding with his boss, the Norwegian Kai Eide, the top United Nations official in Kabul, over how to respond to what he termed wholesale fraud in the Afghan presidential election" (Glanz & Oppel Jr. NYT, 16th, Sep, 2009). Mr. Gibbs is aware of the possibility that giving a thorough answer to this question would bring either political embarrassment or further related questions. Therefore, Mr. Gibbs directly admits his unawareness of it and promises to try to "find something right after this". However, according to my corpus, he does not mention anything about Galbraith in future press briefings.

Denying knowledge is one of the most common phenomena in the R corpus. Take the phrase "don't know" for example. There are altogether 116 instances of "don't know" in the whole corpus, 112 of which collocate with "I" used by government officials and three of which co-occur with "you" but refer to government representatives.

> MR. GIBBS:  I think -- I *don't know* what additional recommendations he's gotten. I know the Pentagon was working on additional recommendations.
> Q    You *don't know* if he's received those yet?
> MR. GIBBS:  I *don't know.*                    (9th, Nov, 2009, WH Web)

This study believes that denying knowledge can only contribute to a response but is not an answer because it does not provide any information pertinent to the question.

According to Harris, there are differences between a response (any utterance following a question) and an answer. She categorizes responses into direct answers which refers to explicit "selection of polarity" such as "yes" and "no", indirect answers which involves choosing "intermediate position" between "yes" and "no"  and the challenges of presupposition of the question (1991: 87).  An answer should be a response that provides (some of) the information requested in a question. It is obvious that denying one's knowledge does not supply the requested data and therefore is not an answer but a response. In other words, when government officials deny any knowledge of a question, they do not answer the question but only respond to the question.

### 3.3.3 *"Security Policy"*

We have suggested above that White House spokespersons tend to be evasive and spin the information they release to the public. This section aims to present one of the situations in which spokespersons are evasive in responding to journalists' questions, namely, "security policy". The "security policy" can be explained via the former press secretary's words:

> MR. GIBBS:  Again, I found a good job **security policy is not to get too far ahead of where the President is.**  I think you can be assured that the President will talk about the fact that this is not an open-ended commitment.
> (WH Web, 30th, Nov, 2009)
> MR. GIBBS:  No, no, we finished setting the benchmarks.  But, again, we're -- again, **not to get ahead of what the President announces**.
> (WH Web, 30th, Nov, 2009)

"Security policy" is also referred to in the corpus as "national security reasons" ("there are I think a series of things that many in my position over the years have chosen for important **national security reasons** and I'll continue that tradition" WH Web, 1st, Oct, 2009), or "classified information" ("but I'm not going to get into discussing **classified information**.  That's never been our practice", WH Web, 26th, Jan, 2010).

It can therefore be concluded that "security policy" refers to the institutional constraints on spokespersons of what information should not be discussed publicly. In other words, in terms of "security policy", there is a series of events which will not be discussed, especially those which have not been approved or announced by the President. However, this "security policy" does not work for journalists. As we can observe in the corpus, most journalists are not like the example given in 3.3.2. They do not simply stop digging for information when spokespersons deny any knowledge of the

answer. The continuous conflict between journalists' seeking information and spokespersons' denial of the knowledge can be observed through the whole corpus.

In conclusion, influenced by institutional constraints, spokespersons have to spin what they can or cannot discuss; meanwhile, spokespersons have to respond to journalists' questions because it is considered as a "moral obligation" to do so (Clayman 2001: 404). The current study, therefore, aims to explore how spokespersons manage to answer a question without giving an answer under the impact of both institutional constraints and intertextual influence from journalists.

### 3.3.4 Contributions to the methodology in present study

The phenomenon of evasion is an important feature in political discourse. It contributes to the methodology in two ways. Firstly, it shows the limitation of only using corpus data and therefore gives us the second reason for exploring the data in the field of CADS. Spokespersons do not always give a direct answer to journalists. They tend not to use certain lexical items and to avoid certain topics. Thus, issues which spokespersons avoid talking about are not explicitly discussed in the corpus; meanwhile, the corpus does not provide anything beyond the texts within it. From this perspective, what we can obtain from the corpus is limited because spokespersons do not always provide direct answers. We have to take other factors, such as theories of institutional talk, into account to interpret the corpus. This also emphasizes the need for manual analysis in this study. Secondly, it provides us with a parameter for postulating a potential intertextual influence in the corpus, in particular, the "security policy". More specifically, it is clearly pointed out by some spokespersons that there are certain issues which cannot be discussed in terms of "security policy"; yet, as discussed in chapter 5 and chapter 6, there are many journalists who keep discussing restricted issues so that spokespersons have to respond.

In a word, it is necessary to shed light on the phenomenon of evasion in the corpus because it contributes to the methodology developed in this study. On the one hand, it emphasizes the limitation of the corpus approach and highlights the necessity of combining qualitative data and theoretical analysis. On the other, the phenomenon of evasion (in relation to "security policy" in particular) is employed in this study as a criterion for postulating a kind of intertextual influence in government statements.

## 3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has located the current study in relation to the field of institutional talk, demonstrating three main issues in 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 respectively.

The first section (3.1) briefly reviewed previous studies in linguistics and beyond which both political discourse and media discourse are involved, particular in the linguistic field (3.1). It also points out that the current study is derived from Partington's study (2002) in which press briefings are studied as a type of institutional talk (talks between professionals and lay people).

Section 3.2 comprised three parts. The first part (3.2.1) aimed to define the notion of institutional talk in the current study, emphasizing the role played by newspaper editorials and articles in this thesis. More specifically, it was observed that the interaction between spokespersons and journalists continues after the press conference ends; spokespersons respond to what has been said in newspapers in later press conferences while journalists attribute their views to newspapers to maintain a neutral stance. It also explained features of the type of institutional talk to be explored in this study, pointing out (1) that participants within institutional talk are not only restricted by institutional constraints, but are also influenced by previous texts (inherent property of intertextuality); and (2) that there is a third participant whom both spokespersons and journalists seek to reach. The second part of 3.2 (both 3.2.2 and 3.2.3) explained  why it is necessary to propose the current study as a contribution to the field of institutional talk as well as how theories in institutional talk and those in intertextuality are complementary to each other. The third part (3.2.4) in 3.2 demonstrated how this corpus was analysed as a type of institutional talk in this thesis based on Heritage's theory (1997: 164).

The third section of this chapter (3.3) emphasized the fact that spokespersons tend to be evasive as the result of institutional constraints. The phenomenon of evasion in the corpus causes difficulties in applying corpus data and other tools to exploring intertextuality. It, therefore, together with chapter 2, shows the necessity of locating the current study into the field of CADS.

Having demonstrated the theoretical framework of this study, the next chapter will turn to the details of the methodology which we aim to develop based on notions we have emphasized in both this chapter and the previous chapter.

# CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

## 4.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three main parts (excluding the introduction and summary). The first part deals with issues involved during corpus construction. The second part emphasizes the reason why *Antconc 3.2.4w* was chosen for this study; it also briefly describes the function of the three basic programs (of *Antconc 3.2.4w*) involved in the process of analysis. The third part explains how this study explores the impact from both institutional constraints and intertextual influence in the examined corpus, presenting a step-by-step description of the methodology developed in the current thesis.

## 4.1 Corpus Construction

The principles of corpus compilation have been discussed by many researchers (Sinclair 1991; Atkins et al. 1992; Kennedy 1998; McEnery & Wilson 2001; Hunston 2002). Their focus is mainly on how to compile a general language corpus, such as the Bank of English and the British National Corpus. Taking the purpose of this study into account, it is perhaps more appropriate to base the following discussion on the framework proposed by Flowerdew (2004: 25-27), positioning this corpus as a specialized corpus. Flowerdew (2004) presents seven issues which should be considered during the construction of a specialized corpus, including the purpose of building a corpus, investigated genre, size of the corpus, representativeness, data collection, tagging/mark-up and reference corpus.

For the purpose of this study, this section will emphasize four issues out of the seven emphasized by Flowerdew, namely,

1. Purpose of building the corpus;
2. Corpus size;
3. Representativeness of the corpus; and
4. Procedure for data collection.

We now discuss these four issues in turn.

## 4.1.1 Purpose of the corpus

According to Flowerdew (2004: 25), a specialized corpus is motivated by a specific purpose which will have a strong impact on the other stages of compiling a corpus and even on the procedure for analysing the data. As pointed out by Hunston (2002: 26), "a corpus is neither good nor bad in itself, but suited or not suited to a particular purpose". Therefore, it is necessary to briefly summarize the research purpose of this study before any further discussion. Generally speaking, the purpose of analysing a corpus has to be consistent with that of compiling the corpus. However, this study is to a certain extent different.

The primary purpose of the current study is to explore how and to what extent corpus linguistics can contribute to the study of intertextuality, via an analysis of interactions between White House spokespersons and journalists. It does not belong to traditional corpus research which deals with lexicography, second language learning and teaching, language variation and so on (see chapter 2). Instead, it investigates the diachronic dimensions of discourse by exploring intertextual links. Therefore, there are three purposes of the current study (see chapter 1), which are that it attempts to:

1. establish a corpus approach in conceptualizing and exploring intertextuality;
2. explore how spokespersons' statements are intertextually influenced by journalists under institutional constraints;
3. examine both the direct and indirect interactions between White House spokespersons and journalists.

The construction of the corpus is motivated by the second and third purposes. The current study therefore chooses two types of texts for the investigated type of discourse, namely, transcripts of press conferences and newspaper articles, each of which are further divided into 18 sub-corpora in terms of time span (see 4.1.2.3). Firstly, press briefings are chosen in the current study because they are considered as a "particularly fascinating genre of institutional talk" (Partington 2006b: 3) – they are a special form of interactions between spokespersons and journalists. The fact that press briefings are "frequently the arena where White House policy is first aired -- sometimes even before it has actually officially been formulated" (Morley 2009: 3) leads to the newsworthy nature of press briefings. Also, subsequent newspaper articles and editorials which deal with issues discussed during these press briefings are taken into account because they serve as an agenda for indirect interaction between spokespersons and journalists. More

specifically, spokespersons' words during press briefings are often subject to interpretations by journalists afterwards; meanwhile, it is highly likely that these interpretations, especially those written in newspaper articles and editorials, will be read or even responded to by spokespersons in later statements or briefings (see examples in chapters 4 and 5). Thirdly, these two types of texts are further divided on a 10-day basis (see 4.1.2.3) to explore how different text segments are used differently as the result of being intertextually influenced by their interlocutors. It is assumed in the study that words are not brought into the corpus at the same time. Under intertextual influences, it is likely that spokespersons start to refer to text segments which they have not used in order to respond to what has been said by journalists, and vice versa; similarly, it is possible that spokespersons abandon the use of certain text segments which have not been responded to by journalists at all and vice versa (see 5.3 and 5.4).

However, these two types of texts are still too broad for the current study. Another three parameters are therefore taken into account. Firstly, among all the issues discussed during press briefings and newspaper articles and editorials, we only focus on the American policy/strategy on Afghanistan. Secondly, it is compiled as a diachronic corpus consisting of texts which were created within the time-frame of the first six months after this project was proposed. Finally, the New York Times was chosen as the investigated newspaper as it has a large national circulation and its journalists have won a large number of Pulitzer prizes.

In conclusion, all the texts collected were created between 1 August, 2009 to 31Janaury, 2010 (six months), and discuss, explain, comment on or describe American policies about the war in Afghanistan from either American government statements or the NYT web.

### 4.1.2 Corpus size

This corpus only comprises 484,700 words; however, it is sufficient for the present purpose. As pointed out by Flowerdew (2004: 18), there is no "ideal size for a corpus", only an optimum corpus size which is closely related to the purposes of investigation and the practicality of data collection.

Although Sinclair points out that a general corpus should be "as large as possible" (Sinclair 1991: 18), he also argues that "a corpus that is specialized within a certain

subject area will have a greater concentration of vocabulary than a broad-ranging corpus..., that a much smaller corpus will be needed for typical studies than is needed for a general view of the language" (Sinclair 2004). Meyer (2002: 34), further, points out that the size of a corpus should be determined "not by focusing too intently on the overall length of the corpus".

For the purpose of the current study (see 4.1.1), the corpus is designed to cover all the texts (1) related to a particular issue (American policy on Afghanistan) and (2) within a certain period of time (from 1 August, 2009 to 31 January, 2010). It is a special sample of interactions between spokespersons and journalists, including the entirety of the texts we are interested in. For the practicality of data collection, this thesis follows a pragmatic strategy of collecting all the related data within a timeframe of the first six months of this doctoral programme.

### 4.1.3 Representativeness of the corpus

An issue which cannot be separated from corpus size is the representativeness of the investigated corpus. Representativeness has always been a crucial issue, as is shown in some of the most frequently quoted definitions (Francis 1982; Sinclair 1991), because "a corpus must be 'representative' in order to be appropriately used as the basis for generalizations concerning a language as a whole" (Biber 1993: 243).

In terms of Leech (1991: 27), a corpus can be called representative if "the findings based on its contents can be generalized to a larger hypothetical corpus". However, the problem is that we have "no means of ensuring it, or even evaluating it objectively" (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 57). It is usually measured subjectively "by reference to external selection criteria (i.e.: by or for whom the text is produced, what is its subject matter)" (Flowerdew 2008: 27).

This study assumes that the corpus we constructed should in the first place allow us to make claims for what was to be represented. The corpus in this study is constructed to represent the institutional interaction between White House spokespersons and journalists. It therefore chooses press briefings which were explored as a "particularly fascinating genre of institutional talk in which the two parties involved, the podium and the press, have very different interests and aims in life, which are in conflict on several levels" (Partington 2003: vii). Furthermore, in order to tie in well

with one of the purposes of the investigation -- an emphasis on indirect interactions between spokespersons and journalists after press briefings - it also includes newspaper articles from the New York Times (NYT hereafter) which deal with issues discussed during previous press briefings. Therefore the whole corpus in this study includes both transcripts of press conferences published on the White House Official website and newspaper articles from the New York Times, covering a period of six months (1 August, 2009 to 31 January, 2010).

## 4.1.4 Procedure of corpus compilation

This section aims to explain details in the procedure of corpus compilation. The process of corpus construction is divided into three stages, namely, data collecting, data editing and data structuring.

### 4.1.4.1 Data collecting

This stage concerns the rough collection of all the texts which are related.

All the texts that we needed were electronically available from two websites -- the White House official Website (WH Web: http://www.whitehouse.gov/) and the New York Times online website (NYT http://www.nytimes.com/).

There are two options on WH Web which can be used to search for texts – "archives" and "advanced research". It should be pointed out that these two options cannot be used at the same time. "Archives" is used in the current study to prevent this study from neglecting relevant texts. NYT online provides a much simpler way to collect data. Its online *advanced search* tool enables its readers to set the time period (from 1August, 2009 to 31 January, 2010) and the key word (*Afghan*) at the same time. Irrelevant articles were then identified and ignored. In the majority of newspaper articles, a simple perusal of the title was sufficient for establishing irrelevance (e.g. "*One in 4 Afghan Ballots Face Check for Fraud* ", NYT, Oppel, R. A, 20th, September, 2009) or relevance (e.g. "*Obama Considers Strategy Shift in Afghan War*" NYT, Baker, P. & Bumiller, E., 23rd, September, 2009). In other cases, it was necessary to skim the article to make such a judgment.

All the texts were downloaded from the internet, saved as UTF-8 text documents and named according to the date on which the text was created (e.g.: *20091001* indicates the text was created on 1 October, 2009). These texts were then saved in different folders which were named in terms of (1) the time period the text was produced (e.g.: *Oct* shows that all the texts within this folder are created in October, 2009) and (2) who produced it (e.g.: *GS* shows that all the texts are created by spokespersons) (see 4.1.2.3).

### 4.1.4.2 Data editing

The second stage deals with the issue of maintaining the corpus' relevance, in particular that of newspaper articles and editorials. We have explained that during corpus compilation, texts are selected via a skimming process. However, irrelevant information cannot be completely excluded by only skimming texts. Therefore, detailed data editing was necessary to ensure that irrelevant data were not included. This section aims to explain four main criteria of what should or should not be omitted in the current corpus.

(1) Dates, titles and author names of newspaper articles and editorials were included because it shows us when a text was produced and who produced the text. In this way, it helps us to identify whether a text segment has changed or not over time and whether the same person has changed his way of referring to a previous text segment.

(2) Press briefings were divided into smaller units, each of which consists of a complete Q-A adjacency pair (sequences of two utterances which are created by different speakers, see chapter 3). Questions of adjacency pairs were read one by one to identify whether they were relevant to the issue that we focus on. If the question was found irrelevant, such as policies on health care, the President's daily schedule and creating job opportunities, the whole Q-A adjacency pair (both the question and answer) was deleted (see extracts below).

> Q Robert, what do you say to Bob Dole, who's got this op-ed today, saying he thinks the President sort of needs to refresh the health care debate, and specifically, needs to put a plan on the table? (31st, Aug, 2009, WH Web)
> Q You've mentioned restaurants a couple times. Do you expect that they'll go out for a bite in a local restaurant, the First Family? (23rd, Aug, 2009, WH Web)

(3) All the remarks, speeches, weekly addresses and statements were kept as long as they contained information related to American policy on Afghanistan regardless of the proportion of irrelevant information. The corpus reveals a feature

in most speeches, remarks and statements which is sometimes seemingly irrelevant text segments are used as a preparation for further relevant statements. Take the following citation below as an example. It seems that the passage below is about the 9/11 event in 2001 and about the organization which planned the 9/11 event. However, it is actually used by the President to explain why America started the war in Afghanistan in the first place. Also, it is used to show the necessity of increasing American troops in Afghanistan. Therefore, complete transcripts of these remarks/speeches/weekly addresses are kept in the corpus.

> We did not ask for this fight. On September 11, 2001, 19 men hijacked four airplanes and used them to murder nearly 3,000 people. They struck at our military and economic nerve centers. They took the lives of innocent men, women, and children without regard to their faith or race or station. Were it not for the heroic actions of passengers onboard one of those flights, they could have also struck at one of the great symbols of our democracy in Washington, and killed many more.
> As we know, these men belonged to al Qaeda -- a group of extremists who have distorted and defiled Islam, one of the world's great religions, to justify the slaughter of innocents. Al Qaeda's base of operations was in Afghanistan, where they were harbored by the Taliban -- a ruthless, repressive and radical movement that seized control of that country after it was ravaged by years of Soviet occupation and civil war, and after the attention of America and our friends had turned elsewhere. (1st, Dec, 2009, WH Web)

(3) There were some newspaper articles and editorials which started with irrelevant events or life stories, but which later on moved to a discussion on American policy in Afghanistan. Whether or not to keep these articles and editorials is determined by the proportion which the narrative part occupies. For articles and editorials of which 70%, or more than 70%, are irrelevant (in terms of word number), the whole article was omitted. Otherwise, the whole article was kept for further analysis. It should be pointed out that the proportion was a rough calculation and therefore this may be inaccurate. However, since (a) it is feasible for most articles and (b) this method saves time, a small inaccuracy will not be taken into account.

### 4.1.4.3 Data structuring

The third stage of corpus compilation is to structure the data collected into a corpus in terms of who created the text (see Figure 4.1 below). The corpus consists of two primary sub-corpora, the GS corpus (texts created by White House spokespersons) and the MC corpus (texts created by journalists). The GS corpus, furthermore, contains two

types of texts, namely, monologues (including speeches, weekly addresses and statements) and press briefings. The most confusing part is the press briefings. It has two components: (1) journalists' questions (Q) and (2) spokesperson' responses (R).
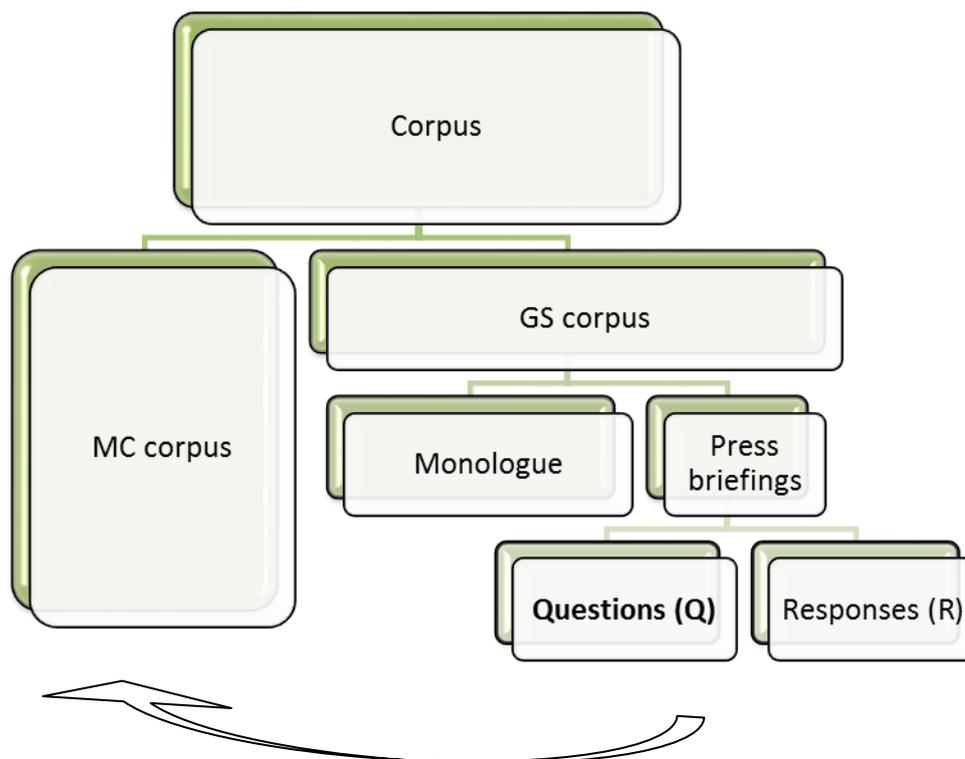


*Figure 4.1 Structure of the corpus*

It should be pointed out that questions (Q) in press briefings do not belong to the GS corpus because they are created by journalists rather than by the spokespersons. Therefore, journalists' questions during press briefings were saved in the same folder as that of newspaper articles and editorials while spokespersons' responses to these questions were kept as a part of the GS corpus.

In order to prevent future confusion, in this thesis: (1) capital letters Q and R will be consistently used to refer to one or several questions or responses while the Q corpus and R corpus stand for the corpus consisting of questions and responses respectively; (2) the Q corpus will not be studied as a part of the GS corpus but as a part of the MC corpus; (3) the Q corpus and the MC corpus altogether will be referred to as the MCQ corpus and studied as a corpus which represents features of texts created by journalists; (4) in some cases, the Q corpus and the MC corpus will be studied separately in order to obtain more details.

For the purpose of this thesis, both the GS corpus and the MCQ corpus are divided into 18 sub-corpora in terms of time (see table 4.1 below). As an attempt to apply the corpus approach to investigate intertextuality, texts in the corpus are grouped

every ten days rather than on a detailed day-to-day basis because the latter is time-consuming.

|  | MC corpus | Q corpus | GS corpus |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| No. of sub-corpora | 18 | 18 | 18 |

*Table 4.1 number of sub-corpora in terms of time*

Ideally, each time span should be ten days long. However, as not every month consists of 30 days, ten- day periods are not feasible. Thus, this study keeps the time span of the third sub-corpus in each month consistent with the following formula:

number of days in that month minus twenty

For instance, the number of days of the third sub-corpus in August equals "31 (number of days in August) minus 20" which is 11. Similarly, the number of days of the third sub-corpus in September is "30 minus 20" which is 10.

## 4.2 Software — *Antconc 3.2.4w*

This study chose *Antconc 3.2.4w* (Anthony) rather than *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott 2004, 2008), although the latter includes a wide range of features needed by researchers. The determinant reason for choosing *Antconc* is that it is more practical to use the *stop lists* tool and *specific words lists* tool. Stop lists are lists of words which should be excluded in the analysis. In contrast, specific words lists are lists of words which should be included during the procedure of data analysis. For Wordsmith, before setting up a group of words which should be included (specific word lists) or excluded (stop lists), each word on the list needs to be separated by comma or be placed in a new line manually. On the contrary, no such preparation, in other words, no extra manual operation, is needed in Antconc. Therefore, Antconc will be consistently used in this study. All the data is treated as lowercase (which can be set using the *treat all data as lowercase* option in the global settings).

Four programs of *Antconc 3.2.4w* will be used in this study, namely, *concordance, wordlist collocates* and *multi-word clusters. Concordance* is a program which displays all the instances of an examined word or phrase in a corpus. It displays the investigated word or phrase "in the center of the computer screen, with the words that come before and after it to the left and right″ (Hunston 2002: 39; see also Biber 1998; Sinclair 1991); the selected word or phrase is known as the *node word* while all the occurrences of the

chosen word or phrase are known as *concordance lines* (also known as Key Word In Context, KWIC). Interpreting concordance lines helps us to observe the "central and typical" use of language, "meaning distinctions" between different words or phrases, "details" of how a word or phrase is used and the co-relation between "meaning and patterns" of the node word (Hunston 2002: 42-52). Each concordance line presents us with a naturally occurring instance of how the node word is used; furthermore, it provides us with access to the wider context of concordance lines to decrease ambiguity. Concordance lines also contribute to interpreting the meanings of a word or phrase. "You shall know a word by the company it keeps" (Firth 1957: 11). In other words, the meaning of a word is indicated in its co-texts, or in its concordance lines (Hunston 2002).*Wordlist* is a program which generates a list of all the words occurring in a corpus. Words within a corpus can be sorted into alphabetical or frequency order. Furthermore, a word list can be generated using all the words, or a certain group of words, by specific word lists, or omitting a specific set of words by stop lists -- lists of words that are not wanted in the analysis. *Collocates* is a program which lists the statistically significant words which co-occur with the node word. These words which frequently co-occur with the node word are referred to as collocates of the node word. *Collocates* present similar information to "that provided by concordance lines" and indicate "pairs of lexical items" (Hunston 2002: 12). The term collocation indicates a relation "between words in a linear string: a node predicts that a preceding or following word also occurs" (Stubbs 2001: 30) or "the tendency of two words to co-occur" (Hunston 2002: 68). Like concordance lines, collocates of a selected word or phrase indicate its meaning (Stubbs 2001).

Having explained the software adopted in this study, we now turn to the details of the methodology developed in this study in next section.

## 4.3 Procedure for data analysis

Chapter 2 (2.2.3) has briefly explained how the data will be processed via corpus tools. It includes three steps, namely, (a) identifying the investigated shared lexical item(s); (b) identifying investigated shared semantic field(s); and (c) identifying the intertextual influence (in terms of both the five intertextual relationships and an extended context).

However, as we have discussed in chapters 2 and 3, there are limitations to a corpus approach in exploring intertextuality. It is therefore necessary to situate this study into the field of CADS (corpus assisted discourse-studies, see 2.3), in particular in this thesis, a combination of corpus methodology and theories in conversation analysis, in particular, institutional talk.

This section aims to present the analysis procedure systematically, emphasizing the main issues involved in the process, from the perspective of both corpus approach and institutional talk. In addition to the three steps which can be analysed via corpus data, it takes the phenomenon of reformulation and spokespersons' "job security policy" into account, thereby, formulating a CADS approach to exploring intertextuality.

### 4.3.1 General description of the approach

The process of data analysis can be demonstrated via table 4.2 below. As we can observe, this procedure can be grouped into five stages, namely, (a) identifying the investigated intertext, (b) an exploration of intertextual influence in press briefings, (c) an exploration of how the shared lexical item is used, and an exploration of intertextual influences in terms of (d) spokespersons' "job security policy" and (e) journalists' questions and comments respectively.
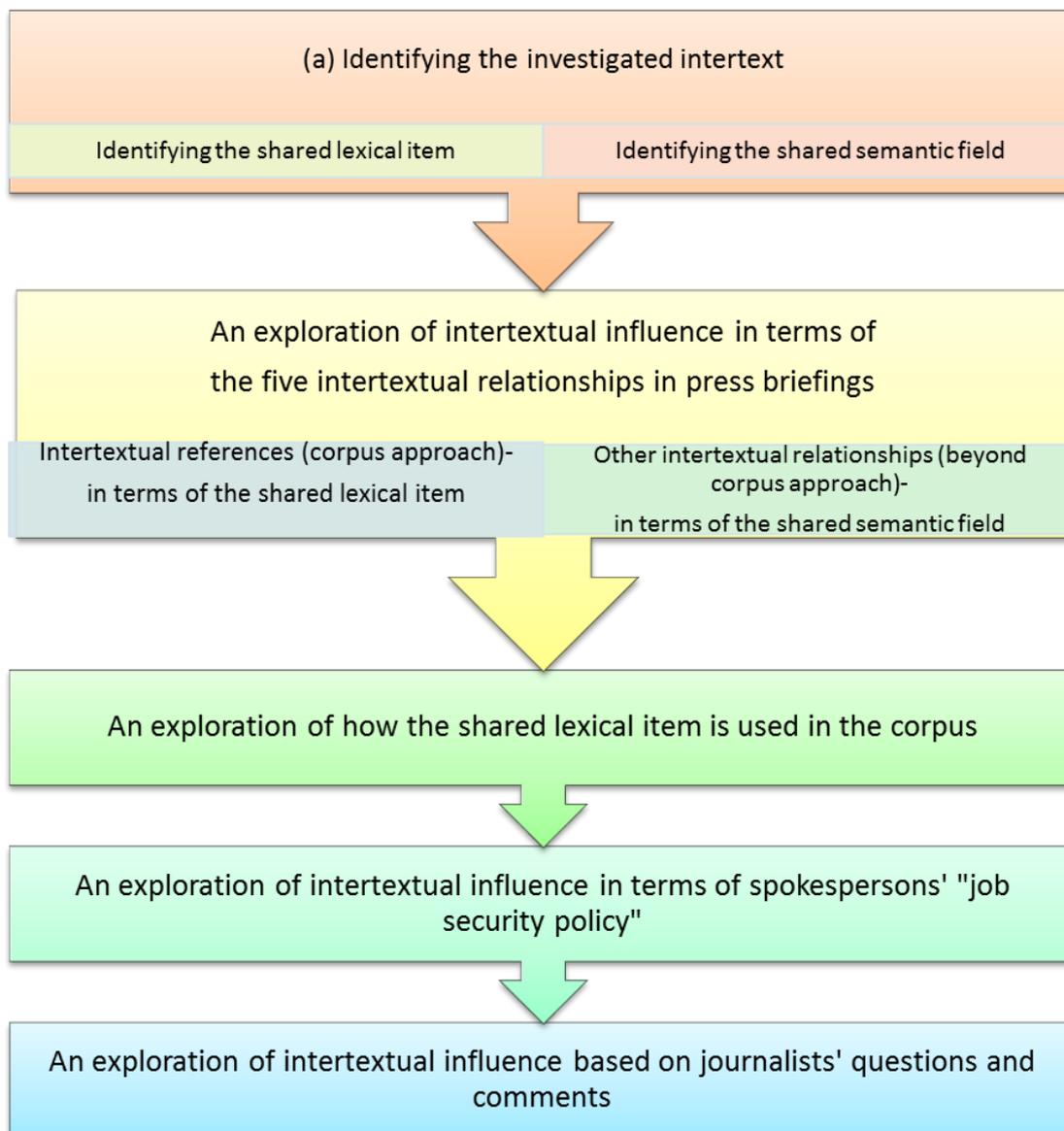
*Table 4.2 Process of data analysis*

We now turn to the details of issues involved in each step first.

### 4.3.2 Identifying the investigated intertext

The process of identifying the investigated intertext is a process of defining the range of texts which should be analysed. It comprises of two phases, (1) identifying what the shared lexical item is and (2) defining what the shared semantic field is based on meanings of the shared lexical item.

### 4.3.2.1 Identifying the investigated shared lexical item(s)

Identifying the investigated shared lexical item is a process of identifying a text segment which can be determined as the shared lexical item. The main issue we should take into consideration in the first step is the type of shared lexical items we aim to explore in this thesis.

It should be pointed out in the beginning that the current study will only focus on single lexical items, in particular, single nouns. On the one hand, in an attempt to apply applying a corpus approach to intertextuality, single lexical items are an easy starting point. On the other hand, nouns are an inevitable group of words which are used to denote objects in our world.

Theoretically, any text segment can be set as the investigated shared lexical item, especially the statistically salient ones (see 2.1.3). Yet, this study only focuses on two types of single nouns, aiming to examine how spokespersons are intertextually influenced by journalists under institutional constraints. These two types of words are:

1. words firstly used by journalists and then picked up by spokespersons (see 5.1.1);
2. words frequently (in terms of both raw frequency and relative frequency, see 6.1.1) used by both journalists and spokespersons.

The investigation of words in the first group emphasizes how spokespersons deal with words preferred by journalists, under the impact of both institutional constraints and intertextual influence. According to Heritage (1997), participants within institutional talk have different preferences in selecting the word they use. As the words in the first group are mainly used by journalists, it is likely that these words are the words they prefer to use (this hypothesis can be verified by comparing the word frequency in two sub-corpora). Based on Heritage's claim, it is not surprising that White House spokespersons often try to avoid using the words of the first group. However, under intertextual influences, spokespersons have to respond to what has been said by journalists, by referring to the lexical item used by them (in various forms). The aim of exploring the first group of words is, therefore, to examine how spokespersons respond to words which are preferred by journalists. More specifically, it attempts to study how spokespersons manage to replace such a word or how they refer to a word which is preferably used by journalists in the form of using a text segment which has an intertextual relationship with what has been said before by the journalists.

The analysis of the second group, however, focuses on words which are frequently used by both spokespersons and journalists. The aim of exploring words in

the second group is to shed light on what has not been emphasized by Heritage (1997); more specifically, it attempts to investigate how different participants, in the process of institutional talk, deal with words which are highly frequent in the discourse. The primary reason for examining this word type lies in the observation that the majority of previous studies in institutional talk only emphasize the fact that participants within institutional talk have different preferences in selecting the words that they use (e.g.: Heritage 1997; Koester 2006), neglecting the fact that participants within institutional talk also use the same words. It is hypothesized that such words are so frequently used by journalists that spokespersons cannot escape from referring to them (in various forms); however, due to institutional constraints on lexical choice, they tend to either contextualize journalists' words differently or replace them with an alternative which belongs to the same intertext to which journalists' words belong.

Both groups can be generated by the corpus tool *wordlist* of *Antconc 3.2.4w* (see 5.1.1 and 6.1.1). Rather than exemplifying the process of generating these two groups of words in this chapter, this study will demonstrate the first step of data analysis at the beginning of the following two analysis chapters. On the one hand, the procedures of generating these two groups of words are different from each other; on the other hand, this study presents a complete analysing procedure in both analysis chapters (including all the five steps).

### 4.3.2.2 Identifying investigated shared semantic field(s)

The process of identifying the shared semantic field starts with an analysis of the meaning of the shared lexical item. The main point we need to emphasize in this process is that this study explores meanings of a shared lexical item in such a detailed way that it specifies each referent of the shared lexical item in the corpus. On the one hand, it is doable in the way that the size of the corpus is not too large; on the other, it shows more clearly how these two shared lexical items (see *timetable* in chapter 5 and *troops* in chapter 6) are used differently by spokespersons and journalists.

In conclusion, the first step aims to define which intertext should be investigated, or what text segments should be explored, in the way of defining what the shared lexical item and shared semantic field are.

Having narrowed down the text segments we will analyse in this study, the next step will shed light on the direct interaction between spokespersons and journalists. In other words, the third step will examine transcripts of press briefings.

### 4.3.3 An exploration of intertextual influence in press briefings in terms of five intertextual relationships

As shown in the previous sub-section, the aim of both the first and second step is to define the range of text segments which will be explored in this study; in other words, it defines the intertext which will be investigated.

The focus of the third step is the transcript of press briefings. More concretely, it examines text segments in press briefings in terms of the five intertextual relationships we have defined in chapter 2 (mainly by manually reading texts) (namely, hyponymy, synonymy, intertextual interpretation/description and intertextual ellipsis, see 2.2.2.2). The main reason for especially- emphasizing press briefings in the third step is that it directly shows us how spokespersons respond to journalists' questions instantaneously. In other words, it presents us with the direct interaction between spokespersons and journalists.

The third step separates intertextual reference from other types of intertextual relationship because intertextual reference is the most obvious manifestation of intertextual influence, demonstrating directly how spokespersons and journalists deal with the same text segment differently. Based on the discussion above, the procedure for the third step can be accomplished in two stages, namely, the analysis of intertextual reference (in terms of the shared lexical item) and the analysis of other intertextual relationships.

#### 4.3.3.1 An analysis of intertextual reference—in terms of the shared lexical item

The analysis of intertextual reference is a process of analysing text segments in which the shared lexical item occur; in particular, the extended concordance lines of shared lexical items are examined. Considering that a main function of corpus technique is to generate all the concordance lines (of key words) as well as their extended context, it is not surprising that corpus tools play a significant role at this stage.

Yet, it should be pointed out that concordance lines are not completely reliable. We have to manually read the text to examine whether there is an actual intertextual link or not. Take the following extracts as an example. As we can observe, the word *troops* (set as the shared lexical item, see chapter 6) occurs in both extracts; yet, these extracts not intertextually related to each other. In the first extract, a journalist asks the spokesperson whether the President will send more troops (or other sources) to support President Karzai or his government. The word *troops* in the second extract, however, refers to American troops in Iraq who will be back by the end of 2011. The first extract is part of the transcript of the press briefing on 7 September while the second is from the President's speech on 17 August, 2009. There is no direct intertextual relationship between these two extracts although the shared lexical item—*troops*—occurs in both of them.

1. Right now election is coming in Afghanistan. Is President going to escalate any kind of more **troops** or more help for the President Karzai or his government?
   (WH Web, 7th, Aug, 2009)
2. We will remove all our combat brigades by the end of next August. And we will remove all our **troops** from Iraq by the end of 2011. And for America, the Iraq war will end. (WH Web, 17th, Aug, 2009)

Therefore, all the concordance lines in which the shared lexical item occurs are read manually. As we have pointed out in chapter 2, it is up to the observers to define whether or not a text belongs to the target discourse, to decide or interpret the meaning of a text segment, to conclude what the shared semantic field is and finally, to determine whether there is an intertextual relationship or not, based on the corpus evidence.

### 4.3.3.2 An analysis of semantic field(s) – in terms of shared semantic fields

However, not all the text segments which maintain an intertextual relationship with the shared lexical item actually contain the actual lexical item. A text segment can be referred to without being repeated. Corpus tools do not contribute much in this stage because they cannot point to text segments in which the key word (in this case, the shared lexical item) does not occur. This stage, therefore, involves manually reading the texts in order to find text segments which maintain an intertextual relationship with the shared lexical item but, in which, the actual item cannot be found.

Take the following three sentences as an example. In the extract below, a journalist asks whether the General (General McChrystal) wants more troops to be sent

to Afghanistan. In his response, the spokesperson does not use the word *troops*, in particular, *more troops*. His answer actually omits the clause "we do not know whether the General wants more troops or not". In other words, the spokesperson's response can actually be understood as "we do not know whether the General wants more troops or not because he is currently undergoing a pretty thorough assessment of what's happening on the ground" and "we will not know whether the General wants more troops or not until we can see what the assessment turns up". From this perspective, the spokesperson's response maintains a relationship of intertextual ellipsis with the journalist's question.

> Q Do the generals want more **troops**? I mean, what are hearing from them?
> MR. BURTON: Well, General McChrystal is currently undergoing a pretty thorough assessment of what's happening on the ground in Afghanistan, and we'll see what that assessment turns up. But obviously the President is in close contact with his commanders on the ground, but again, thinks that the strategy that he put in place is a winning one. (WH Web, 10th, Aug, 2009)

The example above shows us that corpus tools do not help much in interpreting this kind of intertextual relationship because a corpus only provides concrete evidence which is explicitly shown within it. As pointed out by Hunston (2002: 22-23), a corpus "only provides evidence" but not information; furthermore, it only presents language "out of its context" (see 2.2). In other words, although corpus technology helps us to find quantitative data in the first two steps, it does not contribute much to this phase. We do not have access to intertextual relationships which are abstract and which hide behind corpus data. Therefore, this step involves manually reading the extended concordance lines, in particular, the subsequent spokesperson's response, in order to ensure that there is an intertextual relationship between his response and the previous question.

There are two points which should be emphasized before further discussion. Firstly, the role the corpus plays at this stage; and secondly, how wide the extended context should be.

### a. The corpus's role in this stage

Corpus tools play the same role here as in analysing the relationship of intertextual reference. More specifically, they are employed to generate concordance lines where the shared lexical item occurs. In this way, we are able to narrow down the length of text segments we have to read. More specifically, when analysing a concordance line which

is extracted from the Q corpus (journalists' questions), the subsequent spokesperson's response must be manually read; and when examining a concordance line generated from the GS corpus (spokespersons' responses and speeches), the previous journalist's question should be read through carefully.

This study deals with concordance lines from the MC corpus differently because there is no direct interaction manifested between spokespersons and journalists in this corpus. They will be dealt with in the following two ways.

### b. The length of extended context

The second issue we shall take into account is the length of text segments we shall read. It is not feasible to read all the texts in the corpus although it can be done when the corpus is not too large.

As a contribution to the field of CADS, the length of text segments which will be read is mainly based on the Q-A turn-taking system (see 3.2.4). We have discussed in chapter 3 that, in order to understand any single turn in institutional talk, we have to take the context into account (see 3.2). The context of a text segment is of two principal kinds: micro-context ("context [or co-text] of production", text segments which come before and after the examined text segment) and macro-context ("context of communication", the social context within which words are exchanged) (Partington 2002: 34).

Therefore, the text length we will read depends on both micro-context and macro-context. From the perspective of micro-context, not only the questions or answers within which the shared lexical item occurs will be examined, but also the previous and continuous Q-A adjacency pairs will be analysed (sequences of two utterances which are produced by a questioner and an answerer, see 3.2) as long as it shows an attempt of "reformulation" (Partington 2002: 177-190). Simply speaking, "reformulation" refers to the phenomenon of "rewording of a piece of information" (Partington 2002: 177) of what you have said (*self-reformulation*) or of someone else's words (*other-reformulation*). The main reason of taking "reformulation" into account is that "reformulation" itself is a manifestation of intertextuality; furthermore, it (especially *other-reformulation*) shows how different participants (White House spokespersons and journalists) in institutional talk attempt to emphasize different aspects of an issue via choosing different lexical items or contextualizing the same lexical item differently.

Take the following extract as an example. The shared lexical item *timetable* only occurs in one of the journalist's questions (bold and underlined). However, we do not limit our analysis to the journalist's questions; instead, both the previous Q-A adjacency pair (1) and following A-Q adjacency pair (3) are analysed because both of them shows an attempt of "reformulation", more precisely, "other -reformulation". As we can observe, both question (2) and (3) start with the word *so* which, according to Partington (2002: 183), is very likely to be used in instances of "other-reformulation". Both instances of the word *so* in following extract indicate an attempt to check comprehension.

> (1) Q A quick question on Afghanistan, another important subject. What is the status of the McChrystal report here in terms of -- I know you had said last week the President would probably bring it to Camp David.
> MR. GIBBS: Yes, he did.
> (2) Q *So has he had a chance to read it?* Is he now talking to staff about it? What's sort of his **timetable** for making some important decisions about the way forward?
> MR. GIBBS: Well, understand that …… be forthcoming in a separate document over the next few coming weeks.
> (3) Q *So is this days or weeks, though, in terms of a presidential decision in terms of --*
> MR. GIBBS: We haven't received a request for additional resources. That…….
>
> (WH Web, 8th, Sep, 2009)

From the perspective of macro-context, this study mainly emphasizes the security policy (see 3.3.3) of White House spokespersons. As said before, the security policy of White House spokespersons refers to one of the constraints on spokespersons, more precisely, "not to get too far ahead of where the President is" (WH web, 30th, Nov, 2009) (See 3.3.3). It is a manifestation of the spokesperson's attempt to be evasive.

Having understood the adversarial relationship between spokespersons and journalists, it is not surprising that the attempts by spokespersons to be evasive are resisted by journalists. As we can observe in the corpus (also see in Partington 2002), journalists tend to explore as much information as possible during press briefings. As a result, spokespersons have to respond to journalists' questions passively. In other words, as a result of being intertextually influenced by journalists, spokespersons sometimes have to breach the rule of their "security policy". In this sense, any phenomenon of breaking the rule is potentially a manifestation of being intertextually influenced by journalists.

Thus, this study takes spokespersons' "job security policy" as a crucial parameter to explore potential manifestation of intertextual influence from journalists.

### 4.3.4 An exploration of how the shared lexical item is used in the corpus

It is assumed in this study that, under the impact of institutional constraints, spokespersons tend to avoid using certain lexical itemss. Meanwhile, being intertextually influenced by journalists, spokespersons have to respond to what has been said by journalists; also, what they say will further influence what will be said by journalists. As a result of this continuous influence from previous texts, the shared lexical item is used differently over time in the corpus.

This assumption leads to the third step, more specifically, a detailed exploration on how the shared lexical item is used in the corpus over time. Diachronic studies of language take time into account, investigating the "details of historical development of particular languages" and are concerned principally with the "language-change" over time (Lyons 1981: 35; Widdowson 1996). Different from the second step, the third step aims to explore how the shared lexical item is diachronically used in the whole corpus rather than only in the press conferences.

The shared lexical item is analysed in this stage from two aspects, namely, from both the quantitative and semantic aspects respectively.

Firstly, the quantitative data (in particular, frequency) of shared lexical item is examined, exploring whether it is used more or less frequently in subsequent GS texts. This type of change is not surprising because the more journalists use the shared lexical item, the more likely it is that spokespersons have to respond to it; the more spokespersons respond to the shared lexical item, the more likely it is that they will directly use the shared lexical item; and vice versa. In other words, the frequency of shared lexical item(s) in the GS corpus is proportional to that in the MCQ corpus.

Secondly, the distributions of different referents of the shared lexical item over time are examined. It is assumed in the study that, although under the impact of institutional constraints, what the shared lexical item refers to in the GS corpus is also intertextually influenced by how it is used by journalists. This intertextual influence can be understood based on Teubert's (2010) argument that meaning can only be found in symbolic interaction. He takes the word *globalisation* as an example. In his terms, "if it is repeated by others, it will become part of the meaning of the lexical item globalisation"; the word "globalisation means all that has ever been said about the

discourse object 'globalisation'" (2010: 8). In other words, the meaning of a lexical item is the accumulation of all that has been said about it in the discourse. From this perspective, we can infer that, as long as the discussion is on-going, the meaning of a lexical item keeps changing.

It should first be pointed out that although Teubert's (2010) argument focuses on single words, it does not conflict with what we aim to explore. As we have explained in 4.3.2.1, as an attempt of applying a corpus approach to intertextuality, single lexical items are chosen as shared lexical items in this study.

Findings in the third step will be further analysed in terms of two parameters, namely, in terms of the mentioned "security policy" (the fourth step) and of journalists' requirements (the fifth step). This "Security policy" is chosen as a representative of institutional constraints while journalists' requirements are analysed to shed light on journalists' intertextual influence. In other words, these findings will then be analysed based on institutional constraints and intertextual influenced respectively.

## 4.3.5 An exploration of intertextual influence in terms of spokespersons' "security policy"

Section 4.3.4 has briefly explained the necessity to analyse "security policy", and more specifically, that there are certain issues, in terms of "security policy", which should or should not be discussed. However, the corpus shows that, through being intertextually influenced by journalists, spokespersons have to violate their "security policy", in responding to what should not be discussed or not discussing what can be discussed.

This section, therefore, aims to examine whether thefindings in the third step are a manifestation of "security policy" or a violation of "security policy". If it is a violation, we have to determine whether it is the result of being intertextually influenced by journalists. In particular, our aim is to explore the conflict between "security policy" and what has been actually said by spokespersons in the corpus.

It should be pointed out that the main focus of this step is the text segments in which the shared lexical items occurs (e.g.: more *troops* that are sent to Afghanistan, additional *troops* deployed in March (*troops* as the shared lexical item)). All the instances of the shared lexical item which, according to the "security policy", are not

supposed to be used in the GS corpus are examined carefully; also, all the instances of the shared lexical item which are used frequently are investigated.

### 4.3.6 An exploration of intertextual influence based on journalists' requirements

The final step is a process of analysing whether instances we have found in the third step are the result of being intertextually influenced by journalists.

This step involves an analysis of what journalists look for in terms of what they have said in the corpus. More specifically, it involves a procedure of exploring how the shared lexical item is used in the MCQ corpus in detail. Journalists' requirements are then compared with subsequent spokespersons' responses. In this way, we can infer whether or not what we have observed in the GS corpus is a response to previous MCQ texts as well as how spokespersons actually deal with what journalists have said.

## 4.4 Conclusion

This chapter aims to explain the CADS methodology developed in the current study. It comprises three parts. Firstly, it explains how the corpus investigated in the current study is structured, emphasizing issues which should be taken into account in the process of corpus compilation. It also shows us the tools, settings and the corpus parameters that we have taken into consideration in this thesis. More importantly, it systematically demonstrates the procedure of the data analysis, including the following five steps:

> (1) identifying the investigated intertext;
> (2) an exploration of intertextual influence in terms of five intertextual relationships in press briefings;
> (3) a diachronic exploration of how a shared lexical item is used in the corpus;
> (4) an exploration of intertextual influence in terms of spokespersons' "job security policy";
> (5) an exploration of intertextual influence based on journalists' requirements.

It can be observed that the method we have developed belongs to the field of CADS in the way that it does not only takes corpus quantitative data into account, but also it

involves theories and factors related to institutional talk. The following analysis chapters (chapter 5 and chapter 6) will exemplify how this CADS approach is applied in analysing intertextuality in institutional talk in detail.

# CHAPTER 5 "WHY NOT A TIMETABLE"?

## 5.0 Introduction

Both this chapter and chapter 6 aim to exemplify (1) how the CADS approach developed in chapter 4 can contribute to the exploration of intertextuality within a discourse; and (2) how spokespersons choose words under the impact from both institutional constraints and intertextual influence.

However, this chapter differs from chapter 6 in the way that it focuses on different types of words. This chapter explores how spokespersons handle words which are preferred by journalists but unloved by White House spokespersons, while chapter 6 is concerned with words which are used frequently by both spokespersons and journalists.

Sections 5.1 to 5.5 are developed based on the five steps explained in chapter 4, namely, (a) identifying the investigated intertext (5.1), (b) an exploration of intertextual influence in press briefings in terms of the five intertextual relationships we have explained in chapter 2 (5.2), (c) a diachronic exploration of how *timetable* is used over time in the whole corpus (5.3), (d) an exploration of intertextual influence in terms of the spokespersons' "security policy" (5.4), and (e) an exploration of intertextual influence based on the journalists' previous questions and comments (5.5). Finally, section 5.6 summarizes this chapter with the main points we have found.

## 5.1 Identifying the investigated intertext

The process of identifying the intertext that will be investigated in this study first requires a procedure to extract a / the range of text segments (see 4.3.2).  This process comprises two phases, namely, (1) identifying shared lexical item(s) and (2) defining the shared semantic field(s), based on how the shared lexical item is used in the corpus. This section therefore consists of two main parts (5.2.1 and 5.2.2), demonstrating the two phases respectively, followed by a brief summary of this section (5.2.3).

Identifying the shared lexical item is the primary phase because meanings of the shared lexical item further determine what conceptual areas will be investigated as the shared semantic field(s). Theoretically, any text segment can be set as the shared lexical item of an intertext. However, the group of words this chapter focuses on are those which are firstly used by journalists and then referred to by spokespersons (see 4.3.2), our aim being to explore how spokespersons deal with words which are preferred by

journalists. The type of words which are referred to by spokespersons in their responses and which are firstly used by journalists are referred to as *new words* in the following discussion.

The main reason for exploring new words in this chapter originated from the observation that previous studies on institutional talk emphasized the fact that participants in institutional talk tend to select the different lexical item they use (e.g.: Heritage 1997), but did not place much weight on how participants are intertextually influenced by each other during their interactions. This chapter, in addition to highlighting participants' different preferences for to selected lexical items, aims to shed light on the intertextual property within the type of institutional talk explored. It firstly starts with a description of how new words are extracted from the corpus.

### 5.1.1 New words as shared lexical item(s) – via a comparison between two word lists

Although it has been explained in 4.1, it is firstly necessary to recall the corpus structure in this study. The corpus in this study includes two primary corpora, namely, the GS corpus and the MCQ corpus (the MCQ corpus furthermore includes two sub-corpora, the MC corpus and the Q corpus). Both the GS and the MCQ corpora in the current study are divided into 18 sub-corpora in terms of time (more specifically, it consists of 18 GS sub-corpora, 18 MC sub-corpora and 18 Q sub-corpora; each of them consists of texts which were produced within a period of approximately ten days (see 4.1.4)).

Each sub-corpus in the following discussion is referred to as the $n^{th}$ GS/MCQ sub-corpus ($1 \leq n \leq 18$). The $(n-1)^{th}$ GS/MCQ sub-corpus refers to the sub-corpus in which all the texts were produced within the ten days before the $n^{th}$ GS/MCQ sub-corpus while the $(n+1)^{th}$ GS/MCQ sub-corpus refers to the one in which all the texts were created within the ten days after the $n^{th}$ GS/MCQ sub-corpus.

*Wordlist* is the main tool used in this step. The following two types of word lists were firstly generated via *wordlist*.

(1) A word list of words occurring in the $n^{th}$ MCQ sub-corpus, excluding all the words occurred in the MCQ corpus before the $n^{th}$ MCQ sub-corpus;

(2) A word list of words occurring in the $(n+1)^{th}$ GS sub-corpus, excluding all the words that occurred in GS corpus before the $(n+1)^{th}$ GS sub-corpus.

The first word list (wordlist 1) gives the words which are first used in the $n^{th}$ MCQ sub-corpus while the second type of word list (wordlist 2) shows words which did not occur before the $(n+1)^{th}$ GS sub-corpus. Words in wordlist 1 are then compared with those in wordlist 2. More specifically, words which are new in the $n^{th}$ MCQ sub-corpus were compared with the group of words which are new in the $(n+1)^{th}$ GS sub-corpus. Those words which are included in both wordlist 1 and wordlist 2 are the new words we attempt to extract.

Appendix 5.1, taking the time span between 11 August 2009 and 20 August 2009 as an example, exemplifies some of the new words we have obtained by comparing these two types of word lists. For the purpose of this study, words which denote a time frame are selected for further investigation. There are two reasons for choosing these words. From the perspective of White House spokespersons, a time frame needs to be spelt out and made public, because it helps the government and the public to keep a record of what has been done and what remains to be done; it also avoids the impression of the government being without a concrete plan "ad infinitum" (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2004: 149). From a journalist's perspective, examining the timetable is "the best way to get an overview of the work" of the government (Dyck 2011: 371). In other words, the timetable is employed by journalists to explore the weaknesses of the government. Any difference between what is really happening and the timetable a government has set can be seen as evidence showing that the government is weak.

The corpus shows that there are five single nouns denoting a time frame. These words are (followed by their raw frequency in the corpus) *timetable* (53), *timeline* (38), *timelines* (12) and *timeframe* (4); also, there are 34 instances of *time frame* (with a space between these two words). As it is the most frequent single noun which indicates the meaning of time line, the word *timetable* is chosen in this chapter as the shared lexical item in the following discussion.

## 5.1.2 Defining the shared semantic fields of *timetable*

As stated in chapter two, the semantic fields of an intertext are determined by the meanings of its shared lexical item(s). This study explores the meanings of a shared lexical item in a detailed way such that it examines the referents of this shared lexical

item in order to investigate the shared semantic field it indicates. This section therefore consists of two main parts, an exploration of the referents of *timetable* in the corpus and an analysis of the shared semantic fields indicated by *timetable*.

### 5.1.2.1 Referents of *timetable*

There are mainly four referents of the word *timetable*. Firstly, it refers to the timeline for the President to make further decisions about his Afghanistan strategy. More specifically, it refers to the question of when the President will announce his new strategy on Afghanistan. Take the first extract below as an example. The journalist uses the preposition phrase (*for making some important decisions about the way forward*) to specify that he is enquiring about when the President is planning to announce his new strategy will be announced.

(1) Q So has he had a chance to read it? Is he now talking to staff about it? What's sort of his **timetable** for making some important decisions about the way forward? (WH Web, 8th, Sep, 2009)

(2) Q How does this resolution, if at all, affect the President's **timetable** on war strategy? (WH Web ,2nd, Nov, 2009)

(3) Q Robert, the Pentagon is obviously focused on the Texas shooting and the aftermath of that. Does this impact the **timetable** on the Afghanistan decision? (WH Web, 6th, Nov, 2009)

(4) President Obama defended his **timetable** of announcing a new military strategy for Afghanistan, telling a military audience here on Monday that he would not "rush the solemn decision of sending you into harm's way." (NYT, Zeleny, J., 26th, Oct, 2009)

Secondly, in some cases (altogether seven instances in the corpus, see 5.3.1), *timetable* is used to stand for the time frame for U.S. troops leaving Iraq. More specifically, it refers to the actual time schedule, including when the withdrawal is going to start, towards a particular end.

Q   Does the ratcheting up of the violence, the dramatic ratcheting up of the violence in Iraq, have any effect on the President's pullout **timetable**?
MR. GIBBS:  Well, look, obviously the President spent time yesterday on the phone with members of the administration as well as political leaders in Iraq.  Obviously we understand, and I think the statement the President put out speaks for itself, we've got -- we continue to have work to do in Iraq.  We will work side by side with the Iraqis as they take control of their country.
We have to continue to monitor it, but I don't know of any change in the **timetable**. (26th, Oct, 2009, WH Web)

Thirdly, *timetable* also refers to the time schedule for American troops leaving Afghanistan, including both starting and ending dates and how long the withdrawal will take.

> Q: You said last week -- I think Wednesday in the gaggle -- that we wouldn't be there in eight or nine years.  Will the President spell that out as a **timetable** tomorrow on when troops will leave?                    (WH Web, 30th, Nov, 2009)
> One administration official involved in Afghanistan policy said the president and his top advisers were thinking in terms of "exit strategies" and not necessarily "exit **timetables**."                    (NYT, Cooper, H. & Schmitt, E., 24th, Nov, 2009)
> Mr. Obama appears to be hoping that a precise **timetable** for the beginning of an American withdrawal — 18 months from now — will goad Mr. Karzai to act.
> (NYT, Filkins, D. 1st, Dec, 2009)

In addition to the three referents we have discussed, there are also occurrences of *timetable* which have not been specified and which are used as a general term to refer to a plan of when certain events are scheduled.

> Historians say they cannot remember a modern president who has used **deadlines and timetables** as aggressively as Mr. Obama. Presidents tend to urge, cajole and exhort. But unless they are issuing threats to foreign adversaries (as Mr. Obama did with Iran, and as former President George W. Bush did with the Iraqi dictator, Saddam Hussein), they try generally to avoid boxing themselves into corners with dates certain.                    (NYT, Stolberg, S. G., 19th, Dec, 2009)
> American officials said that Pakistani military leaders had never promised a specific **timetable** for beginning a new offensive, but that announcing a delay of as much as 12 months could aid the militants' planning and morale on both sides of the border.                    (NYT, Schmitt, E. & Sanger D. E., 24th, Jan, 2010)

Among the total 52 occurrences of *timetable*, 11 of them refer to the time frame for making a further decision on Afghanistan (TFDA), 7 of them stand for the time frame for American troops leaving Iraq (TLI), 31 represent the time frame for American troops leaving Afghan (TLA), and 3 *timetable*s are used as general terms for the concept of time frame. This study will only focus on the first three referents of *timetable*, namely, the TFDA, TLA and TLI. Also, in order to explore more in depth how *timetable* is used, this section will examine the MC corpus and the Q corpus separately together with the GS corpus.

### 5.1.2.2 Semantic field(s) of *timetable*

Based on the four referents we have analysed in the previous section, it can be concluded that there are mainly two semantic fields of timetable which are that indicate (1) when something will happen (does not have to include a particular end time) (e.g.: *Is that where he's going to at least lay out a **timetable** for making his strategy review decision, sort of saying…* WH Web 28th, Sep, 2009) and (2) the schedule of an event, including both when it starts and how long it takes (including a particular end) (e.g.: *Can you tell us how many more troops you'll be sending to Afghanistan, how you'll be*

*paying for them, and whether you'll be announcing a* **timetable** *and/or exit strategy for them?* WH Web, 24th, Nov, 2009).

These two semantic fields of *timetable* are different in the way that they are associated with different types of actions. The actions involved in the first semantic field are those which occur instantaneously, or which have no duration or a very short one (such as the words *give, announce, crush, die*). This semantic field occurs when it involves the President's time schedule for announcing his new strategy. Actions described in the second semantic field normally are those which take a period of time, in particular, it involving the withdrawal plan of American troops.

### 5.1.3 Summary

The main purpose of this section is to define the investigated intertext in this chapter. It gives the quantitative reason for choosing the word *timetable* as the shared lexical item in the first part and concludes with the shared semantic fields based on how *timetable* is used in the corpus in the second part.

Based on the shared lexical item and shared semantic field we have analysed in this section, we are able to narrow down the text segments we shall analyse in this chapter. It shows that the intertext we shall explore in this chapter only includes two types of text segments. More specifically, it includes a group of (1) text segments in which the word *timetable* occurs and (2) text segments which refer to the semantic field of *timetable*, namely, (a) when something will happen (does not have to include a particular end time) and of (b) the schedule of an event, including both when it starts and how long it takes (including a particular end).

Having clarified the type of text segments we are interested in, we now turn to the direct interaction between spokespersons and journalists during press briefings.

## 5.2 An exploration of intertextual influence in press briefings in terms of the five intertextual relationships

This section aims to explore the direct institutional interaction between spokespersons and journalists. More specifically, it examines transcripts of press briefings, manually reads all the Q-A adjacency pairs in which the word *timetable* occurs and traces all the

text segments which maintain at least one of the five intertextual relationships we have explained in 2.2.2.2 (with *timetable*).

It therefore comprises two main parts, one especially dealing with intertextual reference and another part exploring text segments which indicate a relationship of hyponymy, synonymy, intertextual interpretation/description and intertextual ellipsis.

## 5.2.1 Intertextual reference

This section explores how the relationship of intertextual reference is manifested in the discourse.

### 5.2.1.1 Preliminary observation of the shared lexical item

In terms of the corpus, the word *timetable* was firstly used by a journalist (see the extract below) in a press briefing to ask about the President's decision on how he was going to move forward on in Afghanistan on September 8, 2009. Subsequently it occurs altogether 13 times in the Q corpus and 38 times in the MC corpus (51 times altogether in MCQ corpus). However, it only occurs twice in the GS corpus.

> Q So has he had a chance to read it? Is he now talking to staff about it? What's sort of his **timetable** for making some important decisions about the way forward?
> (WH Web, 8th, Sep, 2009)

Table 5.1 below shows the raw frequency and relative frequency of the word *timetable* in the MCQ corpus, the MC corpus, the Q corpus and the GS corpus separately (see corpus structure in 4.1.4). It can be observed from the table that journalists tend to use the word *timetable* more frequently than White House spokespersons.

|  | Raw Fre | Rel Fre (per million) |
|---|---|---|
| MCQ corpus | 51 | 141.0 |
| MC corpus | 38 | 362.9 |
| Q corpus | 13 | 117.2 |
| GS corpus | 2 | 16.9 |

*Table 5.1 Raw frequency and relative frequency of timetable in the MCQ, MC, Q and GS corpus*

In the previous section we have shown that, theoretically, the subsequent response of each question is expected to provide the related information required (see 3.2). Therefore, it is worth asking (1) how it is possible for White House spokespersons to talk about or respond to questions related to *timetable* without using the actual word, (2) why spokespersons avoid using the word and (3) on what occasions spokespersons use the word. These three questions will be investigated later in 5.2.2, 5.3 and 5.4 respectively.

Table 5.2 below shows the raw frequency of *timetable* as it occurred in each month. In the GS corpus, it only occurs twice – once in October 2009 and the other one in November, 2009. In the MCQ corpus, however, it is used most frequently in December 2009 but least frequently in January, 2010. It also shows a strong contrast in how *timetable* is used in MCQ and GS, especially in December. Yet, the raw frequency listed in table 5.2 below does not provide much information about how the word is used in the corpus. Therefore, the following sections look closer into the corpus to examine how *timetable* is used under the impact of both institutional constraints and intertextual influence.

|  | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec | Jan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MCQ | 0 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 25 | 2 |
| GS | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 0 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 25 | 2 |

*Table 5.2 Raw frequency of timetable used in each month*

## 5.2.1.2 An analysis of intertextual influence in terms of shared lexical item – intertextual reference

This sub-section aims to explore the most obvious intertextual relationship manifested in press briefings, namely, intertextual reference (the exact or actual text segment can be traced from two texts, see 2.2.2.2). It shows directly how spokespersons and journalists contextualize the same text segment differently.

As listed in table 5.1 above, the word *timetable* only occurs twice in the GS corpus. Both occurrences of *timetable* in the GS corpus, as we can observe from the corpus, suggest an intertextual influence from journalists' questions. It should be pointed out that for any new words (words which were firstly used by journalists and which were then adopted by spokespersons, see 5.1.1), including the word *timetable*, it is possible that spokespersons use them because they have been used before by journalists. We now turn to these two extracts in detail.

The corpus shows that there is only one instance of *timetable* that maintains a relationship of intertextual reference with what has been said by the journalists (see the extract below). In this instance, a journalist refers to the increasing violence in Iraq and asks the spokesperson –Mr. Gibbs - whether the current situation in Iraq will affect the *timetable* for U.S. troops leaving Iraq. In his response to the journalist's question, Gibbs uses the exact word (*timetable*) and concedes that he does not know whether there will be any change in the timetable. He also uses the definite article *the* to indicate that he is referring to the *timetable* mentioned by the journalist. Gibbs' response, therefore, is a typical example of intertextual influence.

> (1) Q: Does the ratcheting up of the violence, the dramatic ratcheting up of the violence in Iraq, <u>have any effect on the President's pullout **timetable**</u>?
> MR. GIBBS: Well, look, obviously the President spent time yesterday on the phone with members of the administration as well as political leaders in Iraq. Obviously we understand, and I think the statement the President put out speaks for itself, we've got -- we continue to have work to do in Iraq. We will work side by side with the Iraqis as they take control of their country. We have to continue to monitor it, but <u>I don't know of any change in the</u> **timetable.** (WH, Web, 26th, Oct, 2009)

With the exception of the extract above, there is no other instance of intertextual reference in the corpus. The tendency for not using the word *timetable* is not surprising when we take the "security policy" into account (see 5.4). It can therefore be assumed that, without being asked, the spokesperson prefers not to discuss issues related to *timetable*. In this sense, the use of *timetable* shows an intertextual influence from the journalist.

## 5.2.2 Interpretation of intertextuality in terms of other intertextual relationships

It has been pointed out in the first part of this section that, compared with the number of times *timetable* is used in the GS corpus (twice), there are more instances of *timetable*

being used in the Q corpus (13 times). This part therefore attempts to explore how it is possible for spokespersons to respond to questions related to *timetable* without using the actual word. More specifically, it aims to interpret text segments which maintain at least one of the following intertextual relationships with *timetable*: hyponymy, synonymy, intertextual interpretation/description and intertextual ellipsis.

Simply speaking, this sub-section shows how all the instances of *timetable* were analysed in transcripts of press briefings on a Q-A adjacency pair basis (see 3.2.4). More specifically, as long as there is an instance of *timetable*, the whole Q-A adjacency pair (both the question and answer) is read through in order to find potential intertextual relationships.

### 5.2.2.1 *Timetable* in spokespersons' replies

There are altogether two instances of the use of *timetable* in the GS corpus. The first extract maintains a relationship of intertextual reference with what has been said by the journalists (see 5.2.1.2) while the second maintains a relationship of hyponymy (see discussion below) with the text segments used by journalists.

Before further discussion, it should be pointed out that the word *timetable* firstly occurs in the Q corpus (see 5.2.1.1). Also, the referent of *timetable* in this case (the time frame for U.S. troops leaving Afghanistan, see 5.1.2.2) firstly occurs in the Q corpus. It is highly likely that all the following occurrences of *timetable* are intertextually linked to the journalist's question. Therefore, although in the second instance the journalist does not use the word *timetable*, it is possible that the government spokesperson intertextually 'borrows' the word from the journalist in his response as a result of being intertextually influenced by journalists. We now turn to the extract in detail, examining whether or not it shows the intertextual influence from journalists.

The extract below is the second instance of *timetable* used by spokespersons. The preposition phrase after *timetable –of commitments to draw our combat forces down from Iraq –* suggests that *timetable* used here refers to the time frame for U.S. troops leaving Iraq (see referents of *timetable* in 5.1.2.2).

> (2) Q To what extent has this review taken time away from focusing at all on Iraq?
> MR. GIBBS:  Well, look, obviously -- I'd say two things, most importantly.  One,
> I think the President would be the first to laud the work of the Vice President in
> ensuring that an elections law was passed by the Iraqis, because what that is

> ultimately going to allow us to do is keep the **timetable** of commitments to draw
> our combat forces down from Iraq.                    (WH, Web, 12th, Nov, 2009)

In the question, a journalist attempts to ask whether the review on the war in Afghanistan has taken time that should have been spent on issues related to Iraq. Time spent on Iraq is a very broad notion, including the time schedule to withdraw American troops from Iraq. In other words, what has been explained by the spokesperson (*timetable of commitments to draw our combat forces down from Iraq*) belongs to one of the many issues related to time focusing on Iraq. In this sense, it maintains an intertextual relationship of hyponymy, partly emphasizing what is actually referred to by the journalist.

Both instances of *timetable* in the GS corpus show an intertextual relationship with what has been said by journalists. In other words, as a result of being intertextually influenced by journalists, spokespersons start to use the word *timetable*. Yet, the intertextual influence from journalists does not only manifest itself in the way that spokespersons borrow words directly from the Q corpus, but also in the way that they bring other lexical items into the  GS corpus which indicate the same conceptual area as the word *timetable* (see the analysis of shared semantic fields in 5.1.2.2).

The following sub-section therefore focuses on how spokespersons replace *timetable* with a text segment which maintains an intertextual relationship with the shared lexical item.

### 5.2.2.2 *Timetable* in journalists questions

As we have demonstrated in 5.2.1, there are altogether 13 instances of *timetable* occurring in the Q corpus, including the one which we have examined in 5.2.1.2. This sub-section therefore analyses how *timetable* is used in the Q corpus, aiming to explore how spokespersons respond to timetable-related questions without using the actual word.

Appendix 5.2 lists all the instances in which *timetable* can be found only in journalists' questions (and which cannot be found in subsequent spokespersons' responses). According to the corpus, the top two commonest types of intertextual relationship we can observe are intertextual ellipsis and hyponymy (only two instances of other types of intertextual relationship are found in spokespersons' response to previous journalists' questions).

We turn to intertextual ellipsis first (Simply speaking, intertextual ellipsis refers to the incident that an omitted text segment establishes connectivity between a text segment A and its subsequent texts, in which a part of the omitted text maintains an intertextual relationship with A, see 2.1.2.2). This sub-section gives a different example from that which we have demonstrated in chapter 2 (see 2.1.2.2). In the extract below, a journalist asks why the President does not give a time line for American troops leaving Afghanistan. In the reply, there are two sentences which are assumed as maintaining an intertextual relationship with the journalist's question in which *timetable* is found, more specifically, the sentence *we're evaluating where we are right now…* and *the president is going to take the time....* These two sentences, as we indicate in the extract below (bold and underlined in bracket), can be understood as an explanation of why no timetable has been given yet. The omitted part (there is no timetable yet because) contains the shared lexical item *timetable* which can be found in the journalist's question. In this sense, it is a manifestation of intertextual ellipsis.

> Q Why not a **timetable**?
> MR. GIBBS: Again, Ed, I know everybody wants to fast-forward to weeks and months from now and evaluate where we are. **(There is no timetable because)** We're evaluating where we are right now in order to make decisions for several months from now. The President is not going to -- as he was very clear today -- the President is not going to <u>make resource decisions</u> and then have a strategy meeting. Okay? That's where we get into never-ending open-ended conflicts without clear and definable goals about what our country is trying to accomplish and how we want to engage the rest of the world. **(There is no timetable because)** The President is going to take the time to get the strategy right in order to meet our national security concerns.                                           (WH Web 16th, Sep, 2009)

A possible reason for applying intertextual ellipsis is to minimize the potential damage to the government. As we can observe from the extract above, instead of directly pointing out the negative result (there is no timetable yet), the spokesperson intends to emphasize the reason (*we're evaluating where we are* and *to get the strategy right*) in order to show how carefully the President is considering this strategy. In this way, the spokesperson portrays a positive image of the government.

Another important intertextual relationship is what we can also observe from the extract above, namely, hyponymy (a relationship of 'hierarchy' (Jefferies 2006: 168), where the examined word or phrase is a more general (hypernym) or more specific (hyponym) description of shared lexical item(s), see 2.2.2.2). In the extract above, the phrase *resource decisions* (underlined) maintains an intertextual relationship of hyponymy with the word *timetable* used in the journalist's question. To analyse this

relationship, we have to go back to previous interactions between the spokesperson and the journalist to examine what *timetable* refers to in the question.

The following extract shows us a part of the journalist's previous questions. In his questions, the journalist uses *timetable* twice. The first *timetable*, as indicated by the preposition *for*, refers to the time schedule for withdrawing *U.S. troops from Iraq*; the second *timetable*, as indicated by the sentence *why is he not using the same strategy for Afghanistan,* refers to the time schedule for troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. Both instances of *timetable* are a more specific description of the shared lexical item (*timetable*). In a word, the journalist uses *two co-hyponyms* of *timetable* in his questions. This is thus a manifestation of hyponymy.

> Q But when you say U.S. troops won't be there forever, the President also talked in the campaign about having a clear (1) **timetable** for <u>withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq. Why is he not using the same strategy for Afghanistan</u>?
> MR. GIBBS: Well, again, I'm not saying we're not following <u>*that strategy*</u> because, again, Ed, there's a –
> …
> Q Why not a (2) **timetable**?                                   (WH Web 16<sup>th</sup>, Sep, 2009)

We now go back to the first extract in this sub-section, analysing the intertextual relationship between *timetable* and *resource decision*. Based on the analysis above, we can conclude that the *timetable* in the first extract refers to the date for troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. *Resource decisions* is a broad notion, including all the decisions related to resources. Troop decisions (including the number of troops sent to Afghanistan, or the time frame for withdrawing the troops) are just one type of resource decisions. In this sense, the phrase *timetable* is a more specific account of *resource decisions*; *timetable* maintains a relationship of hyponymy with *resource decisions*.

Intertextual interpretation/description (a relationship of hierarchy between two text segments, at least one of which is more than three words) can also be observed in the corpus. Take the extract above as an example again. In his response, the spokesperson uses the phrase *that strategy* (italic and underlined) to indicate what has been said by the journalist—*giving a clear timetable for withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq*. In other words, what is said by the journalist is a more detailed description of *that strategy*; these two text segments thus maintain a relationship of intertextual interpretation/description.

The corpus shows an interesting phenomenon — participants tend to use text segments which maintain an intertextual relationship of synonymy in their later self-reformulation (see 3.2.4.3); meanwhile, they use text segments which maintain other

types of intertextual relationship (hyponymy, intertextual interpretation/description and intertextual ellipsis) to refer to what has been said by their interlocutor (other-reformulation, see 3.2.4.3). In order to exemplify this observation, we turn to an extended context of the extract given above (see the transcript below on the left). The three text boxes on the right summarize what has been said by the journalist during the interaction.

Q But when you say U.S. troops won't be there forever, the President also talked in the campaign about having **a clear** (1) **timetable for withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq**. Why is he not using the same strategy for Afghanistan?

MR. GIBBS: Well, again, I'm not saying we're not following *that strategy* because, again, Ed, there's a --

…..

Q But isn't that what the Bush administration was saying in 2007, 2008? We can't **have a** (2) **timetable for Iraq** because it's going to let the enemy know when --

MR. GIBBS: *That's* not what I just said.

Q No, but they were saying basically that there cannot be **a** (3) **timetable** because it's an evolving situation on the ground and you can't just have this arbitrary **date to pull out troops**. And the President, then senator, kept saying there needs to be --

MR. GIBBS: I don't *think that's an accurate rendition of what they were saying in 2007*.

Q They said it was an evolving situation, it was changing, you had to constantly reassess --

MR. GIBBS: I think what's evolving was the -- the answer you just gave me on the Bush administration.

Q They were constantly reassessing the situation. The President -- then-President had the surge, et cetera --

MR. GIBBS: I appreciate *the analogy*. I don't think it holds in any way, shape, or form.

Q Why not a (4) **timetable**?

MR. GIBBS: Again, Ed, I know everybody wants to fast-forward to weeks and months from now and evaluate where we are. **(There is no timetable because)** We're evaluating where we are right now in order to make decisions for several

(a) Why not using the same strategy? Why not giving an exact date?

(b) According to Bush administration, we cannot give an exact timetable because (1) it is an evolving situation on the ground; and (2) it will let the enemy know when we are leaving.

(c) Why not a timetable yet?

months from now. The President is not going to -- as he was

very clear today -- the President is not going to <u>make resource</u>

<u>decisions</u> and then have a strategy meeting. Okay? That's

where we get into never-ending open-ended conflicts without

clear and definable goals about what our country is trying to

accomplish and how we want to engage the rest of the world.

**(There is no timetable because)** The President is going to

take the time to get the strategy right in order to meet our

national security concerns.                        (WH Web 16th, Sep,

2009)

There are two facts that need to be explained for a better understanding of this interaction. Firstly, President Barack Obama gave a speech on 17 August 2009 in which he stated that American troops would start to leave Iraq later in 2009 and that this redeployment of troops would be finished by the end of 2011. Secondly, the President, after he took office, commenced an evaluation focusing on the policy applied in Afghanistan; this evaluation took more than eight months until he announced his new strategy in December, 2009. Thus, we can understand that, as at September 2009, there are two issues which the spokesperson does not want to discuss. Firstly, he is not able to provide an exact date for withdrawing troops from Afghanistan because the President has not made a decision yet. Secondly, he cannot deny the fact that the government is carrying out an evaluation during that time.

In the extract above, there are four instances of *timetable* (the first three refer to the time schedule for withdrawing troops from Iraq while the last one refers to the time schedule for troop withdrawal from Afghanistan). We can see that the journalist uses text segments which maintain a relationship of synonymy (with what he said before) throughout his questions. For example, the journalist uses the phrases (1) *a clear timetable for withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq*, (2) *date to pull out troops,* and (3) the word *timetable* to refer to the time schedule to withdraw American troops from Iraq (highlighted in bold). These three phrases, although in a different format, show a "symmetrical relation" (see 2.1.2.2), in other words, an intertextual relationship of synonymy. Similarly, the spokesperson uses text segments which maintain a relationship of synonymy with what he said before (e.g.: *additional troops, additional forces,* see 2.1.2.2). However, there is no instance of synonymy having occurred between a journalist's question and a following spokesperson's answer.

Taking the intertextual relationship into account between text segments used in the corpus and the shared lexical item (*timetable*), it is worth noting that different participants tend to apply different intertextual relationships to structure what they say. In particular, under the impact of both institutional constraints and intertextual influence, spokespersons tend to use text segments which maintain an intertextual relationship of hyponymy with the shared lexical item. Table 5.3 below lists the text segments used by both the journalist and the spokesperson (shadowed) respectively as well as how these text segments intertextually related to the shared lexical item *timetable*. As we hypothesized in chapter 2, journalists tend to specify *timetable* using text segments which maintain a relationship of intertextual interpretation/description with *timetable*; meanwhile, spokespersons tend to be evasive, employing text segments which maintain a relationship of either hyponymy or intertextual ellipsis.

| | Text segments | Intertextual relationships |
|---|---|---|
| Q | a clear timetable for withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq | Intertextual interpretation/description |
| | the same strategy for Afghanistan | hyponymy |
| R | that strategy | hyponymy |
| Q | a timetable for Iraq | Intertextual interpretation/description |
| R | that | Intertextual ellipsis |
| Q | a timetable | Intertextual interpretation/description |
| | date to pull out troops | Intertextual interpretation/description |
| R | a rendition of what they were saying in 2007 | hyponymy |
| Q | an evolving situation | Intertextual interpretation/description |
| R | Nil | Intertextual ellipsis |
| Q | They were constantly reassessing the situation | Intertextual interpretation |
| R | the analogy | hyponymy/intertextual ellipsis |
| Q | timetable | hyponymy |
| R | Nil | Intertextual ellipsis |
| | resource decisions | hyponymy |

*Table 5.3 Text segments used in the corpus and how they are intertextually related to the shared lexical item (**timetable**)*

The table above, therefore, explains how it is possible for spokespersons to respond to issues related to the time schedule without using the actual word. As the

corpus shows, spokespersons replace *timetable* with text segments which maintain an intertextual relationship (either hyponymy or intertextual ellipsis) with the shared lexical item. In this way, they are able to respond to what has been said by their interlocutors without using the exact text segments used by journalists.

This sub-section has examined transcripts of press briefings, analysing how it is possible for spokespersons to respond to issues related to *timetable* without using this word. It shows that, as emphasized by Drew and Heritage (1992), under institutional constraints, spokespersons tend to use different text segments from those used by journalists; meanwhile, intertextually influenced by journalists, spokespersons have to respond to what has been said in journalists' questions. As a result, they tend to use text segments which maintain an intertextual relationship with the shared lexical item (either hyponymy or intertextual ellipsis).

## 5.3 An exploration of how timetable is used in the corpus over time

The previous section explores the direct interaction between spokespersons and journalists during press briefings. This section examines the whole corpus as well as different sub-corpora, attempting to explore whether the use of *timetable* changes over time

Two parameters are taken into consideration to examine the distribution of the three referents -- (1) raw frequency in each month and (2) raw frequency in terms of different discourse participants. The former shows us the monthly raw frequency of each referent as well as the total monthly raw frequency of *timetable* used in the whole corpus; the latter parameter demonstrates the monthly raw frequency of each referent used in each sub-corpus. This section therefore comprises two parts, dealing with each parameter in detail.

### 5.3.1 A transformation of the referent in terms of time span

The corpus shows that different referents of *timetable* are associated with different time periods within which the word *timetable* occurs. In other words, how the word *timetable*

is used varies in terms of when it is used. This sub-section will analyse in detail the distribution of each referent in different time spans.

Except for three instances of generalization, there are 49 occurrences of *timetable* in the corpus, covering three referents (timeline to announce his decisions on Afghanistan (TFDA), time schedule for troop withdrawal from Iraq (TLI), and time schedule for troop withdrawal from Afghanistan (TLA)). Among them, there are 12 *timetable*s in the Q corpus, 35 in the MC corpus with only two of them being used by government spokespersons. Figure 5.1 below shows the raw frequency of *timetable* used in each of the 6 months (from August, 2009 to January, 2010), demonstrated by six columns respectively. Each column consists of different coloured parts which stand for the raw frequency of different referents of *timetable* -- TFDA in grey, TLI in blue and TLA in orange. The horizontal scale is labelled with different months, followed by the total raw frequency of *timetable* in that month (in the brackets). The raw frequency of each referent is listed in the following table.

| | AUG | SEP | OCT | NOV | DEC | JAN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TFDA | 0 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| TLA | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 25 | 2 |
| TLI | 0 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
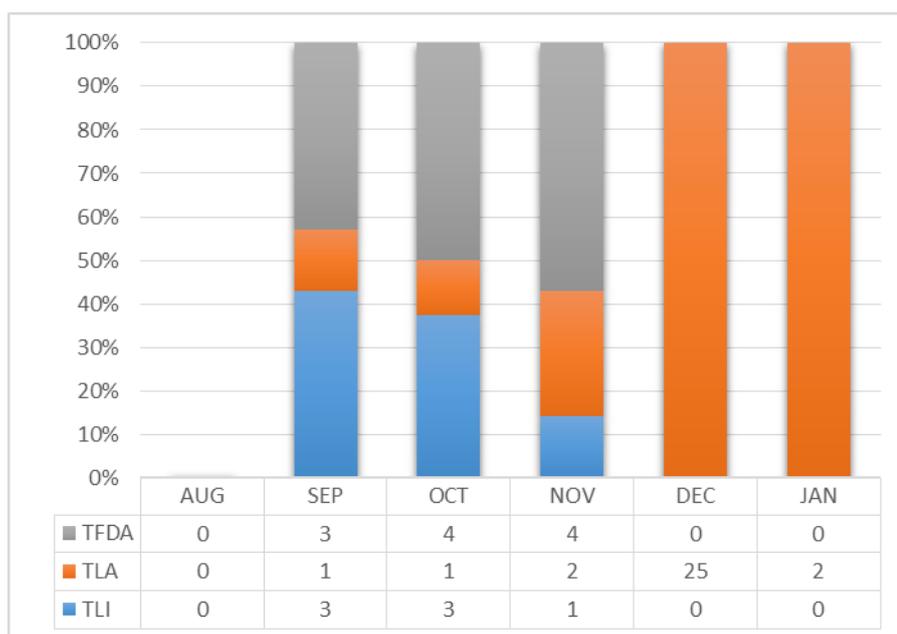
*Figure 5.1 Raw Frequency of timetable in each month*

This table shows that:

(1) After *timetable* was firstly introduced into the corpus in September, 2009, it occurs most frequently in December, 2009 (25 times) and most rarely in January, 2010 (twice).

(2) Among the three referents, TLA (31 times) accounts for almost two thirds of all the occurrences. Furthermore, it is noticeable that 25 out of 31 TLA occur in December; also, it is the only referent that is used in December and January.

(3) TFDA and TLI only occur in September, October and November while after November only TLA occurs. This shows a gradual change of what *timetable* refers to over time, more specifically, from TLI and TFDA to TLA.

## 5.3.2 An analysis of the referent in terms of different participants over time

In addition to the time span, there is another element which has an impact on what the referent (of *timetable*) is; more specifically, different participants in the corpus have different preferences for using different referents of *timetable*. This sub-section therefore examines the relationship between the referent of *timetable* and the participants who use the word.

Figures 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 below and the table after each figure give us the raw frequency of TFDA, TLI and TLA respectively in each month. Each column in the figures consists of different coloured parts which stand for the number of times *timetable* is used by the White House spokesperson (in the GS corpus, highlighted in green), newspaper (in the MC corpus, highlighted in red) and journalists (in the Q corpus, highlighted in blue). We now turn to each figure in detail.

Figure 5.2 below and the table on the right of it show that all the 11 occurrences of TFDA are used by journalists; 6 of them occur in the Q corpus (highlighted in blue), while 5 of them are found in the MC corpus (highlighted in green). It seems that journalists have a special interest in exploring TFDA (also see 5.5.1). In contrast, as we have discussed in 5.2.2, spokespersons tend to use text segments which maintain an intertextual relationship with *timetable*, instead of using the actual word. It is therefore not surprising that, during that period of time, government spokespersons do not use TFDA at all.

| | Q | MC | GS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sep | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Oct | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Nov | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Dec | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Jan | 0 | 0 | 0 |
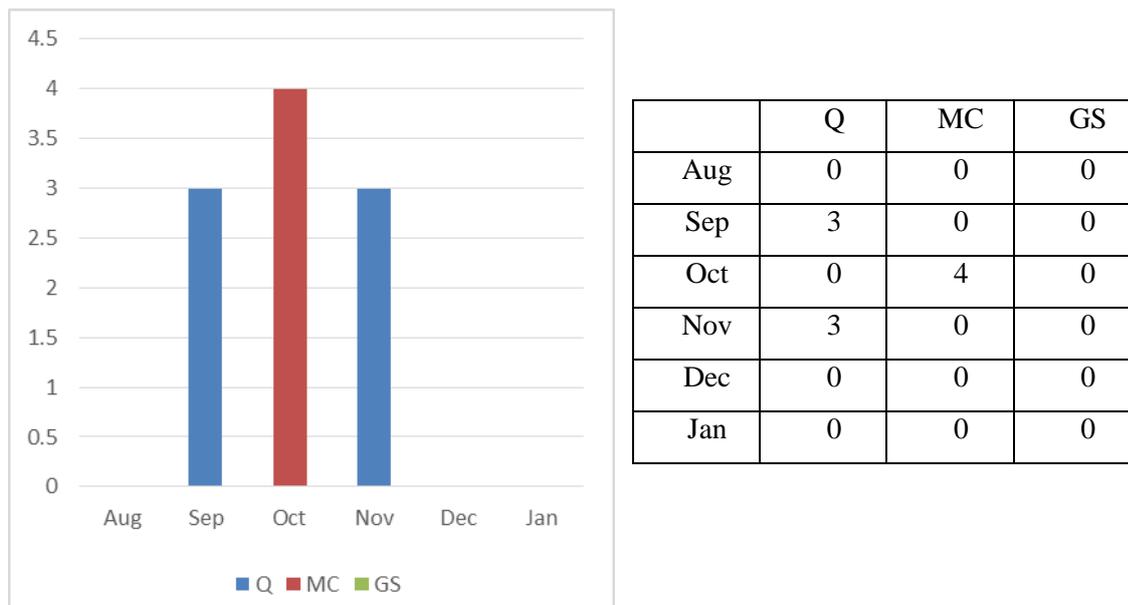
*Figure 5.2 Raw frequency of TFDA used by different participants in each month*

It is assumed that the absence of *timetable* in the GS corpus of TFDA is a direct manifestation of institutional constraints (see 5.4). Limited by demands of what cannot be discussed, spokespersons tend to avoid using *timetable* as TFDA. This therefore contributes to explaining the contrast we have observed in 5.1.1.. Meanwhile, being intertextually influenced by journalists, they have to respond to questions related to TFDA, using text segments which are intertextually related to TFDA (e.g. *that strategy*, *resource decisions*, see 5.3) or simply explain why there is no TFDA given, yet without using timetable as TFDA (intertextual ellipsis).

It is also worth noting that figure 5.2 shows that TFDA does not occur any more after November in either the Q corpus or the MC corpus. We assume that the absence of TFDA occurrences after November 2009 is due to the lack of journalists' interest after 1 December 2009, because this is when the President released his new strategy on Afghanistan to the public.

Figure 5.3 below and the table on the right of it show us how TLI is used in the corpus. It can be observed that there are seven instances of TLI in the whole corpus, including four in the Q corpus, one in the MC corpus and two in the GS corpus. It is not surprising that TLI accounts for the lowest occurrence of *timetable* since all the texts collected focus on Afghanistan rather than Iraq. It should be highlighted here that the majority of TLI are not used for discussing the timeline for American troops leaving Iraq; instead, they are used to compare the policy concerning Iraq to that concerning Afghanistan (see 5.5.2).

| | Q | MC | GS |
|------|---|----|----|
| Aug | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sep | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Oct | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Nov | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Dec | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Jan | 0 | 0 | 0 |
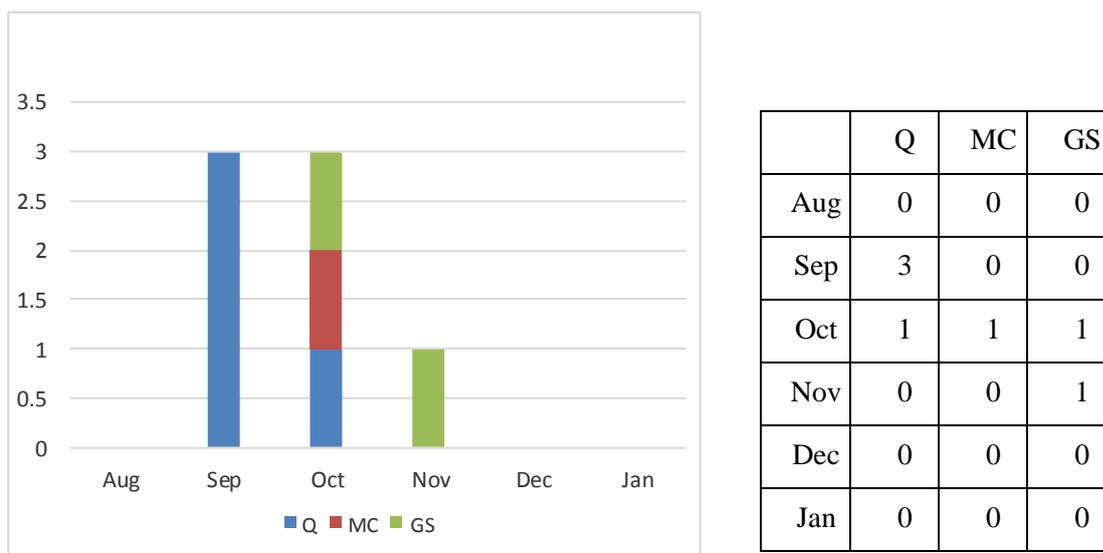
*Figure 5.3 Raw frequency of TLI used by different participants in each month*

There are, as said above, only two occurrences of *timetable* in GS. It is noticeable that both of them are TLI. In other words, government spokespersons only use *timetable* when they respond to issues related to TLI (see 5.2.2). This finding is not surprising considering the claim made by Heritage (1997: 173) that "a clear way in which speakers orient to institutional tasks and contexts is through their selection of descriptive terms". We will explore this point in detail in 5.4. Finally, similar to TFDA, TLI only occurs before December.

Figure 5.4 below as well as the table next to it show us how TLA is used in the corpus. It can be observed that 29 out of 31 instances of TLA can be found in the MC corpus; and only two occurrences are used in the Q corpus. Also, the majority of TLA (25 out of 31) are found in December. There is no TLA in the GS corpus at all, which probably indicates the lack of response to journalists' questions from the government concerning TLA. It should also be pointed out that after November, TLA is only used in MC and all the occurrences of *timetable* refer to TLA.

| | Q | MC | GS |
|------|------|------|------|
| Aug | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sep | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Oct | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Nov | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dec | 0 | 25 | 0 |
| Jan | 0 | 2 | 0 |
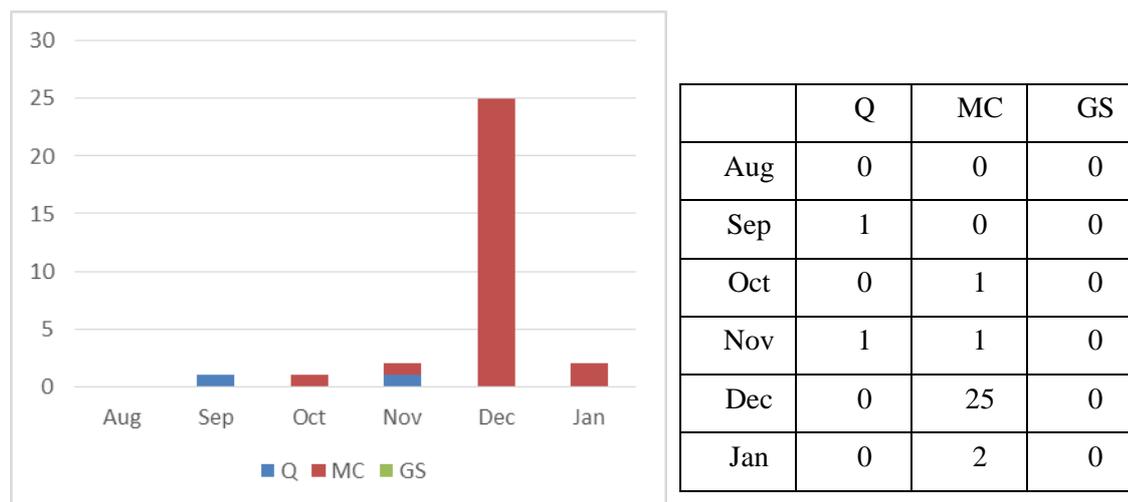
*Figure 5.4 Raw frequency of TLA used by different participants in each month*

From our data analysis in this section, we can observe that a transition from TFDA /TLI to TLA seems to have occurred over time. More specifically, TFDA and TLI only occur before December, 2009 while after November, 2009, only TLA occurs in the corpus. Also, apart from two instances, government spokespersons do not use *timetable* to reply to journalists' questions related TFDA or TLA. Finally, nearly two thirds of *timetable* occurrences are used to refer to TLA (31 out of 46); furthermore, 25 of 31 *timetable* occurrences take place in December, 2009.

Based on these observations, it can be concluded that the referents of *timetable* mainly depend on how journalists use the word. The transition we observed (from TFDA and TLA to TLI we find in journalists' questions) is the main cause of the distribution of different referents in each month. More specifically, before December, 2009, journalists focus on TFDA/TLI while afterwards they tend to be more interested in TLA. However, neither TFDA or TLA has ever been directly addressed by government spokesmen; only TLI has been mentioned twice. This raises two questions. Firstly, why does the government spokesperson address TLI but not TFDA or TLA? Secondly, how it is possible for a government spokesperson to respond to TFDA/TLA without using the word *timetable*? These two questions will be explored in the following sub-sections, starting with an exploration of why government spokespersons do not respond to TFDA or TLA, but only to TLI.

# 5.4 An exploration of intertextual influence in terms of spokespersons' "security policy"

This step explores how and to what extent spokespersons follow or breach their "security policy" in the corpus, our aim being to explain how *timetable* is used in the corpus in terms of institutional constraints. As observed in 5.3, there is the outstanding feature of how *timetable* is/is not referred to by spokespersons; more specifically, spokespersons only use *timetable* for TLI rather than for TFDA and TLA.

This section therefore consists of two parts, explaining why spokespersons avoid using *timetable* for TFDA/TLA and why they only use it for TLI.

## 5.4.1 Why TLI but not TFDA/TLA before 1 December, 2009?

This section attempts to examine why there is no instance of TFDA or TLA before 1 December, 2009 from the perspective of spokespersons' "job security policy".

### 5.4.1.1 "Job security policy"—why neither TFDA nor TLA?

The spokespersons' "security policy" characterizes their evasive manoeuvers or strategies in responding to journalists' questions (see 3.3.4). As explained in 3.3, we can quote a former press secretary's words to explain what this "*security policy*" means:

> MR. GIBBS:  Again, I found a good job **security policy is not to get too far ahead of where the President is.**  I think you can be assured that the President will talk about the fact that this is not an open-ended commitment.
>
> <div align="right">(WH Web, 30th, Nov, 2009)</div>

In other words, the spokesperson was not going to give away any information before he had been authorized to do so. It is therefore not surprising that spokespersons tend to avoid using TFDA/TLA before the 1st of December, 2009 because the President had not yet announced his new strategy (TFDA) on Afghanistan which includes a troop withdrawal plan. The expectation has been raised that Barack Obama will publicly request more troops between August, 2009 and January 2010 and give an explicit timeline for troops leaving Afghanistan (TLA). But before 1 December 2009, neither TFDA nor TLA had been announced by the President, and thus it was better not to *get too far ahead of where the President is* and so not talk about TFDA/ TLA.

It should be pointed out that we need to take the time limit into account when considering the absence of TFDA and TLA in the GS corpus. The whole corpus consists of texts collected within six months (from 1 August, 2009 to 31 January, 2010). There is a possibility that after these six months, TFDA and TLA would come up in an extended the GS corpus. However, this is outside the remit of this study.

### 5.4.1.2 "Security policy"— Why TLI?

Similarly, according to the "*Security policy*" theory, TLI does not belong to the type of information which may not be discussed during that time. The corpus shows that on 17 August, 2009, in his speech at the veterans of foreign wars convention, the President says:

> We will begin removing our combat brigades from Iraq later this year. We will remove all our combat brigades by the end of next August. And we will remove all our troops from Iraq by the end of 2011. And for America, the Iraq war will end.                                          (WH Web, 17th, Aug, 2009)

In other words, TLI has been announced by the President already. Thus it is not inappropriate to release information related to TLI. Also, although this is the first time that the President gives an explicit time in the corpus, this is not the first time that he proposes the timeline for troops leaving Iraq. Already on 27 of February, 2009, Barack Obama had said in a speech that:

> And under the Status of Forces Agreement with the Iraqi government, I intend to remove all U.S. troops from Iraq by the end of 2011.    (27th, Feb, 2009, WH Web)

In other words, TLI does not belong to the type of information which cannot be discussed. Thus, government spokespersons are able to reply to the questions related to TLI.

### 5.4.2 Why not TFDA after 1, December, 2009?

We have explained in 5.4.1 why spokespersons avoid using *timetable* as TFDA/TLA before the President actually states his new strategy on Afghanistan. This sub-section aims to explore an interesting phenomenon. More specifically, after both TLA and TFDA were given, what does the corpus show about how spokespersons deal with TFDA and TLA?

Table 5.4 below shows the raw frequency of TLA and TFDA in the corpus over time, exploring the Q corpus and the MC corpus and the whole corpus – the MCQ corpus. It shows that after the President has announced his new strategy on Afghanistan, no TFDA reference is made in the corpus, either by journalists or by spokespersons. It is therefore assumed in this study that the absence of TFDA is due to the fact that journalists are not interested in TFDA any more after the President has presented his new strategy, and that they therefore stop discussing TFDA. In other words, the referent TFDA has no intertextual influence on later texts in the GS corpus.

| | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec | Jan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TFDA (MCQ) | 0 | 3 | 4 | 3 | **0** | **0** |
| TFDA (GS) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **0** | **0** |
| | | | | | | |
| TLA (MCQ) | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | **25** | **2** |
| TLA (GS) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **0** | **0** |

*Table 5.4 Raw frequency of TFDA and TLA used over time*

Yet, the assumption that the absence of TFDA in the GS corpus is the result of intertextual influence from journalists raises another question – why is there no instance of *timetable* used as TLA in the GS corpus, even though 27 out of 30 uses of TLA by journalists occur in December and January? It looks almost as if the use of TLA by journalists does not have any intertextual influence on how spokespersons deal with TLA.

In order to investigate this phenomenon, we have to examine synonyms of *timetable* which we have outlined in the very beginning of this chapter, namely, *timeline*, *timelines*, *timeframe*, *time frame* (with a space in the middle). Table 5.5 below lists the raw frequency of these words or phrases in the GS corpus (in different months), MCQ corpus and the whole corpus.

| | GS corpus | | | | | | | MCQ corpus | Whole corpus |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec | Jan | Total | | |
| timeline | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 33 | 38 |
| timelines | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 10 | 12 |
| timeframe | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| time frame | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 30 | 36 |
| total | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | **12** | 0 | 13 | 77 | 90 |

*Table 5.5 Raw frequency of synonyms of timetable in the corpus*

It can be observed from table 5.5 above that the majority of these words and phrases are used in the MCQ corpus (77 out of 90). This is similar to what we have observed for *timetable*; also, it applies to each of these words or phrase (*timeline* (33 out of 38), *timelines* (10 out of 12), *timeframe* (4 out of 4), *time frame* (with a space in the middle, 30 out of 36)).

Meanwhile, it is worth noting that the raw frequency of these lexical items suddenly increases in December, 2009 (from only once to twelve times).

Having analysed how these lexical items are used by spokespersons, we can conclude that the sudden increase of these lexical items is a result of being intertextually influenced by journalists. On the one hand, most of these synonyms of *timetable* which are used in December (10 out of 12), as shown in the corpus, are used by spokespersons as TLA. On the other hand, in most cases, spokespersons use these lexical items in responding to what has been said by journalists. Take the following extract as an example. A journalist questions whether or not the timeline given by the President is achievable, pointing out that *it's up to the Afghans to run* it. In his response, the spokesperson uses a *that-clause* to specify the *time frame* he suggests – *the president enunciated last night*. The word *timeline* is therefore used as TLA here. We can therefore conclude that the increasing use of these lexical items by spokespersons is the result of being intertextually influenced by journalists.

> Q But ultimately then it's up to the Afghans to really run that **timeline**, right, because if they don't come up to speed then do you leave at that point?  Do you still draw down at that point?
> MR. GIBBS:  Well, no, no -- but, again -- well, …Again, the Secretary of Defense and those that testified today, as well as those that helped develop that policy going forward, believe that it's achievable in the **time frame** that the President enunciated last night.                                        (WH Web, 2nd, Dec, 2009)

### 5.4.3 Summary

This section mainly examines journalists' intertextual influence on spokespersons, taking into account the impact of institutional constraints—the spokespersons' "security policy". It clearly shows that, being limited by this "security policy", spokespersons avoid using *timetable* as TFDA/TLA before the President announces his new strategy on Afghanistan on 1 December 2009. After the new strategy is released, spokespersons start to use synonyms of *timetable*. However, being intertextually influenced by journalists, spokespersons tend to use these synonyms for TLA rather than for TFDA because the journalists are now only interested in TLA and no longer in TFDA.

## 5.5 An exploration of intertextual influence based on journalists' requirements

This section analyses journalists' requirements as indicated by concordance lines of *timetable* in the whole corpus, showing how what has been said by journalists intertextually influences spokespersons' subsequent responses. It comprises three sub-sections, shedding light on TFDA, TLI and TLA respectively.

### 5.5.1 TFDA

TFDA (the President's timeline to announce his new strategy in Afghanistan) altogether occurs 11 times in the corpus, accounting for nearly a quarter of all occurrences. As mentioned 5.1.1, the concept of a time schedule is usually employed by journalists as a device to examine a government's work. In other words, journalists want to know when the President is going to deliver his new strategy because the absence of a clear answer will reveal the weaknesses of the government. The longer a government takes to make a decision, the weaker it appears; thus the time a government takes for making any strategic decision shows its capability to govern; simply speaking, the quicker, the better. A delay in announcing a new strategy shows that the President is hesitating and thus showing that he is not fully in control.

This study sorts the 11 TFDA instances into three categories in terms of the length government takes to issue the new strategy.

## Stage 1 Direct questions concerning a time frame

In the early period of the Q corpus, it seems that the journalists simply focus on the question of when the President is going to announce his new strategy on Afghanistan.

> Q Is that **when** he's going to at least lay out a **timetable** for making his strategy
> review decision, sort of                     (WH, Web, 28th, Sep, 2009)
> Q So has he had a chance to read it? Is he now talking to staff about it? **What's
> sort of his timetable** for making some important decisions about the way forward?
>                                    (WH, Web, 28th, Sep, 2009)

Similarly, in the very beginning of the MC corpus, most journalists simply describe the fact that the President *offered no timetable for a troop decision* (NYT, Baker & Tavernise, 18th, Oct, 2009).

In their responses to this type of question or comment, government spokespersons tend to emphasize that an assessment is taking place and therefore more time is needed, instead of giving an explicit timeline. Most cases can be understood as a sentence starting with "the President has not made a decision yet because …". Take the following extract as an example. A journalist asks the spokesperson when the President is going to make a further decision concerning General McChrystal's report (TFDA). Based on the discussion in 5.4 about that spokesperson's attempt not to use TFDA before 1 December, 2009, it is not surprising that the spokesperson does not directly respond to the question related to *timetable*. Instead, he explains that making a decision takes time because (1) the General's report is only part of the reassessment of the strategy, and (2) the request for additional troops has not been submitted yet. Mr. Gibbs' reply can, to some extent, be understood as "the President has not made a decision yet because we are still carrying out an assessment and waiting for the request" or "we have to wait for the result of the assessment and to see if additional troops will be requested". From this perspective, what has not been said by the spokesperson maintains a relationship of intertextual ellipsis with *timetable*. The spokesperson's response is therefore the result of being intertextually influenced by journalists.

> Q So has he had a chance to read it? Is he now talking to staff about it? What's
> sort of his **timetable** for making some important decisions about the way forward?
> MR. GIBBS: Well, <u>understand that this was part of a rigorous re*assessment* of our</u>
> <u>strategy in Afghanistan that the President demanded when he came into office.</u>
> Obviously he made some initial decisions to ensure a security environment for
> recent elections which I think most people will tell you were important for those
> to happen. He will continue to talk with staff here, and as I think Secretary Gates
> said last week, he will be getting from Secretary Gates and Admiral Mullen, as
> well as General Petraeus, their thoughts on the McChrystal assessment. I think
> those meetings will be ongoing.

> In terms of <u>additional resource requests,</u> I think General McChrystal and Secretary Gates have said that <u>would be forthcoming in a separate document over the next few coming weeks</u>.                    (WH Web, 8th, Sep, 2009)

There is an indication in Mr. Gibb's answer that the time frame for making a decision is (1) after the *assessment* is done and (2) after the request for additional troops has been submitted. His subsequent explanation (from *he will continue to talk* to *those meetings will be ongoing*) is a more specific description of the process of the *assessment*. In other words, the President has to finish all the things listed before he is able to make his final decision. As for the resource request, as explained by the spokesperson, it will *be forthcoming over the next few coming weeks*. Based on what has been said by the spokesperson, *over the next few coming weeks* can be understood as a co-hyponym of *timetable* as it is a more specific description of the time line in which the President will make his decision. It can therefore be concluded that the spokesperson's answer is an intertextual response to what has been asked by the journalist—*timetable*; in other words, it is the result of intertextual influences from the journalists.

### Stage 2. An exploration of the time frame

Having noticed that government spokespersons have been evasive when giving a direct answer on TFDA, the journalists begin to use other strategies to find out whether they are not being told the outcome of a decision, or whether no decision has been taken. Either case would provide material which would give a negative impression of the White House.

One of their approaches is to explore whether and how the President's timeline to make decisions on Afghanistan will be influenced by certain things (see extracts below). The aim of questioning whether TFDA will be influenced by other events is actually to examine whether there is a (preferred) decision yet; the aim of asking by what other issues TFDA will be influenced is to explore the content of the decision once it has been made. From this perspective, spokespersons cannot simply give a YES answer because the President has not yet released his new strategy; they cannot give a simple NO answer either because it suggests that the President does not take the issue seriously (whatever event has been mentioned by the journalist). Take the following extract as an example. The journalist uses a polar question which requires a YES or NO answer. However, as we have explained, the spokesperson is not able to give a simple YES or NO answer.

(1) Q: Robert, the Pentagon is obviously focused on the Texas shooting and the aftermath of that. Does this im**pact the timetable** on the Afghanistan decision?

(WH Web, 6th, Nov, 2009)

(2) Q: How does this resolution, if at all, **affect the President's timetable** on war strategy?

(WH Web, 2nd, Nov, 2009)

An important strategy that spokespersons use to respond to questions like this is to claim they do not know the answer. Take extract (a) below, which is the response to question (1) above, as an example. In his response, the spokesperson explains that he has not *got that indication*. The pronoun *that* suggests that the indication he mentions refers to what the journalist has brought up in his question -- *impacts on the timetable on the Afghanistan decision*. In other words, the spokesperson's response can be understood as *I have not got an indication that this issue has impacted on the timetable to make a further Afghanistan decision*. In terms of what we have explained in 5.2, what the spokesperson has not said maintains a relationship of intertextual ellipsis with what has been asked by the journalist. From this perspective, the spokesperson's response can be understood as the result of being intertextually influenced by what has been said by the journalist.

(a) MR. GIBBS: I don't -- I've not gotten that indication from any of the participants that have been here for those meetings.　　　　(WH Web, 6th, Nov, 2009)

Although rarely, spokespersons sometimes give a more or less concrete date, such as *in a few weeks*. Take for instance extract (b) below as an example (question (2) above). In the press briefing, a journalist asks the spokesperson how ensuring there is a credible partner will affect the President's timetable to announce his new strategy on Afghanistan.

(b) Q Speaking of that, you've talked a lot about the need for a credible, legitimate partner.  Does the President consider President Karzai to be a legitimate, credible partner?
MR. GIBBS:  President Karzai has been declared the winner of the Afghan election and will head the next government of Afghanistan.  So obviously he's the legitimate leader of the country.  Obviously what we'll begin -- now that we know the government that will lead Afghanistan for the next five years, continue conversations about governance, civil society, and corruption, going forward to ensure that we have a credible partner in our efforts to help secure the country.
Q How does this resolution, if at all, affect the President's **timetable** on war strategy?
MR. GIBBS:  Look, again, I think there's -- we obviously now know who the government is going to be, so I think some of the conversations that I just alluded to can take place with who we know is going to lead the country.  I think the decision is still -- **will be made in the coming weeks.**　　　　(WH Web, 2nd, Nov, 2009)

It should be pointed out that the journalist does not aim to explore how a credible partner in Afghanistan can improve the current situation. By asking whether or not the President regards President Karzai as a legitimate and credible partner, the journalist

actually sets a trap for the spokesperson. The journalist probably knows that the spokesperson would not make any negative comment on President Karzai (regardless of whether he is a credible partner or not), considering that fact that the American President sent 21,000 additional troops in March to Afghanistan to ensure that there was a successful election there and that the winner is the right person (see chapter 6). As we can observe from his response, the spokesperson does not deny that President Karzai is a reliable partner (underlined). The journalist's following question gives the spokesperson no choice but to give a time frame because his question can be understood as "why has not the President come out with a new strategy even though he already has such a good partner"? The spokesperson has to give a time because (1) he did not deny that President Karzai is a reliable partner in his previous response, and (2) being evasive about the time shows the President's irresolution, more specifically, that the President cannot make a decision even though he already has a "reliable" partner. Therefore, the spokesperson gives *in the coming weeks* as a time frame. His responses can be divided into two parts, namely, (1) how a good leader in Afghanistan can contribute to making further decisions and (2) when the further decision on Afghanistan will be announced. The first part (italic and underlined) can be understood as a hyponym of *how* while the second part can be understood as a hyponym of *timetable*. Both parts are the result of being intertextually influenced by what has been said by the journalist.

Another approach journalists take in the second stage is to emphasize the "time length" (used as an umbrella term) the President is going to take before he makes his final decision (see extracts 3 and 4 below). Normally, when journalists choose to emphasize the duration, they do not use the word *timetable* directly (e.g.: *this is the seventh one he's had*, bold and underlined). By highlighting the time length the President takes, the journalists show the weakness of the President's governance and that he is incapable of coming up  with a decision. As said by a journalist, *Americans need to know the war will not go on forever* (28th, Nov, 2009, NYT).

> (3) Q: What exactly has the President taken away from all these meetings that he's had?  **This is the seventh one he's had, today**.  If you could shed some light on what he's -- how he's processing this, how he's keeping this -- what does he talk with his other advisors about after he comes out of these meetings?  And ultimately, have you decided -- and how will you have him explain this to the American people?                                       (WH Web, 30th Oct, 2009)
> (4) **The 90-minute meeting, Mr. Obama's seventh to review Afghanistan strategy,** included discussion on the impact on the military if additional troop commitments had to be sustained over several years. It was not the final session: one administration official said Mr. Obama had asked the Joint Chiefs to return to the White House next week **for an additional discussion** of options.

<div align="center">(NYT, Shanker, T. & Cooper, H., 30th, Oct, 2009)</div>

In such cases, government spokespersons tend to emphasize that the President wants to consider all the elements involved and ensure the proper strategy is adopted. Take extract (5) below as an example. On 26 October, 2009, the President gives a speech in Florida, in which he says publicly that (1) he will not *hesitate* to use military power to protect American people; (2) however, he does not want to *rush* to a decision (bold and underlined).

> (5) And while I will never **hesitate** to use force to protect the American people or our vital interests, I also promise you this -- and this is very important as we consider our next steps in Afghanistan: I will never **rush** the solemn decision of sending you into harm's way.  I won't risk your lives unless it is absolutely necessary.                                        (WH Web, 26th, Oct, 2009)

The president's speech shows that he is thinking of his people and the country and putting his people's interests first. However, if he only wants to express how much he has the interests of the Americans at his heart, he does not have to point out that he will never *hesitate*; unless he has been accused of being too timid to make any decisions on Afghanistan. His intention is to provide an explanation about why it is taing so long to announce his new strategy. His statement can therefore be understood as a paraphrase of "I am not hesitating at all; I have not given a timetable because I want to ensure that *our soldiers'* lives are not *put unnecessarily at risk*. I want more time to think it over because I do not want to make a rushed decision". Again, intertextual ellipsis is applied in his speech. As we have explained before (see 5.2.2.2), by (1) omitting a description of a negative fact (e.g.: has not given a timetable for how America is going to move forward in Afghanistan) and (2) emphasizing the reason only (e.g. do not want to send *you into harm's way*), the spokesperson is able to portray a positive image of the government.

Another strategy taken by the government spokesperson to respond to this type of question is to artfully change the emphasis of a journalist's question. Take the instance below as an example. The journalist asks whether the fourth meeting during which the President has reviewed the Afghanistan issue with members of Congress implies that a decision has been made already (bold and underlined). The spokesperson, instead of answering the question directly, sidetracks the journalist's emphasis into the role played by Congress in making decisions (italic and underlined) by selectively responding to the phrase *members of Congress* only -- *Congress plays a big role in this*.

> (6) Q Robert, the Friday meeting, is that the third, then?
> MR. GIBBS: That would be the fourth.

Q The fourth, okay.
MR. GIBBS: There was a mid-August meeting, in addition to last week's meeting -- the meeting Wednesday, so Friday will be the fourth.
**Q Is the review with Congress, does that mean he has a decision made already?**
MR. GIBBS: I'm sorry?
**Q His review on Afghanistan with members of Congress.**
MR. GIBBS: It's to walk them through where we are in the process and solicit their views. *The President has discussed wanting to hear from all of those that are involved in this, and certainly Congress plays a big role in this*.
Yes, sir.                                                                         (WH Web, 5th, Oct, 2009)

## Stage 3. Criticism

In the third stage, journalists become more impatient. They start to criticize the President for taking too long to make a decision about Afghanistan (e.g.: using words or text segments such as *defended, no apologies for the extended timetable*). Most of these negative comments, as we can observe, are made in newspaper articles and editorials.

(1) President Obama **defended** his **timetable** of announcing a new military strategy for Afghanistan, telling a military audience here on Monday that he would not 'rush the solemn decision of sending you into harm's way'.
                                                                              (NYT, Zeleny, 26th, Oct, 2009).
(2) White House officials have purposely made no apologies for the ***extended timetable***                                  (NYT, Zeleny, 12th, Nov, 2009)

Having observed how impatient the journalists are, the President says publicly that *I will be making an announcement to the American people about how we intend to move forward. I will be doing so shortly* (WH web, 24th, Nov, 2009). It is assumed in this thesis that, the President would not have emphasized that he would make the announcement *shortly* if there had been no negative comments on the length of time he was taking to make a decision. In other words, his emphasis on *doing so shortly* is the result of being influenced by what has been said by journalists, more specifically, by previous journalists' comments that he is taking too much time to announce his new strategy.

It can be concluded that journalists' way of exploring issues related to TFDA changes over time; as the result of being intertextually influenced by journalists, spokespersonsadopt different strategies to respond to journalists' questions.

## 5.5.2 TLI

The corpus shows that there are altogether 7 occurrences of TLI (see 5.2.2), including 2 instances in the GS corpus, 1 in the MC corpus and 4 in the Q corpus. Among the 5 instances in the MCQ corpus, *timetable* is used only once to actually refer to TLI:

> (1)  Q: Does the ratcheting up of the violence, the dramatic ratcheting up of the violence in Iraq, have any effect on the President's **pullout timetable?**
> (WH Web, 26th, Oct, 2009)

The other 4 occurrences of *timetable* are used for comparison between the strategy in Iraq and that in Afghanistan. These instances have been interpreted in 5.2.2.2 to exemplify different intertextual relationships maintained between text segments. We do not intend to re-explain what we have analysed in section 5.2.2; rather, this analysis sheds light on a different aspect— the trap set by journalists which are used to force the spokespersons to give information.

Take extract 2 below as an example. Based on the fact that the President sets a timetable for troop withdrawal from Iraq, a journalist asks the spokesperson why the President is "not using the same strategy for Afghanistan". By asking the question in this way, the journalist is actually pointing out the fact the fact that the President has not told them what his strategy for Afghanistan is. The trick here is that the government spokesperson cannot clarify the journalist's statement (the President is *not using the same strategy for Afghanistan*) by saying that "the President has not made a decision yet" because that would indicate the President's indecision and weakness. He can neither deny nor agree with the journalist's statement by saying that "he is or is not using the same strategy for Afghanistan" because the President has not made a decision yet.

> (2)  Q But when you say U.S. troops won't be there forever, the President also talked in the campaign about having a clear **timetable** for withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq. Why is he not using the same strategy for Afghanistan?
> (WH Web, 16th, Sep, 2009)

The following extract is a part of the transcript from the same press briefing (questions from the same journalist). However, it is different from the TLI in the two extracts above in the way that it refers to the TLI formulated by the previous government (the Bush administration), rather than to the TLI set by the current president. By highlighting that setting a timetable would encourage the "enemy" or the terrorists to come back after the troops have left, the journalist tries to set a trap for the secretary. If Mr. Gibbs denies that the President is going to give a timetable for

withdrawing troops from Afghanistan, he has to go back to the previous question *why is he not using the same strategy for Afghanistan* (see extract 2 above, underlined). If he acknowledges that there will be a timetable for a pull-out, he has to explain how the President will prevent the possibility that al Qaeda will come back after troops leave Afghanistan.

> (3) Q But isn't that what the Bush administration was saying in 2007, 2008? We can't have a **timetable** for Iraq because it's going to let the enemy know when --
> MR. GIBBS: That's not what I just said.
> Q No, but they were saying basically that there cannot be a **timetable** because it's an evolving situation on the ground and you can't just have this arbitrary date to pull out troops. And the President, then senator, kept saying there needs to be –
> (WH Web, 16th, Sep, 2009)

Having demonstrated how the journalist attempts to set traps for the spokesperson, it is not surprising that this spokesperson tends to use general terms and text segments and avoid using text segments which specify the shared lexical item. From this perspective, we can understand why the relationship of intertextual ellipsis and of hyponymy dominates the GS corpus.

## 5.5.3 TLA

The journalists are mainly interested in two types of things about TLA. The first issue concerns (1) the content of the time decision (date to start and to end) (TLA) and (2) whether the President can give an exact time for troop withdrawal. All the instances concerning TFDA/TLA occur before the President announces his new strategy, as we can see from the following examples. The first extract shows the journalist's doubt that the President is able to give an exact time frame for troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. The second extract is an attempt to explore the possible timeline for troop withdrawal.

> 1. we are skeptical that he can lay out a firm **timetable** for withdrawal.
> (NTY, 18th, Nov, 2009)
> 2. Will the President spell that out as a **timetable** tomorrow on when troops will leave? (WH Web, 30th, Nov, 2009)

The second type of issue concerns the disadvantage of giving an exact date for troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. Some journalists worry that setting a timetable for American troops leaving Afghanistan will encourage the Taliban to stay quiet for the moment and wait for a date in order to resurge. Others have doubts about whether or not the troop withdrawal can be accomplished within the time frame set by the President. The third extract below is an example showing the journalist's concern with the

disadvantages of setting a troop withdrawal date. The fourth extract is an example showing the journalist's doubt that the President is able to give an exact timetable.

3.  Q: Thank you very much.  Two quick questions, related.  One, on the **issue of the timetable**, I know you want to make sure this is not misinterpreted, but even the July 2011 **timeframe** there have been arguments that **setting up any date** just encourages the Taliban, the insurgents to lay low and to wait people out.  Can you address that criticism?  And point two, the ability to get to 30,000 into theater by the summer -- there's been some noise already out of the Pentagon this morning that that may be logistically impossible.  Can you address that?  Is it actually doable to get that many troops into an infrastructure-free country that quickly?                                (WH Web, 1st, Dec, 2009)
4.  of troops but questioned the commitment to a **timetable** for bringing them home
(NYT, Stolberg & Cooper, 1st, Dec, 2009)

The most direct response to the first type of issue is that the President gives a speech on 1 December, 2009, in which he does not only decide to deploy more troops to Afghanistan, but also gives an exact date for American troops coming back from Afghanistan.

The most obvious intertextual influence associated with the second type of questions from journalists about TLA is a passage from the President's speech when he announces his new strategy on Afghanistan. He clearly points out that "*there are those who oppose identifying a time frame for our transition to Afghan responsibility*". Although he does not clearly explain to whom he refers, it is obvious that he is talking about people who are opposed to going public with a strategy for the withdrawal from Afghanistan. Also, he explains his reasons to those people who are against setting a withdrawal date, emphasizing repeatedly that *I do not make this decision lightly*.

5. I recognize there are **a range of concerns about our approach.**  So let me briefly address a few of the more prominent arguments that I've heard, and which I take very seriously.
….
Finally, **there are those who oppose identifying a time frame for our transition to Afghan responsibility.**  Indeed, some call for a more dramatic and open-ended escalation of our war effort -- one that would commit us to a nation-building project of up to a decade.  I reject this course because it sets goals that are beyond what can be achieved at a reasonable cost, and what we need to achieve to secure our interests.  Furthermore, the absence of a time frame for transition would deny us any sense of urgency in working with the Afghan government.  It must be clear that Afghans will have to take responsibility for their security, and that America has no interest in fighting an endless war in Afghanistan.          (WH Web, 1st, Dec, 2009)

The extract above, as an explanation of why a withdrawal date has to be set, actually maintains a relationship of intertextual interpretation/description with *timetable*, in particular, with TLA. It is assumed in the thesis that the President would not especially highlight this issue and explain it publicly if journalists had not repeatedly paid attention

to it. In this case, he could have given his reason for setting an exit timetable instead of pointing out that there is a group of people who oppose his decision. It is obvious that the President is aware of these opposite stances by reading or listening to what the journalists write or say. By highlighting that there is a group of people who are against the publication of an exit timetable, the President is responding intertextually to the statements made by the journalists.

## 5.6 Conclusion

This chapter exemplifies how the CADS method developed in chapter 4 can be applied to explore how spokespersons deal with lexical items preferred by journalists under the impact of both institutional constraints and intertextual influence (from journalists).

It shows that institutional constraints have a great impact on how spokespersons refer to what has been said by journalists. As we have illustrated in this chapter, spokespersons sometimes have good reasons to avoid using the actual word which is preferred by journalists (*timetable*). Before 1 December, 2009, when the President announces his new strategy on Afghanistan, spokespersons do not use *timetable* or its synonyms for TFDA/TLA at all, due to the limitations imposed by spokespersons' "security policy". They only start responding to issues related to TFDA and TLA directly after November, 2009.

Meanwhile, we cannot ignore intertextual influence within institutional talk. Intertextual influence, in this chapter, is interpreted from three respects. Firstly, although constrained by their "security policy", spokespersons still have to respond to previous texts, and they do this by replacing the text segments used by journalists with a different one which maintains an intertextual relationship (mainly the relationship of hyponymy and intertextual ellipsis) with the original text. Secondly, although there is no restriction on discussing issues related to TFDA after the President announces the new strategy on Afghanistan, spokespersons do not use *timetable* for TFDA because journalists do not explore information related to TFDA afterwards. Thirdly, spokespersons tend to use synonyms of *timetable* in December 2009 for TLA because it is the journalists' core concern during that period of time.

More importantly, through an exploration of what journalists require as indicated in the MCQ corpus, this thesis shows how spokespersons change their way of

responding to issues related to *timetable* over time. It furthermore proves that although participants have different preferences when selecting the text segments they use, they are also influenced by their interlocutor's intertextual influence.

Having explained how spokespersons deal with words preferred by journalists, the next chapter will focus on words which are frequently used by both journalists and spokespersons, exploring how spokespersons handle common words under the impact of both institutional constraints and intertextual influence.

# CHAPTER 6 "IS THE POSSIBILITY OF EVEN MORE TROOPS ON THE TABLE?"

## 6.0 Introduction

As already explained, both the previous chapter and this chapter aim to exemplify how intertextuality can be studied with corpus tools based on an exploration of intertexts. More specifically, this is done via an investigation of how spokespersons and journalists deal with lexical items differently under the impact of both institutional constraints and intertextual influences.

This chapter, therefore, is structured similarly to chapter 5, and comprises five main parts. Section 6.1 identifies the range of text segments that we shall explore in this chapter, based on a procedure (1) of identifying the shared lexical item(s) and (2) identifying the shared semantic field(s). Section 6.2 examines text segments created during press briefings on a turn-taking basis, exploring whether the creation of a subsequent text segment in the GS corpus is the result of being intertextually influenced by previous MCQ text segments in terms of five intertextual relationships. Section 6.3 provides quantitative corpus data of how the lexical item is used in the corpus. This is further explored in section 6.4, which investigates the conflicts between what can or cannot be discussed by spokespersons in terms of "job security policy" and what is actually discussed. Section 6.5 explores the indirect interaction between spokespersons and journalists (between newspaper editorials and articles and spokespersons' public speeches) based on an exploration of journalists' questions and comments indicated in the corpus. Section 6.6 concludes this chapter with a summary.

## 6.1 Identifying the investigated intertext

The procedure of identifying which intertext will be studied can be accomplished in two steps, namely, defining the shared lexical item and analysing the shared semantic field. Therefore, this section consists of two main parts, exploring which word will be set as the shared lexical item (6.1.1) and defining the shared semantic field(s) in terms of how the word *troops* is used in the corpus (6.1.2).

## 6.1.1 *Troops* as the shared lexical item – the extraction of frequent words in both sub-corpora

As said above, the shared lexical item investigated here belongs to a group of words which are frequently used both by spokespersons and journalists. These words are referred to as *frequent words* in this chapter. We now turn to the details of how these frequent words are extracted via corpus tools.

The main corpus tool used in this phase is *wordlist*, which can be used to generate a word list which shows us all the words occurring in a corpus, in either alphabetical or frequency order. *Wordlist* is firstly used in this step to generate (1) a word list of all the words used in the GS corpus and (2) a word list of all the words which occurred in the MCQ corpus. All the words generated are listed from high to low in terms of their raw frequency in each sub-corpus. The top 20 frequent nouns in each sub-corpus are then chosen and compared (see table 6.1). Those words which are included in both word lists are the frequent words we are looking at in this chapter. It should be emphasized that we do not extract the top 20 frequent nouns directly from the whole corpus because we want to exclude those lexical items which are highly frequent in only one of the sub-corpora but rarely occur in the other. Table 6.1 below lists the top 20 frequent nouns in GS and MCQ respectively.

| Top 20 frequent nouns in the GS corpus | | | | Top 20 frequent nouns in the MCQ corpus | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | **security** | 11 | Work | **1** | **troops** | **11** | **election** |
| **2** | **people** | **12** | **Military** | **2** | **war** | 12 | policy |
| **3** | **country** | **13** | **Election** | **3** | **military** | 13 | army |
| **4** | **troops** | 14 | Point | **4** | **forces** | 14 | leaders |
| **5** | **meeting** | 15 | Assessment | **5** | **strategy** | 15 | speech |
| **6** | **decision** | 16 | Efforts | **6** | **security** | 16 | soldiers |
| **7** | **strategy** | 17 | Force | **7** | **people** | **17** | **meeting** |
| **8** | **forces** | **18** | **War** | 8 | decision | 18 | plan |
| 9 | part | 19 | Responsibility | **9** | **country** | 19 | question |
| 10 | process | 20 | Situation | 10 | troop | 20 | end |

*Table 6.1 Top 20 frequent nouns in GS and the MCQ corpus*

Table 6.1 above shows that there are 11 words which exist in the top 20 words of both corpora (highlighted in bold and underlined). Table 6.2 below gives the

quantitative information for these words. Considering the great difference between numbers of word type in each sub-corpus, relative frequency is used here as a parameter to examine how frequently the 11 words are used in the corpus (number of words per million, listed from the highest to the lowest). In table 6.2 below, the third, fourth and fifth column from the left list the relative frequency of each word in the whole corpus, the GS corpus and the MCQ corpus respectively. The first column on the right lists the difference between the relative frequency of a word in the MCQ corpus and that in the GS corpus (precisely, Rel Fre MCQ minus Rel Fre GS). The relative frequency difference indicates how differently these words are used in the GS corpus and the MCQ corpusF.

|  | Noun | Rel Fre (Whole Corpus) | Rel Fre (GS) | Rel Fre (MCQ) | Rel (MCQ) – Rel (GS) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | troops | 5467.497 | 1439.995886 | 4027.500915 | 2587.50503 |
| 2 | security | 4888.424 | 3282.847763 | 1605.576122 | -1677.271641 |
| 3 | people | 4808.902 | 3265.704955 | 1543.19732 | -1722.507635 |
| 4 | war | 3886.145 | 848.5690041 | 3037.576448 | 2189.007444 |
| 5 | military | 3685.041 | 1054.282702 | 2630.758174 | 1576.475472 |
| 6 | forces | 3200.469 | 1285.710612 | 1914.758011 | 629.0473987 |
| 7 | strategy | 3092.419 | 1294.282016 | 1798.136772 | 503.854756 |
| 8 | decision | 2554.78 | 1388.567461 | 1166.212386 | -222.355075 |
| 9 | country | 2545.57 | 1474.281502 | 1071.288122 | -402.9933798 |
| 10 | meeting | 2097.301 | 1405.710269 | 691.5910663 | -714.1192031 |
| 11 | election | 1932.779 | 942.854449 | 989.9244674 | 47.07001842 |

*Table 6.2 Relative frequency of frequent words[2]*

The word *troops* is therefore chosen as the shared lexical item for two reasons. Firstly, in terms of the relative frequency, it is the most frequently used noun in the whole corpus in terms of the relative frequency (5467.497 per million in total). It is worth noticing that the total relative frequency is determined by its relative frequency in the MCQ corpus (4027.50 per million in MCQ and 1440.00 in GS). It thus indicates a possibility that the word *troops* is used by White House spokespersons as the result of

---

[2] Words in this study are not lemmatized in this study because different word-forms are associated with specific patterns of usage and different meanings of the word (see Sinclair 1985, 1991).

the intertextual influence from journalists. Secondly, it is for this word that the most obvious relative frequency difference can be observed. This shows that although the word is frequent in both GS and the MCQ corpus, it is used very differently in the two sub-corpora.

## 6.1.2 Defining the shared semantic fields of *troops*

This section aims to analyse the shared semantic fields determined by the word *troops*, via demonstrating different referents for it in the corpus.

In addition to a sub-section presenting referents of *troops* in the corpus (6.1.2.2) and a sub-section analysing the shared semantic fields of *troops* (6.1.2.3), this section introduces, in 6.1.2.1, the American military strategy for Afghanistan because this has a great impact on what the word *troops* refers to.

### 6.1.2.1 Military strategies on Afghanistan

After Barack Obama took office, he gave two speeches in total in which his military strategies were directly explained. This section will only emphasize the main points related to the deployment of American troops by the President because it plays a crucial role in analysing referents of *troops* as well as the shared semantic fields determined by its meanings.

On March 27, 2009, the President gave his first speech ($S_1$) on the strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan. In his speech, he set a goal *to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future*. He also announced that he has *ordered the deployment of 17,000 troops that had been requested by General McKiernan for many months* and that later in the spring of 2009 he was going to deploy approximately 4,000 troops to train Afghan security forces, aiming at building "*an Afghan army of 134,000 and a police force of 82,000*". In total, the President deployed 21,000 troops to Afghanistan in March, 2009.

The second speech ($S_2$) was given on December 1, 2009. In $S_2$, the President ordered the deployment of another 30,000 American troops to Afghanistan. In addition, he also pointed out that all the American troops in Afghanistan would *begin to come home* after 18 months.

To distinguish the strategy given in $S_2$ from that in $S_1$, the study will name the strategy in $S_2$ as the *new strategy* and the strategy given in March, 2009 as the *previous strategy*. It should also be highlighted that the transcript of $S_1$ is not included in the corpus because it had been given before the time period on which the research focuses.

### 6.1.2.2 Referents of *troops*

Referents of *troops* in the corpus are more complex than those for *timetable* because there are more instances in the corpus. The majority of the citations for *troops* in the corpus can be categorized into two prime groups, namely, (1) troops from America and (2) troops from other countries except America. These two groups of *troops* will be consistently referred to as ATs (American troops) and ITs (international troops).

Within these two main categorises, several sub-classifications can be identified according to how the word is used, precisely, three sub-classifications of ITs and five of ATs. We now turn to referents in these two groups respectively.

*Troops* in ITs can be grouped into three types: (1) a general term for international troops (GIT), (2) more international troops to Afghanistan (MITAf) and (3) Afghan troops (AfT). ITs are normally indicated either by the subject (of *troops*), a preposition (either a word or a phrase) or the collocate which goes with *troops.* The following extracts exemplify how the subject, prepositional phrase or the collocates of *troops* can imply where the troops are from. The prepositional phrase of *troops* in example (1) -- *from Denmark* – explains that the *700 troops* are from Denmark while in example (2) and (4), the collocates *Romanian* and *Afghan* imply that the troops mentioned here are from Romania and Afghanistan. In example (3) below, *Romania's plan* indicates that the logical subject of *contribute additional troops* is Romania and therefore it shows that *the additional troops* to Afghanistan are from Romania.

(1) MR. GIBBS: Look, again, a productive discussion. The President -- the two of them talked about the strong relationship that we have. I'd say the two biggest topics were Afghanistan -- obviously there are **about 700 troops from Denmark** in Afghanistan fighting alongside, without any caveats, other troops.
(WH Web, 2nd, Oct, 2009)

(2) And I feel obliged to tell the Romanian people how grateful President Obama and I, and the American people, are **for the Romanian troops** that are in Afghanistan. Let me say something as clearly as I can, your troops are warriors, they are warriors. They have no caveats. (WH Web, 2nd, Oct, 2009)

(3) The Vice President and President Basescu discussed Romania's plans to **contribute additional troops to** the NATO effort in Afghanistan, and efforts to deepen U.S.-Romania military cooperation. (WH Web, 2nd, Dec, 2009)

(4) In the meantime, we still have troops there who are doing extraordinary work each and every day, helping to keep the Afghan people secure**, training Afghan troops,** working with our ISAF partners. And so we are extraordinarily grateful to them.

(WH Web, 13th, Oct, 2009)

Yet, in the following analysis, these three types of *troops* in ITs will not be the focus for two main reasons. Firstly, the corpus shows that spokespersons tend to use ATs more frequently based on the fact that the number of *troops* in ITs only accounts for a small proportion of all the *troops* in GS. More specifically, among 166 occurrences of *troops* in the GS, there are only 15 occurrences of *troops* in ITs (less than 10%). In addition, the corpus (see 6.2.2.3 and 6.5) shows that journalists pay little attention to ITs. Instead, they are more interested in American troops (ATs). Journalists' questions, as we will see, have a great impact on what will be said in GS. Therefore, as a study on how White House spokespersons deal with words under the impact of both institutional constraints and intertextual influence, *troops* in ITs will not be the focus of this study. We now turn to the use of *troops* in ATs.

There are altogether five referents of *troops* which are used as ATs. The first group of *troops* are these instances used as a general term for all the American troops (GAT). This use of *troops* occurs mostly in the beginning of August (see table 6.3 at the end of 6.3.1) and tends to collocate with the pronoun *our*.

(1) In recent years,__ our troops__ have succeeded in every mission America has given them, from toppling the Taliban to deposing a dictator in Iraq to battling brutal insurgencies. (WH Web, 17th, Aug, 2009)
(2) And long after you took off the uniform, you've continued to serve: supporting __our troops__ and their families when they go to war and welcoming them when they come home. (WH Web, 10th, Aug, 2009)

The second type of *troops* in ATs is used to refer to more American troops which are being sent to Afghanistan (*MATAf*). Before further discussion, it is necessary to define "more troops" first. *More troops* refers to the American troops which are being sent to Afghanistan compared with the existing troops in Afghanistan by the end of George W. Bush's administration. According to the President, there were 32,000 Americans serving in Afghanistan before he took office. Therefore, **more troops** in this chapter excludes the 32,000 Americans who were in Afghanistan before his prior to his administration.

MR. GIBBS: I don't want to get ahead of him on this, but, look, suffice to say, Jeff, it would be -- the President is under no -- will address directly the notion I think that many have wondered, which is the juxtaposition of the timing for the Nobel Peace Prize and his commitment to **add more troops into Afghanistan**. That's obviously something that he will address. (WH Web, 7th, Dec, 2009)

The third referent of *troops* refers to the existing troops in Afghanistan. Take the extract below as an example. A journalist asks about the exit strategy for Afghanistan. As a response to this, the spokesperson said neither the troops nor the money will be there *in perpetuity*. In other words, the American troops in Afghanistan will not be there forever. The word *troops* in the example below thus refers to the existing troops in Afghanistan.

> Q And following up on Afghanistan, does the President believe there should be an exit strategy at some point?
> MR. GIBBS: Absolutely. I mean, I think the President -- first and foremost, I think the President has always discussed, and particularly since coming to office, that there isn't a -- there isn't a military solution alone for Afghanistan. We do not have -- ***we do not have the troops or the money to be there in perpetuity.*** (WH Web, 10th, Sep, 2009)

The fourth way of using of **AT**s refers to the troops serving in Iraq. In example (1) below, the President promises that American troops will be removed "*from Iraq by the end of 2011*" (highlighted in bold and underlined). The *troops* in this case refers to the troops in Iraq.

> And the American people must know that we will move forward with our strategy. We will begin removing our combat brigades from Iraq later this year. We will remove all our combat brigades by the end of next August. **And we will remove all our troops from Iraq by the end of 2011.** (WH Web, 17th, Aug, 2009)

The last way of using *troops* as ATs is only found in the Q corpus. It shows that some *troops* occurrences are used to refer to soldiers who have been involved in various wars and who have come back (GAT in war). Take the extract below as an instance. The word *troops* is modified by the clause "who have been in Iraq and Afghanistan who come back". There are altogether nine instances of this type, all of which are used in November. In the following discussion, those instances are grouped into GAT.

(1)     Q: Follow up on that, and one more question. Talking to some of **the troops who have been in Iraq and Afghanistan who come back**, is it a healthy thing for this White House to understand that **some of the troops actually may not want to go back** but understand that it is their duty that they have to? Is it healthy for that thought process from some of the troops who've been there. (WH Web, 13th, Nov, 2009)

### 6.1.2.3 Shared semantic fields of *troops*

Based on the analysis in 6.2.2.2, the semantic fields determined by the referents of *troops* can therefore be concluded as a group of people who serve in the military, including the navy, army and air force. This semantic field further consists of two specific groups of people, American troops and troops from other countries.

### 6.1.3 Summary

This section has defined the intertext which we shall analyse in this chapter. It provides us with the quantitative reason for selecting the word *troops* as the shared lexical item and exploring the shared semantic field it indicates in the corpus.

Based on the shared lexical item we have selected and the shared semantic field we have analysed, we are able to define the range of text segments which will be investigated in this chapter. More specifically, these text segments can be grouped into two kinds, namely, (1) text segments in which the word *troops* occurs and (2) text segments which refer to the shared semantic field – a group of people who serve in the military, including the navy, army and air force.

Having narrowed down the range of text segments we shall explore in this chapter, we now turn to the direct interaction between spokespersons and journalists in press briefings.

## 6.2 An exploration of intertextual influence in press briefings in terms of the five intertextual relationships

The second section aims to explore how spokespersons and journalists interact with each other directly in press briefings, via manually reading all the Q-A adjacency pairs in which the shared lexical item (*troops*) occurs. It comprises two main parts. The first part deals with the relationship of intertextual reference; the remaining types of intertextual relationships are explored in the second part.

### 6.2.1 Intertextual reference

This section explores the word *troops* to show how the relationship of intertextual reference is manifested in the discourse.

#### 6.2.1.1 Preliminary use of the shared lexical item

As one of the most frequent words in the corpus (see chapter 4), *troops* occurs altogether 1661 times in the corpus, including 166 times in GS, 124 in Q and 1371 in

MC. As shown in table 6.1 below, it occurs most frequently in December, especially the period from 1 December, 2009 to 10 December, 2009, followed by the period between 21 and 31 November. This is not surprising because the President announced his new strategy on 1 December, 2009, as we have explained in 6.1.2.1.

| | GS | Q | MC | MCQ | Total | | GS | Q | MC | MCQ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **0801-0810** | 4 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 12 | **1101-1110** | 8 | 21 | 41 | 62 | 70 |
| **0811-0820** | 25 | 3 | 25 | 28 | 53 | **1111-1120** | 3 | 1 | 102 | 103 | 106 |
| **0821-0831** | 6 | 6 | 37 | 42 | 48 | **1121-1130** | 4 | 12 | 150 | 161 | 165 |
| **0901-0910** | 3 | 2 | 80 | 82 | 85 | **1201-1210** | 39 | 16 | 432 | 448 | 487 |
| **0911-0920** | 1 | 8 | 54 | 62 | 63 | **1211-1220** | 2 | 1 | 34 | 35 | 37 |
| **0921-0930** | 14 | 15 | 84 | 99 | 113 | **1221-1231** | 1 | 0 | 38 | 38 | 39 |
| **1001-1010** | 20 | 21 | 61 | 82 | 102 | **0101-0110** | 0 | 0 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| **1011-1020** | 14 | 6 | 79 | 84 | 98 | **0111-0120** | 0 | 0 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| **1021-1031** | 16 | 7 | 103 | 109 | 125 | **0121-0131** | 6 | 0 | 22 | 22 | 28 |

*Table 6.3 Raw frequency of troops in each sub-corpus*

However, the raw frequency of *troops* listed in table 6.3 does not provide much information about how this word is used differently in each sub-corpus. Figure 6.1 below shows the relative frequency (per million) of how government spokespersons and  journalists (blue represents the GS corpus and red stands for the MCQ corpus) use the word *troops*. Relative frequency in this study is calculated by 1,000,000 times the result of raw frequency divided by the total number of word tokens in the corpus (see chapter 4).
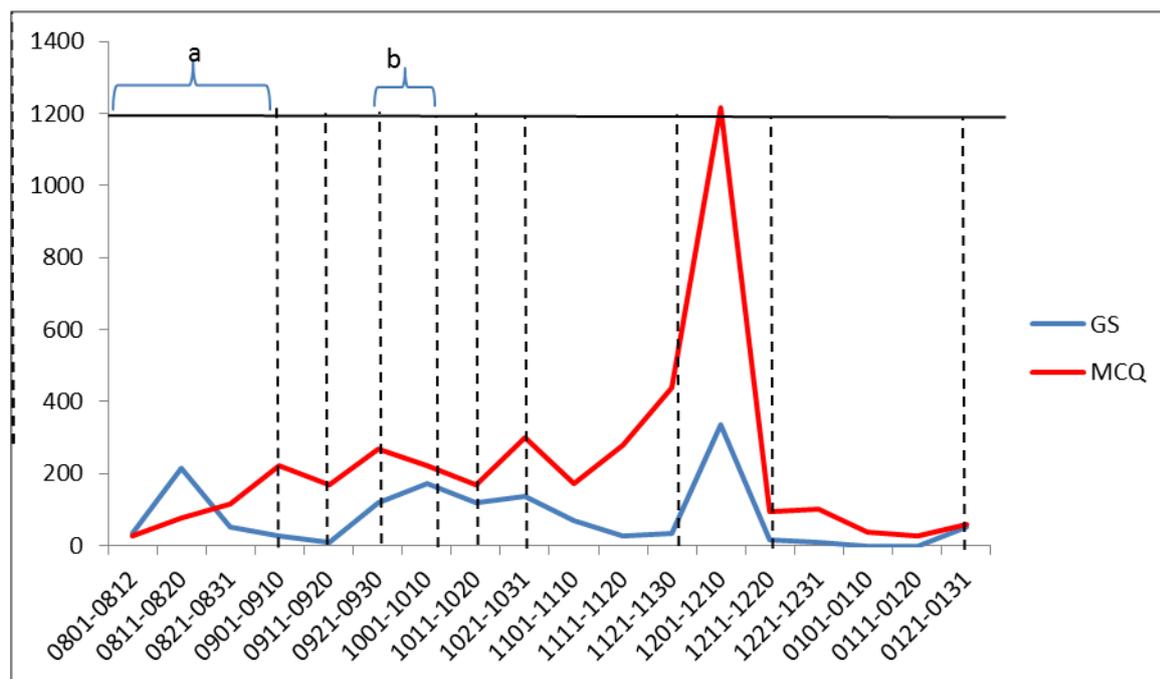
*Figure 6.1 Relative frequency of troops in each sub-corpus*

Vertical dash lines in figure 6.1 above separate different time periods which maintain a similar frequency of *troops* in the two sub-corpora. It can be observed that, apart from period **a** (between 1 August, 2009 and 10 September, 2009) and period **b** (between 21 September, 2009 and 10 October, 2009), both parties tend to use the word in a similar way. For example, between 20 October and 31 October, the use of *troops* increases in both corpora; also, from 30 November to 10 December, both parties use the word much more than they did before. Even without additional information, the similarity in using this word shows a possibility that both parties are related to each other in how they use it.

Having understood the primary tendency of how the word is used in press briefings, we now turn to the details in the corpus.

## 6.2.1.2 An analysis of intertextual influence in terms of shared lexical item – intertextual reference

This section attempts to show the relationship of intertextual reference between what has been said by journalists and the subsequent spokespersons' responses. Before further discussion, it should be pointed out that the word *troops* firstly occurs in the MC corpus on 1 August, 2009 (see the extract below). It is therefore possible that all the

occurrences of *troops* afterwards in the GS corpus are the result of being intertextually guided by journalists.

> Thousands of American and British **troops** are conducting anti-Taliban operations in the region ahead of this month's presidential elections.
>
> (NYT, Wafa, A. W. 1st, Aug, 2009)

In contrast to *timetable* which we have explored in chapter 5 and which is preferred by journalists, *troops* is frequently used by both spokespersons and journalists in press briefings (166 instances in the GS corpus and 124 instances in the Q corpus, see 6.2.1.1). Among all the instances of *troops* used in the GS corpus, 36 out of 166 are used in spokespersons' responses to a journalist's question in which this word firstly occurs. In other words, these instances of *troops* occur in both parts of a Q-A adjacency pair (see 3.2.4). It is therefore likely that spokespersons adopt the word *troops* because journalists have used it. Take the following extract for example. A journalist mentioned that the President is sending more troops (additional troops) to Afghanistan. As a response, the spokesperson explains that *not all those additional troops are there*. The phrase *additional troops* shows a relationship of intertextual reference.

> Q But now he's sending in **additional troops** and it's getting worse.
>
> MR. GIBBS: Well, and not all those **additional troops** are there. The assessment that is coming back is part of what a new commander does when they go to a region when they're newly assigned, as the President has General McChrystal to this region. …                    (WH Web, 31st, Aug, 2009)

Although both the journalist and the government spokesperson use *additional troops*, they contextualize the phrase differently. Take the extended context of the extract above as an example. A journalist makes a comment that the situation in Afghanistan is getting more serious after the President has announced his new strategy in March (italics and underlined). He then describes the fact that the President is sending more troops to Afghanistan which suggests that the situation in Afghanistan is *getting worse*. Mr. Gibbs—the spokesperson – directly uses the journalist's original phrase *additional troops* in his reply, indicating the *additional troops* which were deployed in March have not yet reached their full strength (see 6.1.2.1, the President intended to deploy 21,000 in March, 4000 of which were sent later that year).

> (1) Q *I believe it was March when the President announced his new strategy in Afghanistan and since then things have only gotten worse*. This July and August I believe have been the two worst months in terms of U.S. fatalities. Obviously it takes a long time to implement a military strategy, but after six months not only are things not stabilized but they're worse -- they've gotten worse during that period of time. Is this an early sign that his strategy is not working?

> MR. GIBBS: No, Chip, we under-resourced Afghanistan for the better part of a decade. Okay?
> Q But now he's sending in **additional troops** and it's getting worse.
> MR. GIBBS: Well, and not all those **additional troops** are there. The assessment that is coming back is part of what a new commander does when they go to a region when they're newly assigned, as the President has General McChrystal to this region. …                                                   (WH Web, 31st, Aug, 2009)

By simply describing the fact that more troops have been sent to Afghanistan, the journalist aims to exemplify how the situation is getting worse and attempts to prove that the President's strategy *is not working* because the current government keeps putting more troops on the ground. The ignorance he claims (possibly on purpose) of the fact that these troops are a part of the **previous strategy** gives the audience (especially those who are not familiar with the strategy) a feeling that the government keeps sending more and more troops to Afghanistan (which is not a good sign for whatever reason). Obviously, Mr. Gibbs notices the journalist's attempt and immediately explains that *not all those additional troops are there*, suggesting that these troops belong to a previous deployment which has not yet been completed and that the government does not send troops impetuously in excess of the strategy. It can therefore be observed from the conversation that the phrase *additional troops* in the journalist's question is taken out of its original context (it is a part of the previous strategy which has not been accomplished) in order to show the seriousness of the situation on the ground. Meanwhile, the spokesperson puts *additional troops* back into the original context to explain that the government is not going to send any more troops except those deployed in the President's **previously announced strategy**. In other words, the government spokesperson puts the same lexical item(s) into a different context in order to purposefully emphasize a different point.

The intertextual influence from journalists in the second example below is more obvious. During a press briefing, a journalist asks Mr. Gibbs to comment on the possibility that the President's policy is *dragging on*. His question is elaborately structured with many potential imputations in one polar question. Firstly, his question indicates that there are officials in the President's own party who are against sending more troops to Afghanistan. Secondly, it suggests that the President has decided to send more troops already (*increasing the number of troops in the war*); however, he is delaying the announcement of this strategy because it is not approved by all the members in his party.

 (2) Q Isn't there a danger for the President that he may be perceived as weak or indecisive as this policy or strategy review session ***drags on***, fueled by the perception that many in his own party are against **increasing the numbers of troops** in the war?
MR. GIBBS: When you say ***"drags on"*** -- I mean, Secretary Gates said this weekend it took three months in the previous White House to discuss a policy on **a surge of troops** in Iraq. Did anybody -- was there a suggestion by those then that the President was ***dragging*** this assessment ***on***?

<div align="right">(WH Web, 29th, Sep, 2009)</div>

Mr. Gibbs clearly realizes the danger of directly responding to either of these two imputations. Take the first point as an example. A denial of the first point (namely that there is no member of the government who is against sending more troops) would suggest that the President is likely to come up with a strategy which approves sending more troops to Afghanistan. On the other hand, the acceptance of the first point (namely that there are some officials who do not support the deployment of more troops) would suggest the President is not fully in control.

Therefore, Gibbs intentionally ignores these two points and turns the focus to the phrase used by the journalist – *drags on*. Furthermore, he compares the current situation to that of the former government. By using the phrase *a surge of troops* to respond to *increasing the numbers of troops in the war* and emphasizing the length of time previous presidents took, he suggests that the previous government was once in a similar situation and took longer to make a final decision.

Again the journalist and the government spokesperson are seen to use the phrase in a different context. The journalist uses the phrase *drag on* to suggest that the President is taking too long to review his war strategy; meanwhile, the spokesperson, by using *dragging on,* points out that the previous president actually took longer to make a decision. The journalist, on the other hand, implies that the current president has the intention to increase *the number of troops* in Afghanistan, while the spokesperson uses *a surge of troops* to describe the previous president's strategy in Iraq. Therefore, it seems that when a participant in institutional talk (in this case, White House spokespersons) chooses a lexical item under the intertextual influence from another (in this case, journalists), they tend to place the item into a different context.

In a word, this shows that when intertextually influenced by journalists, spokespersons also use the same lexical item used by the journalists. However, under institutional constraints, spokespersons tend to contextualize these lexical items differently. Having examined the relationship of intertextual reference, we now turn to other types of intertextual relationships in the next sub-section.

## 6.2.2 Interpretation of intertextuality in terms of other intertextual relationships

We have explained in the previous sub-section that there are 36 instances of *troops* in the GS corpus which indicate a relationship of intertextual reference. This section, thus, aims to explore how other instances of *troops* are used during the direct interaction between spokespersons and journalists (press briefings).

This section starts with a detailed analysis of MATAf and of ATAf (6.2.2.1). Then sub-sections 6.2.2.2 and 6.2.2.3 deal with *troops* used (1) in spokespersons' speeches and responses and (2) in journalists' questions, respectively. The main reason for examining MATAf and ATAf in detail comes from the observation in chapter 5 that spokespersons tend to replace what has been said by journalists with text segments which maintain an intertextual relationship with the shared lexical item, in particular the relationship of hyponymy (see 5.2.2).

In order to investigate whether there is a relationship of hyponymy, we have first of all to analyse whether there are any co-hyponyms of each referent (of *troops*) in the corpus. More specifically, the use of any sub-category of the referent indicates an intertextual relationship (either intertextual interpretation/description or hyponymy). The corpus shows that among the five referents we have explained in 6.1.2.2, there are two referents which can be further categorized, namely, MATAf and ATAf. We now turn to examining the sub-categorization of MATAf and ATAf in detail.

### 6.2.2.1 A detailed analysis of MATAf and ATAf

Instances of *troops* in press briefings can be further categorized into five types. The first two types involve the concrete number of troops sent to Afghanistan according to the President's various strategies. As explained in 6.1.2.1, after the President took office, he called twice for the deployment of more American troops to Afghanistan – firstly 21,000 and then another 30,000 troops. MATAf can therefore be used to either refer to the 21,000 cohort (MATAf$_1$, examples 1 and 4 below) sent to Afghanistan in March, 2009 or the 30,000 sent in the President's new strategy (MATAf$_2$, examples 2 and 3 below). It should be emphasized here that when MATAf$_1$ or MATAf$_2$ is used, it

collocates with words which show a tendency to increase, such as *additional, more, the additional number of* and so on.

> 1. PRESIDENT OBAMA: When I came in I had to make a series of immediate decisions about **sending additional troops** to ensure that the election could take place during the fighting season. But I was crystal clear at the time that post-election we were going to need to do an additional assessment. (WH Web, 16th, Sep, 2009)
> 2. This review is now complete. And as Commander-in-Chief, I have determined that it is in our vital national interest to **send an additional 30,000 U.S. troops** to Afghanistan. (WH Web, 1$^{st}$, Dec, 2009)
> 3. **The 30,000 additional troops** that I'm announcing tonight will deploy in the first part of 2010 -- the fastest possible pace -- so that they can target the insurgency and secure key population centers. They'll increase our ability to train competent Afghan security forces, and to partner with them so that more Afghans can get into the fight. And they will help create the conditions for the United States to transfer responsibility to the Afghans. (WH Web, 1$^{st}$, Dec, 2009)
> 4. MR. GIBBS: ... The President -- the President mentioned, as some in the room suggested -- reiterated their support for the President's decision in March to send an **additional 21,000 troops** and trainers to the region of Afghanistan.
> (WH Web, 8th, Oct, 2009)

MATAf can also be used to refer to the American troops which were requested by the Generals (MATAf$_3$ hereafter, see extract below). There are two Generals mentioned in the corpus according to whom more American troops are needed in Afghanistan -- David D. McKiernan and Stanley A. McChrystal. General McKiernan ordered 30,000 Americans during the Bush administration, a demand which, according to the current administration, was not approved until March, 2009 when Barack Obama announced his previous strategy. General McChrystal suggested publicly, in 2009, that 30,000 to 40,000 more troops were needed in Afghanistan to win the war.

> Commanders in Afghanistan repeatedly asked for support to deal with the reemergence of the Taliban, but these reinforcements did not arrive. And that's why, shortly after taking office, I approved **a longstanding request for more troops.**
> (WH Web, 1st, Dec, 2009)

The fourth referent of MATAf is used after 27 March 2009 and before 1 December 2009 -- the period between the dates when the President announces his previous and new strategies. During that time, many journalists speculated that, in addition to the 21,000 troops deployed in March, 2009, the President would send more troops to Afghanistan in his new strategy. In other words, the fourth concept of MATAf is used before the President announces his new strategy (1, December, 2009) to refer to one of his possible options – sending more troops to Afghanistan (MATAf$_4$ hereafter). This is the most important concept of MATAf in the corpus since it is the main focus of the journalists.

> MR. GIBBS: We will -- as part of any evaluation of and assessment of our strategy, we'll include consultation with Congress. The President -- without having a list in front of me of people that have or have not said where **they are on additional troops** -- I can assure that before any decision is made, that those senators will have an opportunity, or members of the House will have an opportunity to weigh in for or against **additional forces**.                     (WH Web, 30th, Sep, 2009)

There are also instances of *troops* being used as a general term for MATAf. Take the following extract as an example. *Troops* in this case is used to refer to more troops in general which are to be sent to Afghanistan, including both American troops and international troops.

> But taken together, these **additional American and international troops** will allow us to accelerate handing over responsibility to Afghan forces, and allow us to begin the transfer of our forces out of Afghanistan in July of 2011.        (WH Web, 1st, Dec, 2009)

The use of ATAf can also be further classified. Each sub-category of ATAf is associated with the time period during which it is used. Figure 6.2 below demonstrates three types of ATAf within the time span of this study (from 1 August, 2009 to 31, January, 2010). $ATAf_1$, $ATAf_2$ and $ATAf_3$ in figure 6.2 represent the existing American troops in Afghanistan (1) before 27 March 2009, (2) after 27 March 2009 and before 1 December 2009 and (3) after 1 December 2009 respectively. As we have explained before, President Obama twice called for more American troops to go to Afghanistan, 21,000 more on 27 March 2009 and 30,000 more on 1 December 2009. Thus, as shown in figure 6.2 below, $ATAf_2$ includes both (1) $ATAf_1$ and (2) the additional 21,000 troops sent in March, 2009. $ATAf_3$ includes (1) $ATAf_1$, (2) the additional 21,000 troops sent in March, 2009 and (3) 30,000 sent in the President's *new strategy*. Thus, the number of ATAf in the different periods of time varies.
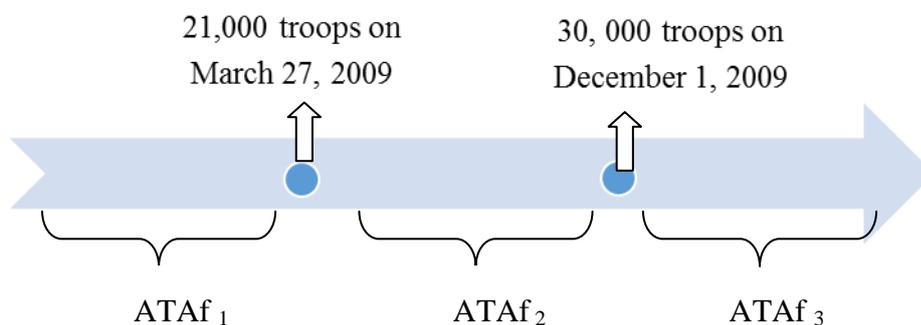


$ATAf_2 = ATAf_1 + 21,000$

$ATAf_3 = ATAf_1 + 21,000 + 30,000 = ATAf_2 + 30,000$

*Figure 6.2 ATAf in different time span*

Having explained the sub-classification of MATAf and ATAf, we can have a close look at how the word *troops* is used in spokespersons' responses and journalists' questions respectively.

### 6.2.2.2 *Troops* **in spokespersons' replies**

This sub-section aims to explore the type of intertextual relationship brought about by indirect interactions between spokespersons and journalists.

The corpus shows that *troops* is used more frequently than *timetable* in spokespersons' public speeches (69 instances out of 166). Also, as we have explained in 6.2.1, there are 30 instances of *troops* which indicate a relationship of intertextual reference. Thus, this section explores the remaining occurrences of *troops* in the GS corpus (67 times).

In contrast to the way they respond to issues related to *timetable* (see 5.2), spokespersons do not avoid using the word *troops* or its synonyms. As a result, the intertextual relationship of synonymy is commonly found in the GS corpus. Take the following extract as an example. A journalist asks the spokesperson whether or not the President has decided to send more troops to Afghanistan in his new strategy. As a response to his questions, the spokesperson denies that there is any discussion on whether to send more troops or not. The phrase *additional troops* in the spokesperson's response is a synonym of the journalist's words – *additional combat forces*, maintaining an intertextual relationship of synonymy.

> Q    On Afghanistan, yesterday in here we talked a little bit about the political context of timing of how long the President was to decide, but I want to ask you about something that may have actually come up in yesterday's meeting that's more strategic.  Does the President believe -- and his military advisors say he has some breathing space now on the idea of whether or not to send **additional combat forces** because as Secretary Gates said, even if he were to decide tonight they couldn't arrive to theater until January, and that typically is a much less active military climate in Afghanistan.  So I'm just curious if you've evaluated that.
> MR. GIBBS:  I think the scenario that you outlined is absolutely factual.  I'll tell you as I've told others, there was not a discussion last night about **additional troops**.
>
> (WH Web, 1st, Oct, 2009)

Another type of intertextual relationship we can observe is the relationship of intertextual interpretation/description. In the extract below, a journalist asks whether the President is *at all concerned* about the possibility that the number of American troops in Afghanistan is not enough. We believe that the journalist does not aim to ask whether

the President is concerned about the troop numbers in Afghanistan; rather, we assume that he tries to explore whether the President is going to send more troops to Afghanistan (MATAf4). It seems that the spokesperson has observed the journalist's attempt. He starts his response by describing the situation of American troops in Afghanistan (bold and underlined), emphasizing that the Americans have to fight in Afghanistan because al Qaeda and its extremist allies started the war first on 9/11; also, he refers back to the President's previous strategy approved in March 2009, making a positive comment that it *is a winning strategy*. The spokesperson's picture of American troops in Afghanistan (bold and underlined) maintains a relationship of intertextual interpretation/description with the text segment used by the journalist – *troops on the ground to get the job done* (italics and underlined), describing the situation of American troops in Afghanistan.

> Q And one other thing on Afghanistan. **Is the President at all concerned that** *(1)* *perhaps there are not enough troops on the ground to get the job done*, as he really has ramped things up there? I mean, there's the sense that (2) *we don't have enough people on the ground* there to get the job done.
> MR. BURTON: Well, as the -- let me start by saying that (3) **the men and women who serve the United States in Afghanistan are performing courageously and bravely under the most dangerous conditions in the world**, and the President appreciates their service and is humbled by it. And the reason that we're there is because the people who plotted and executed the attacks of 9/11 operate there still and are still plotting against us. And the reason that we're there is to stop them. The President put in place a strategy by which we would disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda and its extremist allies. And his view is that the -- when he laid out his policy earlier this year to put **more troops on the ground**, put a new strategy in place is a winning strategy.
>
> (WH Web, 14th, Aug, 2009)

It is worth noting that the spokesperson ignores (probably on purpose) the phrase *not enough* which is used by the journalist to modify American *troops on the ground*. In other words, the spokesperson only refers to a part of what has been said by the journalist; meanwhile, he emphasizes only what he intends to shed light on. In this way, the spokesperson and the journalist contextualize these three text segments ((1), (2) and (3)) differently. More specifically, the journalist emphasizes that there are not enough troops in Afghanistan while the spokesperson highlights that the American troops in Afghanistan are fighting bravely in a dangerous place.

The intertextual relationship of hyponymy can also be found in the corpus. In the extract below, a journalist refers to what has been said by the previous President, indicating that the current President should give *what a commander asked for*. The *commander* the journalist indicates is General McChrystal. In his response, the spokesperson highlights the fact that the previous administration has not approved what

has been requested by General McKiernan. By associating the phrase *a commander* with a different referent (General McKiernan) from that in the journalist's question (General McChrystal), the spokesperson successfully shows that a request by a commander is not *a standard*. Also, in the extract below, we can find the relationship of intertextual interpretation/description. The whole sentence – *General McKiernan had written a request for more troops in Afghanistan for more than a year before we got here*— gives us an example of what *a commander asked for*.

> Q The last President always said basically if **a commander asked for it** there's nothing he wouldn't get. Is that --
> MR. GIBBS: -- that was sitting on <u>**General McKiernan's desk**</u> -- or *<u>General McKiernan had written a request for more troops in Afghanistan for more than a year before we got here.</u>* So I don't know whether that's -- I'm not sure that's a standard by which to measure that.                                    (WH Web, 31st, Aug, 2009)

Although spokespersons do not avoid using the word *troops*, the relationship of intertextual ellipsis can also be found in the corpus. In the extract below, a journalist questions the President's objective and asks whether he will pursue this *however long it takes*. In his response, the spokesperson denies the journalist's speculation, pointing out that "it is not a however long it takes objective because we will not stay there forever; meanwhile, it is not a whatever it takes objective because we do not have enough manpower and the budget. We need help from our allies".

> Q Robert, when the President says, as he did yesterday, that his objective is to disrupt, dismantle and destroy the al Qaeda network, is that a <u>"whatever it takes" kind of objective, "however long it takes" objective</u>?
> MR. GIBBS: Well, again, going back to what I said to Chuck, I think the President -- many and most in the administration believe we have to have discernable benchmarks to measure that progress. And as I've said here before, this is not -- **we all know this is not something that we can stay there forever. We don't have the manpower, we don't have the budget to do that.** That's one of the reasons why you have seen and talked about proposals that strengthen Afghan security and police forces. We will not be able to do this alone. That's why NATO is involved with a hefty number of troops that complement the number we have and have about 100,000 in the country.
>                                                                        (WH Web, 30th, Sep, 2009)

In contrast to the way they use the word *timetable*, the GS corpus shows that spokespersons tend to (1) specify the shared lexical item, or the synonym of the shared lexical item when they use it or (2) emphasize a different aspect to that used by journalists. The relationship of interpretation/description is therefore found to be common in the GS corpus. Take the following extract as an example. A journalist refers to what has been said by a former vice- president, indicating the President's hesitation to make a further decision about Afghanistan (*afraid to make a decision*).

> Q   Okay.  Vice President -- former Vice President Cheney was quite critical of the President over the timeline of ***the decision on going forward in Afghanistan***, saying that the President seems ***afraid to make a decision***, that <u>***this delay***</u> hurts our allies and emboldens our adversaries.  I'm wondering if there's any comment on that from the White House.
>   MR. GIBBS:  Well, I think it's a curious comment, given -- I think it's pretty safe to say that <u>*the Vice President was for seven years not focused on Afghanistan.  Even more curious, given the fact that an increase in troops sat on desks in this White House, including the Vice President's, for more than eight months, a resource request filled by President Obama in March.*</u>
>   What Vice President Cheney calls "**dithering**," President Obama calls <u>his solemn responsibility to the **men and women in uniform** and to the American public</u>.  I think we've all seen what happens when somebody doesn't take that responsibility seriously.
> <div align="right">(WH Web, 22<sup>nd</sup>, Oct, 209)</div>

In his response, the spokesperson gives an example of the length of time the previous administration took to make a decision on a request for troops (italics and underlined). This maintains a relationship of intertextual interpretation/description with the text segment – [*the President] seems afraid to make a decision*. Also, the spokesperson uses the word originally used by the Vice-President (*dithering*) to refer to the phrase *this delay* (intertextual relationship of synonymy) used by the journalist, explaining *this delay* from a different aspect (intertextual relationship of interpretation/description) – since it is the President's *solemn responsibility to the men and women in uniform and to the American public*, and therefore he has to take all the time necessary to make a decision. In this way, the spokesperson successfully shows the ineffectiveness of the previous administration and how inappropriate what the former Vice-President said was. Also, by emphasizing the length of time the previous administration took to deal with a request for troop, he successfully defends the current administration against the accusation of taking too long to make this decision on Afghanistan.

Based on the discussion above, we can infer that spokespersons do not avoid using the shared lexical item (intertextual reference, see 6.2.1) or its synonyms; instead they tend to contextualize it differently (intertextual reference or synonymy) or emphasize a different aspect from what has been said by the journalist (intertextual interpretation/description), in order to achieve their institutional purposes – maintaining a positive image for the government.

### 6.2.2.3 *Troops* **in journalists' questions**

*Troops* in journalists' questions is found to be used very consistently within this time span; meanwhile, the type of intertextual relationship in the Q corpus is found to be

associated with the way in which the word *troops* is used. This sub-section aims to explore how spokespersons respond to instances of *troops* in the Q corpus, based on an analysis of the type of intertextual relationship which can be found in this corpus.

### *a. Troops before December 2009 in the Q corpus*

Most instances of *troops* before December 2009 are used to explore whether or not the President will send more troops to Afghanistan in his new strategy, regardless of what the referent is. More specifically, in addition to directly referring to speculation on the President's new strategy (MATAf4, 64 instances out of 124 in the Q corpus, see 6.3.1), other types of referents are also used to explore information related to it.

From the aspect of the type of intertextual relationship, the corpus shows that before the President releases the new strategy on Afghanistan, spokespersons do not avoid referring to the text segment used by journalists or the synonym of that text segment; instead, they tend to emphasize a different aspect from that of journalists. This is similar to what we have found in the GS corpus.

Take ITs (international troops) as an example. Among 124 instances of *troops* in the Q corpus, 12 of them are used to refer to international troops (including 8 instances which refer to more international troops going to Afghanistan, one instance referring to the existing international troops in Afghanistan, one example used as a general term for international troops and two instances of Afghan troops).

We now turn to an example (see the extract below) of how ITs is used by a journalist to explore information related to the President's new strategy, based on an interpretation of the intertextual relationships we have analysed in chapter 2. This also shows how the spokesperson sheds light on a different aspect from that of the journalist.

> Q The British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, said today that his government is ready to send **500 more troops** under certain conditions. And the BBC is reporting that the U.S. government told the British government that it was going to announce substantial increase in a U.S. deployment in Afghanistan. Can you comment on the veracity of **that** report --       (WH Web, 14th, Oct, 2009)

The journalist's question consists of three sentences:

a) British government *is ready to send 500 more troops* **_under certain conditions_**.
b) It is said in BBC's reports the U.S. government has told the British government that **_an increase of U.S. troops in Afghanistan would be announced soon_**.
c) Please *comment on the veracity* of **that** BBC report.

The three sentences in the question will be analysed in reverse order. The third sentence asks the government spokesperson to verify whether a BBC report is true or

not. The pronoun *that* (bold and underlined) before *BBC report* indicates that the BBC report in the third sentence refers to the one explained in the second sentence. According to the report described in the second sentence, the U.S. government has already told the British government that they would announce a U.S. military increase in Afghanistan soon. Although it seems that the first sentence simply describes the fact that British government is ready to send 500 more troops, the phrase *under certain conditions* (italics, bold and underlined) indicates that there are conditions under which they will do this. When followed by the second sentence which indicates that the U.S. government promises a military increase, it conveys a feeling that British government is ready to send more troops because the U.S. government has promised to increase U.S. troops in Afghanistan. Therefore, it can be observed that the focus of the journalist's question is not international troops but an exploration of the possibility that the President has decided to send more troops to Afghanistan. Thus, the international *troops* is used in this example in order to bring up the journalist's question about sending more troops to Afghanistan. In other words, the journalist asks the spokesperson to make a comment on the second sentence which can be divided into three parts: (1) the BBC is reporting something; (2) the U.S. government told the British government something; and (3) the U.S. government is going to announce substantial increase in the U.S. deployment in Afghanistan.

The spokesperson, as shown in the extract below, chooses to directly reply only to the first and third part, ignoring the second part (probably on purpose). In response to the first part, the spokesperson criticises the statement that the *BBC will not be the first outlet for such a decision*. The relationship of intertextual ellipsis can be found in the response to the third part, where the spokesperson directly points out that *the President has not made a decision [on whether to send more troops or not]*. In this way, he attempts to transform the journalist's emphasis – whether or not *the U.S. government told the British government* about sending more troops to Afghanistan —into the issue of whether or not *the President has made a decision*. It seems his manoeuvre works because the journalist does not follow up with the question "has the U.S. government told the British government about its further decision"?

> Q The British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, said today that his government is ready to send **500 more troops** under certain conditions. And the BBC is reporting that the U.S. government told the British government that it was going to announce substantial increase in a U.S. deployment in Afghanistan. Can you comment on the veracity of **that** report --

> MR. GIBBS: I wouldn't -- the President has not made a decision, and when he does,
> I think that you can assume that the BBC will not be the first outlet for such a
> decision. I would not put any -- throw weight behind the fact that a decision has
> been made when the President has yet to make a decision.
> In terms of -- let me speak just for a second about **Prime Minister Brown's**
> **announcement**. Obviously, throughout this process we have been coordinating our
> review with our allies. I think we read out a call last week between President
> Obama and Prime Minister Brown, where the Prime Minister communicated to us
> their **decision to send more troops**.
> Obviously, the British people and those that serve there have borne an enormous
> price in casualties. Obviously, we're thankful for **a strengthening of the coalition**,
> and our assessment continues. But again, I think we're happy for **their increase in**
> **contribution**.                                                              (WH Web, 14th, Oct, 2009)

The extract shows that there are several text segments which maintain an
intertextual relationship of synonymy with *500 more troops* (e.g.: *a strengthening of the
coalition*, *their increase in contribution*, *decision to send more troops*, *Prime Minister
Brown's announcement*, bold and underlined). Yet, the spokesperson contextualizes
these text segments differently from the journalist. The journalist points out that these
500 British troops are being sent *under certain conditions*, indicating that there is a
possibility that the President has decided to send more troops to Afghanistan (see
discussion above). Meanwhile, the spokesperson intends to emphasize the contribution
made by British troops (*have borne an enormous price in casualties, strengthening of
the coalition*) and appreciate their work in Afghanistan (*we're happy for their increase
in contribution*). These text segments maintain a relationship of intertextual
interpretation/description with *500 more troops*, shedding light on different aspects of
these troops. In this way, the spokesperson shows their gratitude to the British
government; meanwhile, he escapes from directly responding to issues related to
speculation on the President's new strategy.

*b. Troops as used in December 2009 and January 2010 in the Q corpus*

The corpus shows that, after 1 December, 2009, the majority of the instances of *troops*
occur when journalists want to shed light on the potential problems of the new strategy
(see 6.5).  In their responses, spokespersons start to use text segments which maintain a
relationship of intertextual ellipsis or of hyponymy (rather than the relationship of
synonymy or of intertextual interpretation/description) with previous journalists'
questions.

Take the following extract as an example. A journalist points out that public polls
show that the President's new strategy on Afghanistan is not supported by most
American people, asking whether or not the President will take public opinion into

account. The spokesperson says that a national security decision is not made based *on polling* (of whether or not the public support sending more troops). The content of polling is omitted; in this way, it maintains a relationship of intertextual ellipsis with the journalist's words – *sending more troops* over there.

> Q   Is he going to pay attention to whether that's -- right now, clearly, the majority of Americans don't support <u>sending more troops over there</u>.  Will he be listening to --
> MR. GIBBS:  Well, what poll are you -- I mean, most of -- well, let me say this, because I'm not going to get into this.  The President didn't make a national security decision last night or in the previous days leading up to last night based on ***<u>polling</u>***.
>
> (WH Web, 2nd, Dec, 2009)

Their following interaction also shows this type of intertextual relationship. The journalist keeps asking whether the President will *reconsider* his strategy *if public support is low for sending these troops*. The spokesperson says that they are not *going to reconsider* (the strategy).

> Q   I'm not talking instantaneous, I'm talking over the coming months, if <u>public support is still low for sending these troops </u>is the President going to reconsider on that basis?
>
> MR. GIBBS:  ***<u>We're not going to reconsider</u>*** -- we didn't make the decision based on political polling; we're not going to look at the polls and make decisions going forward based on that.                          (WH Web, 2nd, Dec, 2009)

To emphasize the point we are making, we turn to a similar question before the President announces his strategy in the corpus. Back in November, a journalist asks whether or not public opinion will have an impact on the President's decision if *a clear majority of the American public* tell *the President they don't want to send more troops to Afghanistan*, indicating that *the President has an obligation to listen to the public*. In his response, the spokesperson uses the phrase *an obligation* directly and interprets it from a different aspect (italics and underlined), portraying a positive image of the government. His explanation maintains a relationship of intertextual interpretation/description with the phrase *an obligation*.

> Q   Robert, in light of the changes in Afghanistan, <u>if a clear majority of the American public tell the White House, tell the President they don't want to send</u> ***<u>more troops</u>*** <u>to Afghanistan, does</u> **<u>the President have an obligation </u>**to listen to the American public or to follow his own dictates?
> MR. GIBBS:  Well, *<u>the President has an obligation as Commander-in-Chief to make the very best decision in order to protect our national interest and to protect American citizens here as well as the troops we have on the ground</u>*.
>
> (WH Web, 2nd, Nov, 2009)

In conclusion, before the President announces his new strategy, a great number of the instances of *troops* in the Q corpus is responded to by spokespersons via text segments which maintain a relationship of synonymy or of intertextual

interpretation/description with the shared lexical item. In contrast to the way journalists refer to *troops*, spokespersons contextualize the word or its synonyms differently or shed light on a different aspect from the one used by journalists. After the new strategy is released, in their responses to journalists' questions which indicate the potential problems of the new strategy, spokespersons tend to replace *troops* with text segments that maintain a relationship of intertextual ellipsis with the word.

# 6.3 An exploration of how *troops* is used in the corpus over time

The previous section explores how the word *troops* is used during direct interaction between spokespersons and journalists. This section aims to explore how different referents of *troops* are used in the corpus in different time spans, providing corpus evidence for the next two sections.

## 6.3.1 Preliminary observation

This sub-section provides the preliminary quantitative data of how *troops* is used in the corpus. As we have explained in section 6.2.1.1, there are altogether 1661 instances of *troops* in the corpus. It should be pointed out at the beginning that this study analyses all the concordance lines of *troops* in detail only in the GS corpus and the Q corpus; meanwhile, only the collocates and clusters of *troops* are examined in the MC corpus. We now turn to the use of *troops* in the GS corpus first.

### 6.3.1.1 *Troops* in the GS corpus

Table 6.3 below shows the raw frequency of different referents of *troops* in the GS corpus in each month including 6 instances of *troops* which are either ambiguous in its reference or only occurs once. *Troops* is used most frequently in August, October and December. Also, there are three referents which are used the most, namely, (a) MATAf (56 times), (b) ATAf (29 times) and (c) GAT (47 times).

| Referents of *Troops* | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec | Jan | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| More American troops to Afghanistan (MATAf) | 5 | 8 | 25 | 3 | 15 | 0 | 56 |
| American troops in Afghanistan (ATAf) | 5 | 0 | 6 | 4 | 11 | 3 | 29 |
| Generalization (GAT) | 22 | 4 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 0 | 47 |
| American troops in Iraq (ATIr) | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 |
| International troops in Afghanistan (ITAf) | 0 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 15 |
| More International troops to Afghanistan (MITAf) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Afghan troops (AfT) | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Other | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| Total | 35 | 18 | 47 | 19 | 43 | 4 | 166 |

*Table 6.3 Troops in the GS corpus*

Table 6.3 shows that the referent of *troops* is associated with the time period within which it is used (highlighted in shadow). Spokespersons tend to use the word *troops* as a general term in August and November (a group of people who serve in the military, including the navy, army and air force, see 6.1.2.3); in September, October and December, the word *troops* is mostly used as MATAf; in January 2010, three out of four instances of *troops* refer to ATAf.

| | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec | Jan | total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MATAf1 | 4 | 5 | 15 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 25 |
| MATAf2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 13 |
| MATAf3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| MATAf4 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| MATAf p | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 4 |
| ATAf1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| ATAf2 | 5 | 0 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 18 |
| ATAf3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| Total | 10 | 8 | 31 | 7 | 26 | 3 | 85 |

*Table 6.4 MATAf and ATAf in the GS corpus*

### 6.3.1.2 *Troops* **in the Q corpus**

Table 6.5 below shows the raw frequency of different referents (of *troops*) used in the Q corpus. MATAf is the most frequently used referent throughout the whole Q corpus (64 instances out of 124, highlighted in shadow), followed by ATAf (32 out of 124). This tendency coincides with that in each of the six months (MATAf is the most frequently used referent in the Q corpus, followed by ATAf). Most instances of troops are found in September (25 times), October (34 times) and November (34 times).

| Referents of *Troops* | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec | Jan | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| More American troops to Afghanistan (MATAf) | 9 | 14 | 20 | 15 | 6 | 0 | 64 |
| American troops in Afghanistan (ATAf) | 4 | 9 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 32 |
| Generalization (GAT) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 11 |
| American troops in Iraq (ATIr) | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| International troops in Afghanistan (ITAf) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| More International troops to Afghanistan (MITAf) | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 8 |
| Afghan troops (AfT) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 14 | 25 | 34 | 34 | 17 | 0 | 124 |

*Table 6.5 Troops in the Q corpus*

Table 6.6 below lists the type of MATAf and ATAf used in the Q corpus in each month. It seems that journalists are concerned more with issues related to MATAf4 and ATAf2 (highlighted in shadow). These two referents account for just over three quarters (76%) of all the MATAf and ATAf.

| | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec | Jan | total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **MATAf1** | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| **MATAf2** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| **MATAf3** | 1 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| **MATAf4** | 8 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 45 |
| **MATAf** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| **ATAf1** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **ATAf2** | 4 | 9 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 28 |
| **ATAf3** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| **Total** | 13 | 23 | 30 | 21 | 9 | 0 | 96 |

In conclusion, the two most frequent referents in both the GS corpus and the Q corpus are MATAf (56 in the GS corpus and 64 in the Q corpus) and ATAf (29 and 32 respectively). Also, these two corpora coincide with each other in the way that ATAf is used; more specifically, the most frequent sub-classification in both corpora is ATAf2 (18 times in the GS corpus and 28 times in the Q corpus). However, spokespersons and journalists tend to use MATAf differently, in particular MATAf4 (9 times in the GS corpus and 45 times in the Q corpus). These observations will be further analysed in sections 6.4 and 6.5.

### 6.3.1.3 Collocates and clusters of *troops* in the MC corpus

We have illustrated how different referents of troops are used in the GS corpus and the Q corpus in detail in the previous two sub-sections. This section aims to provide the primary statistics of how the word *troops* is used in the MCQ corpus, based on its collocates and clusters.

Table 6.7 below lists the top collocates of *troops* (excluding grammatical words) which are re-arranged in terms of the MI-score (mutual information, showing how strongly the node word attracts its collocates, ignoring the frequency), with the T-score listed on the right (T-score shows the degree of certainty to which the node word occurs with its collocates in a corpus, taking the frequency into account). As explained by Hunston, "an MI-score of 3 or higher" (2002: 71) and "a T-score of 2 or higher" (2002: 72) is normally taken to be significant (although the T-score normally depends on the p-value we have set. P-value represents the probability qualifying the strength of evidence against what we expect to be false in favour of what we expect to be true). All the collocates listed in table 6.5 below are thus significant in terms of both MI-score and T-score, especially the words *additional*, *send, sending, more, American* and *Afghanistan*.

| MI-score | Collocates | T-score |
|---|---|---|
| 7.48465 | additional | 14.44474 |
| 7.39291 | deploying | 4.2174 |
| 7.38605 | sending | 10.5666 |
| 7.36821 | send | 12.05097 |
| 7.03034 | deploy | 4.54752 |
| 6.98482 | extra | 3.43675 |
| 6.86453 | add | 3.43437 |
| 6.71192 | withdraw | 4.31732 |
| 6.65041 | fewer | 3.42962 |
| 6.55419 | commit | 3.42724 |
| 6.54491 | withdrawing | 3.12841 |
| 6.39986 | thousands | 4.84096 |
| 6.33846 | requested | 3.27564 |
| 6.31337 | deployed | 4.30409 |
| 6.20371 | more | 20.4313 |
| 6.11607 | bringing | 3.41416 |
| 6.07027 | sent | 5.4849 |
| 6.04895 | ordered | 3.41178 |
| 6.02892 | request | 6.14936 |
| 5.95659 | roughly | 3.26322 |
| 5.92342 | adding | 3.11017 |
| 5.78912 | number | 6.28733 |
| 5.73274 | begin | 4.70565 |
| 5.64332 | combat | 5.18563 |
| 5.2474 | american | 14.44193 |

| MI-score | Collocates | T-score |
|---|---|---|
| 5.12506 | home | 4.65841 |
| 5.06093 | allied | 3.21727 |
| 5.04169 | increase | 5.0384 |
| 4.98001 | needed | 3.49131 |
| 4.97396 | many | 8.04231 |
| 4.87031 | numbers | 3.05416 |
| 4.83596 | enough | 3.85995 |
| 4.81909 | resources | 3.05025 |
| 4.75922 | afghanistan | 16.92929 |
| 4.739 | july | 3.19243 |
| 4.64139 | cost | 3.18373 |
| 4.58213 | nato | 5.82882 |
| 4.54705 | ground | 3.45132 |
| 4.47717 | added | 3.02029 |
| 4.42092 | plan | 4.36864 |
| 4.26631 | decision | 4.83405 |
| 4.12547 | iraq | 5.41543 |
| 4.10816 | allies | 3.39648 |
| 4.1058 | surge | 2.97861 |
| 4.06093 | according | 3.11791 |
| 4.05553 | commitment | 2.9721 |
| 3.99742 | asked | 2.96428 |
| 3.99742 | fight | 2.96428 |
| 3.81909 | support | 4.15528 |
| 3.80795 | need | 3.21677 |

*Table 6.7 MI-score and T-score of the top 50 collocates of troops These collocates can be grouped into three categories, words indicating the quantity of troops (more, many, number, additional, enough), words indicating the property or the kind of troops (combat, foreign, Iraq, Afghan) and words indicating troops as a part of strategy (strategy, deploy, plan, send, sending ).*

Looking more closely at the clusters of *troops* (see table 6.8- 6.12 below, 6-2 word clusters which occur more than ten times), we can observe that lexical items before and after *troops* indicate that it mainly refers to more troops being sent to Afghanistan (MATAf or MITAf) (e.g.: *more troops to Afghanistan*, *additional troops to Afghanistan*, *American troops to Afghanistan, request for more troops*) or *troops* in Afghanistan (ATAf or ITAf) (e.g.: *American troops in Afghanistan, troops in Afghanistan*). The 2-word clusters show that the commonest type of troops referred in the corpus are *more troops*, *American troops* and *additional troops*. It is therefore likely that MATAf and ATAf are the most frequent referents in the MC corpus.

| Fre | Clusters |
|---|---|
| 16 | to send more troops to afghanistan |
| 10 | to send 30,000 additional troops to afghanistan |

*Table 6.8 Six-word clusters in MC*

| Fre | Clusters |
|---|---|
| 23 | sending more troops to afghanistan |
| 19 | send more troops to afghanistan |
| 19 | to send more troops to |
| 17 | whether to send more troops |
| 10 | send 30,000 additional troops to afghanistan |
| 10 | to send 30,000 additional troops to |

*Table 6.9 Five-word clusters in MC*

| Fre | Clusters | Fre | Clusters |
|---|---|---|---|
| 72 | more troops to afghanistan | 13 | request for more troops |
| 41 | to send more troops | 13 | the number of troops |
| 29 | additional troops to afghanistan | 11 | additional american troops to |
| 23 | sending more troops to | 10 | american troops in afghanistan |

| 22 | send more troops to | 10 | send 30,000 additional troops to |
|----|---------------------|-----|----------------------------------|
| 18 | american troops to afghanistan | 10 | to send 30,000 additional troops |

*Table 6.10 Four-word clusters in MC*

| Fre | Clusters | Fre | Clusters | Fre | Clusters |
|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|
| 149 | troops to afghanistan | 21 | american troops in | 13 | more troops for |
| 91 | more troops to | 21 | of american troops | 13 | of additional troops |
| 53 | troops in afghanistan | 20 | number of troops | 13 | troops into afghanistan |
| 52 | sending more troops | 18 | the additional troops | 13 | troops to the |
| 45 | send more troops | 16 | how many troops | 13 | troops will be |
| 37 | for more troops | 16 | more troops and | 11 | troops on the |
| 36 | additional troops to | 16 | troops would be | 10 | more troops would |
| 31 | additional american troops | 16 | u.s. troops | 10 | send 30,000 additional troops |
| 29 | american troops to | 15 | american troops and | 10 | troops to send |
| 25 | more american troops | 15 | united states troops | | |

*Table 6.11 Three-word clusters in MC*

| Fre | Clusters | Fre | Clusters | Fre | Clusters | Fre | Clusters |
|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|
| 334 | more troops | 31 | troops are | 15 | states troops | 11 | its troops |
| 234 | troops to | 29 | troops there | 15 | troops he | 10 | additional 30,000 troops |
| 183 | american troops | 28 | our troops | 15 | troops' | 10 | allied troops |
| 124 | additional troops | 25 | combat troops | 14 | nato troops | 10 | extra troops |
| 96 | troops in | 22 | troops for | 14 | troops by | 10 | troops already |
| 68 | troops and | 21 | troops into | 14 | troops that | 10 | troops is |
| 61 | of troops | 20 | many troops | 13 | foreign troops | 10 | troops out |
| 58 | the troops | 18 | afghan troops | 13 | troops home | 10 | troops with |
| 45 | troops will | 17 | troops on | 13 | troops, the | 10 | troops, and |
| 42 | troops would | 17 | troops were | 12 | in troops | | |
| 36 | troops from | 16 | s. troops | 12 | troops, but | | |

*Table 6.12 Two word clusters in MC*

## 6.4 An exploration of intertextual influence in terms of spokespersons' "job security policy"

Having explored how the word *troops* is used in the corpus in section 6.3, this section aims to examine how and to what extent spokespersons follow or breach their "job security policy", by investigating the intertextual influence from the perspective of institutional constraints.

   Based on the observation in 6.3, there are three points worth noting,

   (1) spokespersons tend to use MATAf1 more (25 times) than journalists (3 times);

   (2) MATAf4 occurs in the GS corpus before the President decides to send more troops;

   (3) Doubts on MATAf3.

This section comprises three parts and explains these three points.

### 6.4.1 Why MATAf1?

MATAf1 refers to the 21,000 troops that were deployed to Afghanistan in March, 2009 by the President (see 6.2.2.1). The corpus consists of texts which were created after July, 2009. It is therefore not surprising that MATAf1 occurs in the GS corpus.

   There are two groups of MATAf1 in the GS corpus. Some of them are found in the President's public speeches (see extracts below) as an explanation of why he sent 21,000 troops to Afghanistan in March. It therefore raises the question of why spokespersons still emphasize the reason t why 21,000 troops were sent to Afghanistan six months after the decision had been made.

> When I came in I had to make a series of immediate decisions about sending **additional troops** to ensure that the election could take place during the fighting season.  But I was crystal clear at the time that post-election we were going to need to do an additional assessment.                    (WH Web, 16th, Sep, 2009)
> In terms of the review process that we're going through, the minute I came into office we initiated a review, and even before that review was completed, I ordered **21,000 additional troops** into Afghanistan because I thought it was important to secure the election, to make sure that the Taliban did not disrupt it.
>  (WH Web, 25th, Sep, 2009)

   One of the possible answers for this question – why does the White House keeps emphasizing the reason for sending these troops — is that the White House has been criticized by journalists. The corpus shows that some journalists are against sending more troops to Afghanistan, pointing out that this was a rushed decision by the

Presdient which did not improve the situation in Afghanistan. As a result, the President has to emphasize that the 21,000 troops were sent to Afghanistan because of *a longstanding request for more troops*.

Take extract 1 below as an example. The journalist directly points out that the President's decision *was made hurriedly*. Also, he modifies his statement with the prepositional phrase *within weeks of coming into office*, implying how quickly and irresponsibly the decision was made. The first extract below is another example. The prepositional phrase— *within weeks of taking office before even settling on a strategy*— implies that the President did not take his time to think carefully before he made the decision. The author of extract 2 even suggests that it is likely that the President is having *buyer's remorse* after he sent these troops.

1. His decision to send 21,000 more troops to Afghanistan early this year, which will bring the number of American troops there to 68,000 this fall, *was made hurriedly within weeks of coming into office* to stanch the tactical erosion on the ground and provide security during Afghan elections. (NYT, Baper & Bumiller, 26th, Sep, 2009)

2. Although Mr. Obama has said that a stable Afghanistan is central to the security of the United States, some advisers said he was also wary of becoming trapped in an overseas quagmire. Some Pentagon officials say they worry that he is having what they called *"buyer's remorse" after ordering an extra 21,000 troops there within weeks of taking office before even settling on a strategy*.

(NYT, Baker & Bumiller, 22nd, Sep, 2009)

Being accused of not thinking carefully about the decision he made by journalists, it is not surprising that the President wants to emphasize that these troops were sent under a *longstanding request for more troops*. In other words, it is possible that the President would not have clarified his reason for sending 21,000 troops to Afghanistan in March if he had not been accused that his decision *was made hurriedly*, *within weeks of coming into office*, before *even settling on a strategy*. It is thus likely that this way of using MATAf1 is the intertextual result of journalists' accusations, accusations they have made in their newspapers.

The second group of MATAf1 is found in press briefings, more specifically, in spokespersons' responses to previous journalists' questions. Take the following extract as an example. A journalist asks the spokesperson whether there is any change in the President's strategy. In his response, the spokesperson specifies that the President has authorized *21,000 troops for Afghanistan*. These authorized troops were a part of the President's strategy back in March. From this perspective, what has been specified by the spokesperson (*the President authorized 21,000 new troops for Afghanistan*) maintains a relationship of intertextual interpretation/description with the word *strategy*

in the journalist's question (bold and underlined). It is not surprising the spokespersons emphasize the 21,000 troops which were deployed in March 2009 because it is the only concrete troop-policy before the President gives his new strategy in December.

> Q But is this **<u>strategy</u>** -- is anything changing now?
> MR. BURTON: No, the strategy is not changing and, there are pieces of it that aren't fully implemented just yet. The President authorized <u>21,000 new troops</u> for Afghanistan -- they're not all on the ground just yet, but we believe that with the strategy and the assets and the infusion of resources, that we're going to be able to achieve our goals. .
>
> <div align="right">(WH Web, 10th, Aug, 2009)</div>

Spokespersons try to follow their "job security policy" and talk about MATAf1 once it has been approved by the President; meanwhile, their way of using MATAf1 can be understood as the intertextual response to what has been said by journalists. Being intertextually influenced by journalists, spokespersons keep explaining the reason for a troop-decision (the decision, as explained before, has been made for longer than six months). Yet, different from the way they respond to issues related to *timetable*, spokespersons tend to specify the strategy they refer to, via text segments which maintain a relationship of intertextual interpretation/description with the shared lexical item.

### 6.4.2 Why refer to MATAf4?

As explained in 3.3, limited by their "job security policy", spokespersons should not give away any information before they have been authorized to do so. However, as we have highlighted in 6.3, we found that spokespersons started to discuss issues related to MATAf4 before the President decided to send more troops to Afghanistan. This sub-section therefore aims to explore the reason why spokespersons breach their "job security policy" in the GS corpus.

The president announced his new strategy on the war in Afghanistan on 1 December 2009 (see 6.1.2.1). Due to the "job security policy", anything related to the content of the new strategy should not have been discussed before this date. Therefore, MATAf$_4$, which refers to the journalists' conjecture about the President's possible option of adopting this new strategy, is clearly not among the issues which the spokesperson wants to discuss before the President makes his new strategy public. However, the corpus shows that MATAf4 is found nine times before December 2009 (see 6.3); it accounts for 17% out of all the instances of MATAf (see figure 6.13).
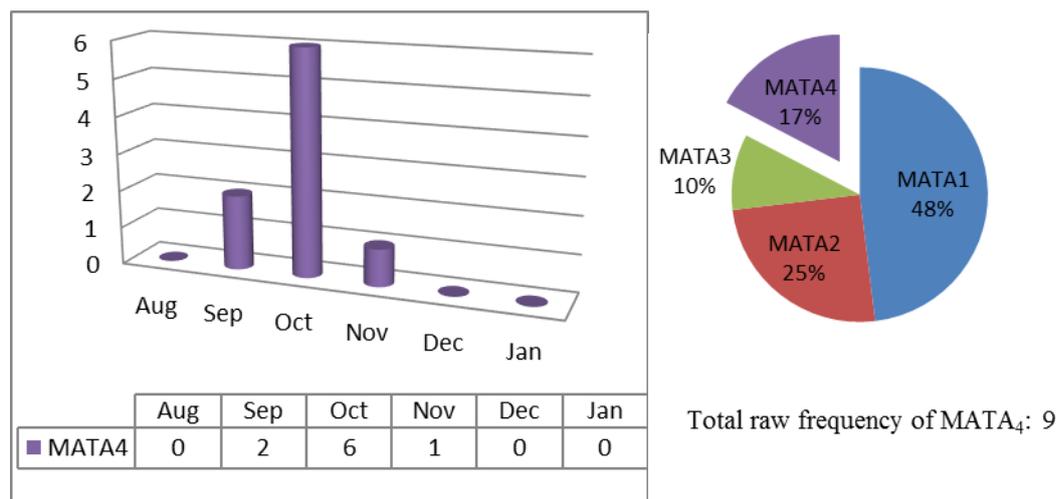
*Figure 6.13 MATAf4 in each month (Raw frequency) & proportion which MATAf4 accounts for in MATAf*

This therefore raises the question why spokespersons breached their "job security policy" and discussed issues related to MATAf4 before they were authorized to do so. The corpus shows that all these instances of MATAf4 are found as responses to what has been said by journalists. In other words, it is the result of being intertextually guided by journalists.

Take the following extract as an example. A journalist asks the spokesperson whether the President would take the concern of House members that *they don't want to see more troops go to Afghanistan*, into account. In his reply, the spokesperson says he does not have a list of people who are for or against sending more troops to Afghanistan. The phrase *additional troops* and *additional forces* are used as the synonym of *more troops* in the journalist's question. It is assumed that, without being asked about issues related to MATAf4, the spokesperson will not discuss a policy about more troops which has not been approved by the President.

> Q Thanks, Robert. Does the President have any specific plans to meet with senators or House members who have already said that they don't want to see more troops go to Afghanistan, someone like Senator Russ Feingold or others? There are already people out there on record making a case against that.
> MR. GIBBS: We will -- as part of any evaluation of and assessment of our strategy, we'll include consultation with Congress. The President -- without having a list in front of me of people that have or have not said where they are on ***additional troops*** -- I can assure that before any decision is made, that those senators will have an opportunity, or members of the House will have an opportunity to weigh in for or against ***additional forces***.
> (WH Web, 30th, Sep, 2009)

Different from the way spokespersons deal with *timetable*, they do not avoid using *additional troops*, or its synonym, namely, *additional forces*. Instead, they purposely contextualize them in a more neutral way. Instead of only emphasizing the

179

group of people who do not support sending more troops to Afghanistan, the spokesperson also sheds light on people who are not against sending more troops (*of people that have or have not said where they are on additional troops*; *weigh in for or against additional forces*). Also, in this case, the spokesperson diverts their audience's attention away via the phrase *without having a list in front of me*, ignoring Senator Russ Reingold who is mentioned by the journalist (probably on purpose).

The following extract is another example. Being questioned about the feasibility of putting all the additional troops on the ground before January, the spokesperson denies that there was any discussion about additional troops in the meeting the day before. The phrase *additional troops* is a synonym of *additional combat forces*.

> Q   On Afghanistan, yesterday in here we talked a little bit about the political context of timing of how long the President was???? to decide, but I want to ask you about something that may have actually come up in yesterday's meeting that's more strategic.  Does the President believe -- and his military advisors say he has some breathing space now on the idea of whether or not to *send additional combat forces* because as Secretary Gates said, even if he were to decide tonight they couldn't arrive to theater until January, and that typically is a much less active military climate in Afghanistan.  So I'm just curious if you've evaluated that.
> MR. GIBBS: I think the scenario that you outlined is absolutely factual.  I'll tell you as I've told others, ***there was not a discussion last night about additional troops.***
>
> (WH Web, 1st, Oct, 2009)

Yet, the journalist clearly does not aim to ask whether there was any discussion about more troops; instead, he brings up Secretary Gates' claim about the availability of more troops on the ground before January 2010, being likely to be the reason for the President taking such a long time to make further decision. Neither a direct "YES, Secretary Gates is right" nor a "NO, Secretary Gates is wrong" answer is acceptable for the spokesperson. A YES answer indicates that the President is taking such a long time to make a decision only because additional troops are not available, but not because what has been claimed by the President, namely, taking national interests into account, or assessing all the elements which will have a negative effect on the country. A NO answer, on the other hand, would probably further leads the spokesperson to the question "if not, why has the President taken so long to make a troop decision". His attempt has been observed by the spokesperson. Thus, in his response, he ignores the journalist's request for an evaluation of the secretary's claim and directly denies that there is any discussion about this decision during the meeting. In this way, he escapes from evaluating the availability of more troops and protects himself from the possible question related to MATAf4.

In a word, the corpus shows that the use of MATAf4 by spokespersons is the result of being intertextually influenced by journalists. More specifically, spokespersons breach their "job security policy" only because they have to respond to what has been said by the journalists.

### 6.4.3 Doubts on MATAf$_3$

Another manifestation for spokespersons breaching their "job security policy" can be found in their use of MATAf$_3$.

### 6.4.3.1 Preliminary observations about MATAf3

Apart from MATAf$_4$, there is another referent of *troops* which is worth noticing, namely, *MATAf$_3$* – Generals' request for more American troops to go to Afghanistan.
As we have explained in 6.2.1.3, there are two Generals mentioned in the corpus who claim the necessity of more American troops to Afghanistan, namely, David D. McKiernan and Stanley A. McChrystal. General McKiernan requested 30,000 more troops before the current administration came to power (*General McKiernan had written a request for more troops in Afghanistan for more than a year before we got here*, WH Web, 31$^{st}$, Aug, 2009). Based on his report, the President deployed 21,000 troops to Afghanistan in March, 2009 (including 17,000 troops in February, 2009 and 4,000 in March, 2009). McChrystal's report, in terms of government spokespersons, is an assessment of what is *happening on the ground in Afghanistan* which has to be finished before the President announces his new strategy. In his report, he suggests that approximately 30,000 to 40,000 more troops should be sent to Afghanistan to win the war. Based on his report, the President decides to send 30,000 additional troops in December, 2009. It therefore can be inferred that General McChrystal's assessment is more relevant to the President's new strategy while General McKiernan's request is more relevant to the President's previous strategy.

To differentiate the requests of the two Generals, the terms **request** and the **report** will used in following discussion to represent General McKiernan's request and General McChrystal's assessment  respectively (I choose the word *report* instead of

*request* to refer to the General's assessment because the General does not **REQUEST** more troops; rather, his report only indicates the necessity for more troops). Both the request and the report are the co-hyponyms of MATAf3, which is one of the co-hyponyms of *troops*. In other words, it is likely that the use of either the request or the report shows an intertextual relationship of hyponymy. Figure 6.14 below illustrates the distribution of $MATAf_3$ in each month (raw frequency). It can be observed that $MATAf_3$ occurs altogether five times, accounting for 10% of all the MATAf.

| | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec | Jan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ■ MATA3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |

Total raw frequency of $MATA_3$: 5
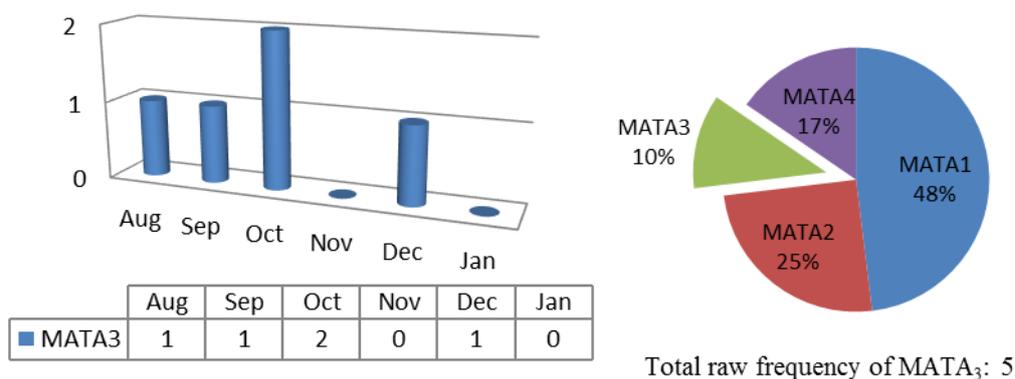
*Figure 6.14 MATA3 in each month (Raw frequency) & its proportion in all the MATAf*

As we have explained in the beginning of this sub-section, McChrystal's assessment is supposed to be an important element which has an influence on the President's new strategy while the request is closely related to the President's previous strategy. However, among all the five instances of MATAf3, four of them are used to refer to the request while only one instance refers to the report. It therefore raises the question related to MATAf3—why does the spokesperson still talk about the request six months (even longer) after the previous strategy was given? We now turn to an analysis of the request in the GS corpus.

### 6.4.3.2 An analysis of the request

This sub-section aims to explain the question proposed in 6.4.3.1, based on how MATAf3 is used in the GS corpus.

The corpus shows that the way of using MATAf3 as the request in the GS corpus normally occurs in responses to journalists' questions in which the report occurs, especially when there is an imputation that the President is indecisive about introducing

a new Afghanistan policy. In other words, the request is used in the GS corpus in response to issues related to the report.

Take the extract below as an example. A journalist highlights that there is a group of Republicans who are criticizing the President's indecisive way of dealing with the report by quoting words from Eric Cantor and Senator McCain. By asking how the political climate is affecting the President's troop decision, the journalist intends to (1) explore information related to the President's new strategy and (2) describe the disagreement between some republicans and the President.

> Q Secondly, Republicans have been critical of the President and this review and its pace. Eric Cantor said the review is jeopardizing U.S. troops and *the President should just take General McChrystal's report*. Senator McCain was equally as critical this morning on a morning program. So I'm curious how much the political climate is affecting what's happening in that room.
> MR. GIBBS: Well, I think the political climate seems to be affecting what people say on cable television. I don't recall Congressman Cantor saying that when *General David McKiernan's request for 30,000 additional troops* sat on the desk of the previous Commander-in-Chief, I don't remember him going to a newspaper or on television saying that that Commander-in-Chief was endangering the lives of men and women in Afghanistan. And I think if he didn't say that under a somewhat similar circumstance, then it's a bunch of game-playing.
>
> (WH Web, 30th, Sep, 2009)

As we have discussed before, "events, whenever possible, are presented by the media in terms of conflict" (Partington 2002: 110); therefore, White House spokespersons should "attempt to manipulate media coverage of the administration" (Maltese 1992: 2). Thus, the government spokesperson does not comment on the discussion of the report; instead, he emphasizes issues related to the request, attempting to transfer the focus from the current government to the previous one. By simply mentioning the request which is one of the co-hyponyms of MATAf3, the spokesperson successfully replies to the question without revealing much information about the report; furthermore, he even paints a better image of the new administration by comparing it with a similar situation for the previous government.

The following extract is another example. A journalist indicates that the current administration is taking too long to make further decisions on Afghanistan, by referring to what the former Vice President Dick Cheney said on the length of time the current president is taking to do this (italics and underlined).

> Q Okay. Vice President -- former Vice President Cheney was quite critical of the President over the timeline of the decision on going forward in Afghanistan, saying that the President seems afraid to make a decision, that this delay hurts our allies and emboldens our adversaries. I'm wondering if there's any comment on that from the White House.

> MR. GIBBS:  Well, I think it's a curious comment, given -- I think it's pretty safe
> to say that the Vice President was for seven years not focused on
> Afghanistan.  Even more curious, **given the fact that an increase in troops sat
> on desks in this White House, including the Vice President's, for more than
> eight months, a resource request filled by President Obama in March**.
>
> (WH Web, 22nd, Oct, 2009)

To understand how the government spokesperson is intertextually influenced by journalists' questions, we must first analyse the words of the former vice president quoted in the question. The journalist's words (italic and underlined) refer to what Cheney said in his speech about the Center for Job Security policy (see extract below) on 21 October 2009. As Dick Cheney sees it, the President is indecisive about sending the troops to Afghanistan which the *commander on the ground* needs. His words— *his commander on the ground*—although they have not been clarified, are interpreted here as referring to General McChrystal who has asked for more troops to be sent. It is therefore likely that the phrase *a decision* in the journalist's question refers not only to the decision on what Dick Cheney said about the commander's needs for more troops, but more specifically, to the report.

> Having announced his Afghanistan strategy last March, President Obama now
> seems afraid to make a decision, and *unable to provide his commander on the
> ground with the troops he needs to complete his mission*….
> It's time for President Obama to make good on his promise. The White House must stop
> dithering while America's armed forces are in danger.
>
> (Dick Cheney, 21st, Oct, 2009)

As a response to the report, the government spokesperson, again, refers to the request, arguing that the previous government was responsible for the delay in dealing with the General's request for *more than eight months* and that it is the current president who approved the request in the end. By comparing the time taken by the previous administration with that of the current administration, the spokesperson attempts to argue that (1) the President did not take as long as the previous president; and (2) the current administration is more effective than the previous one. We can therefore observe that the request is used as the response to issues related to the report which have been questioned by the journalist, aiming to show the ineffectiveness of the previous administration and portray a positive image of the current administration.

It is obvious that, similar to the reason to explain the necessity to send 21,000 troops to Afghanistan six months after the decision was made (see 6.4.1), spokespersons refer to the request as the response to what has been emphasized by journalists, in particular to the criticism of the time the President is taking to make his troop decision.

From the perspective of the spokespersons' "job security policy", it is understandable that they avoid discussing issues related to the report because any comments on the report may lead to further questions about MATAf4 which should be discouraged as it should not be discussed before December 2010 (see 6.4.2).

The President has sent General McChrystal to Afghanistan to assess the previous strategy on this country and, as shown in the extracts below, intends to develop his new strategy on Afghanistan based on this assessment. Any direct discussion on the General's report would indicate the President's potential options in his new strategy. It is, thus, not surprising that the spokespersons avoid discussing issues related to it .

> General McChrystal has been on the ground, as General Jones talked about earlier today. And like any good commander, he's doing a thorough assessment of how things are going, and that will obviously be coming forward soon. And we'll continue to discuss the metrics and the progress that we're making in Afghanistan with Congress. (WH Web, 9th, Aug, 2009)
> He'll talk about what we owe the men and women in uniform, and talk about the choices that we've had to make over the past few months about precious resources in our budget and whether or not we're going to fund expensive weapons programs the Pentagon says we don't need, or give our men and women fighting in those two dangerous places in the world and other places the resources they need. (WH Web, 15th, Aug, 2009)
> MR. GIBBS: Well, understand that this was part of a rigorous reassessment of our strategy in Afghanistan that the President demanded when he came into office. Obviously he made some initial decisions to ensure a security environment for recent elections which I think most people will tell you were important for those to happen. He will continue to talk with staff here, and as I think Secretary Gates said last week, he will be getting from Secretary Gates and Admiral Mullen, as well as General Petraeus, their thoughts on the McChrystal assessment. I think those meetings will be ongoing. (WH Web, 8th, Sep, 2009)
> MR. GIBBS: Well, look, we're going to go through -- we'll go through the region and talk about General McChrystal's assessment, and as we talk about the assessment I'm sure the resource request will be part of that discussion. (WH Web, 30th, Oct, 2009)

Meanwhile, from the perspective of intertextual influence, spokespersons have to respond to what has been said by journalists, in particular, about the report in this case. Under the impact of both institutional constraints (spokespersons' "job security policy") and journalists' intertextual influence, spokespersons associate the word *troops* with a different referent from that in the journalists' questions; more specifically, they replace what has been used by the journalists with a text segment which maintains an intertextual relationship of hyponymy with the report. In other words, by referring to MATAf3, spokespersons shed light on the request while journalists emphasize the report. By associating the same lexical item(s) with different referents, spokespersons keep interacting with journalists without breaching their "job security policy". More importantly, they are able to present the government in a positive light.

### 6.4.4Summary

This section illustrates how spokespersons are intertextually guided by what has been said by journalists from the perspective of institutional constraints, in particular, from the respect of spokespersons' "job security policy".

It can be observed that, constrained by their "job security policy", spokespersons tend to avoid talking about issues related to the General McChrystal report, which, as we have explained, may lead to journalists speculating on MATAf4. Also, in their responses to journalists' questions which are related to the President's new strategy, spokespersons only refer to the MATAf1 which has been approved by the President. Finally, in order not to breach their "job security policy", spokespersons associate MATAf3 with a different referent (the request) from the MATAf3 used by journalists (the report).

Meanwhile, journalists' intertextual influence plays a significant role in the way that spokespersons structure their language and select the words they use. Firstly, spokespersons have to keep explaining the necessity for MATAf1 six months after it has been approved in their response to journalists' criticisms about MATAf1. Secondly, spokespersons breach their "job security policy" and respond to issues related to MATAf4 before the President announces his new strategy. Finally, although they are obliged to follow their "job security policy" and associate MATAf3 with a different referent, they still have to respond to what has been said by journalists, by using *troops* as MATAf3.

## 6.5 An exploration of intertextual influence based on journalists' questions and comments

Different from the way we analyse *timetable* in the previous chapter, this section aims to explore how *troops* is used only in the MC corpus and spokespersons' public speeches. On the one hand, *troops* in the Q corpus has been studied in detail in 6.2.2.3; on the other, there are too many *troops* in the corpus to be examined one by one. In other words, this section aims to explore corpus evidence of indirect interaction between

the spokespersons and journalists, demonstrating how spokespersons are intertextually guided by journalists.

As we have highlighted in 6.2.2.3, how the word *troops* in the Q corpus is used is found to be associated with the time span within which it is used. More specifically, it is used to explore issues related to the President's new strategy before December 2009, while after the President announces it, it is used to shed light on the potential problems of the new strategy. Based on this observation, this section starts with an exploration of whether this feature can also be found in the MC corpus.

### 6.5.1 *Troops* in the MC corpus

The corpus shows that *troops* in the MC corpus also shows a similar feature — before December 2009, the majority of instances are used in discussing issues related to the President's new strategy, in various ways — although there are also instances of *troops* used to question his previous strategy.

There is a group of occurrences of *troops* which is used to simply describe what has been said by the authorities. Yet, journalists do not only describe what has been said neutrally; they tend to associate their description with an indication of the President's intention as to whether or not he will send more troops under his new strategy. Take the first extract below as an example. The journalist emphasizes first of all that these messages are from Richard C. Holbrooke, who is the President's *special representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan*, showing that the message is from a person who is in a high position. The journalist, then, emphasizes that the message from *all four regional command centres* is similar, indicating the message does not only represent the opinions of a small number of people. He finally points out that *the numbers remain below what commanders need*. It seems the journalist is simply describing *the message from four regional command centres*. However, this message also shows the need of most of thos on the ground for more troops. Although the journalist does not directly say that there is this need, his words indicate this necessity t and the possibility that the President will send them in response to the request from *all four regional command centres.*

> (1) A new report by the top commander in Afghanistan detailing the deteriorating situation there confronts President Obama with the politically perilous decision of whether to deepen American involvement in the eight-year-old war amid shrinking public support at home.

> The classified assessment submitted Monday by Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal, who took over American and NATO forces in Afghanistan in June, did not request **additional American troops**, American officials said, <u>but they added that it effectively laid the groundwork for such a request in coming weeks.</u>
> <p align="right">(NYT, Baker, P. & Filkins, D. 1<sup>st</sup>, Sep, 2009)</p>
> <u>(2)</u> General McChrystal has requested as many as **40,000 more troops** for the effort in Afghanistan and issued a dire report warning that without more forces the mission there would fail. Mr. Obama already sent **an additional 21,000 troops** earlier this year, for a total of 68,000 by this fall, and <u>the prospect of even more reinforcements prompted a wholesale review of his policy.</u>
> <p align="right">(NYT, Baker, P, 3<sup>rd</sup>, Oct, 2009)</p>
> (3) The American commanders in Afghanistan spoke this weekend with Richard C. Holbrooke, Mr. Obama's special representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan. Over the past two days, Mr. Holbrooke visited all four regional command centers in Afghanistan, and the message from all four followed similar lines: while the **additional American troops**, along with smaller increases from other NATO members, have had some benefit in the south, the numbers remain below what commanders need. <p align="right">(NYT, Helen, C, 24<sup>th</sup>, Nov, 2009)</p>

In addition to pointing to the President's expected decision to send more troops by simply describing what has been said by the authorities, some journalists also directly speculate on the new strategy and instances of *troops* can be found in these speculations. Take the following extract as an example. The journalist firstly emphasizes the position of Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal, indicating the General's crucial role in the war (in Afghanistan); he then directly makes a comment that the General's *report could lay the groundwork for a request for more troops*. In this way, the journalist speculates that it is likely that the President will send more troops to Afghanistan.

> And this week, Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal, the top American commander in the country, <u>is expected to deliver his assessment</u> of the Afghan situation to President Obama. <u>That report could lay the groundwork for a request for **more troops**.</u>
> <p align="right">(NYT, Filkins, D. 29<sup>th</sup>, Aug, 2009)</p>

Some journalists shed light on the President's dilemma or describe the problems if the President decides to send more troops. Take the first extract below as an example. The journalist highlights the fact that both the Congress and the military demand *concrete signs of progress* to show that the President's previous strategy is working, especially if he wants to send more troops to Afghanistan. Although the journalist does not directly say so, he suggests that the President may not send more troops because there is no direct sign of the benefits of doing this, taking the fact into consideration that the previous strategy did not work (in which 21,000 more troops were deployed). In this way, the journalist suggests that the President may not send any more troops.

> (1) Those "metrics" of success, demanded by Congress and eagerly awaited by the military, are seen as crucial if the president is to convince Capitol Hill and the country that his revamped strategy is working. Without concrete signs of progress, Mr. Obama may lack the political stock -- especially among Democrats and his

<p align="right">188</p>

liberal base -- to make the case for continuing the military effort or enlarging the American presence.
That problem will become particularly acute if American commanders in Afghanistan seek even more troops for a mission that many of Mr. Obama's most ardent supporters say remains ill defined and open-ended.

(NYT, Sanger, D.E., Schmitt, E. & Shanker, T., 7th，Aug, 2009)

(2) As President Obama prepares to decide whether to send additional troops to Afghanistan, the political climate appears increasingly challenging for him, leaving him in the awkward position of relying on the Republican Party, and not his own, for support.                    (NYT, Cooper, H., 2nd, Sep, 2009)

(3) The possibility that more troops will be needed in Afghanistan presents the Obama administration with another problem in dealing with a nearly eight-year war that has lost popularity at home, compounded by new questions over the credibility of the Afghan government, which has just held an as-yet inconclusive presidential election beset by complaints of fraud.

(NYT, Helen, C., 23rd, Nov, 2009)

Other instances of *troops* are used to highlight the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan, indicating the necessity for more troops to be sent. Take the following extract as an example. The journalist emphasizes that *more American troops died in August than in any month* since the war started. He furthermore specifies the number *has nearly quadrupled* (51 soldiers in total), showing how serious the situation has become since the war started. Also, each number (*51*, which *has nearly quadrupled*) is attributed to a clear source (*Web site icasualties.org*, *the Center for Strategic and International Studies*). He then paraphrases what has been pointed out by General McChrystal – *success is achievable as long as there is a revised implementation strategy, commitment and resolve, and increased unity of effort*. After a few paragraphs, the journalist specifies a part of what the General wants—*a large expansion of Afghan security forces and acceleration of their training*—indicating the possibility that the President will send more troops to Afghanistan in his new strategy.

The report comes after a sharp escalation of violence in Afghanistan, **where more American troops** died in August than in any month since the beginning of the war.
The military announced Monday that two American soldiers died in separate attacks involving homemade bombs, bringing the total killed last month to 51, according to the Web site icasualties.org. The number of such attacks has nearly quadrupled since 2007, according to the Center for Strategic and International Studies.
"The situation in Afghanistan is serious, but success is achievable and demands a revised implementation strategy, commitment and resolve, and increased unity of effort", General McChrystal said in a statement after sending his report to Gen. David H. Petraeus, the commander of all Middle East forces.…
General McChrystal wants a large expansion of Afghan security forces and an acceleration of their training, according to American commanders. The Afghan government currently has about 134,000 police officers and 82,000 soldiers, although many of them are poorly equipped and have little logistical support.

(NYT, Baker, P. & Filkins, D. 1st, Sep, 2009)

After the President releases the new strategy, instances of *troops* in the MC corpus are found in discussions on the problems of the new strategy. See extracts below (underlined).

> (1) The lawmakers said they sensed a grave uneasiness about the **added troops** even among colleagues inclined to back the troop buildup.
> Their opposition to the president's proposal put the Democrats firmly on record against their fellow Democrat and the lawmakers took pains to commend Mr. Obama for being deliberative in his approach to what to do in Afghanistan. "I appreciate that he deliberated long and hard over this, but I think he has come to the wrong conclusion," Mr. McGovern said. "What I fear is we are being sucked into a war with no end."          (NYT, Zeleny, J. & Hulse, C. 1st, Dec, 2009)
> (2) Appearing on "Fox News Sunday," General Petraeus said that the Obama administration was not planning a "rush to the exits" in Afghanistan, and that depending on the security conditions there could be tens of thousands of American troops in Afghanistan for several years.
> Both Mr. Gates and General Petraeus also have the job of easing concerns among military commanders about rigid withdrawal timetables. Mr. Gates has said in public that he opposed firm timelines, and during the administration's Afghanistan strategy review he insisted that any decisions about troop withdrawals be based on security conditions inside the country.          (NYT, Mazzetti, M., 6th, Dec, 2009)
> (3) Last week, as Mr. Obama announced that he planned to send 30,000 additional **troops** to Afghanistan, he said that his administration would begin the transfer of our forces out of Afghanistan in July of 2011.
> Those words set off alarms inside Afghanistan and Pakistan, as some officials worried about an American pullout before Afghan **troops** were ready to fight the Taliban on their own. It also set off a barrage of criticism from Republicans that the president was setting an arbitrary withdrawal date that would embolden Taliban insurgents to wait the Americans out.     (NYT, Zeleny, J., 10th, Dec, 2009)

In other words, instances of *troops* in the MC corpus are found to maintain similar features to those in the Q corpus. More specifically, before the new strategy is announced, most instances of *troops* are used to explore the content of the President's decision; after the President announces the new strategy, *troops* are used in comments on potential problems of the new strategy.

Based on the observation above that *troops* in the MC corpus maintains a similar tendency to that in the Q corpus, it is likely that the use of *troops* in the GS corpus is also influenced by how it is used in the MC corpus. We now turn to two examples of this in the next sub-section.

### 6.5.2 *Troops* in White house speeches

The previous sub-section shows the way that *troops* is used in the MC corpus is similar to that in the Q corpus. More specifically, the shared lexical item is used before

December 2009 to explore issues related to the President's new strategy while it is used afterwards in discussions on problems of the new strategy.

This sub-section explores the indirect interaction between other texts (e.g. speeches by the President) on the White House website and journalists (newspaper editorials and articles), aiming to exemplify how such public speeches are intertextually influenced by what has been written in newspaper articles and editorials.

69 instances of *troops* are found in these White House texts. Most of them are used as a general term, in particular referring to the American troops. These instances of *troops* normally collocate with the word *our* (see extracts below).

> (1) In recent years, **our troops** have succeeded in every mission America has given them, from toppling the Taliban to deposing a dictator in Iraq to battling brutal insurgencies.                                             (WH Web, 17th, Aug, 2009)
> (2) And going forward, we will constantly adapt to new tactics to stay ahead of the enemy and give **our troops** the tools and equipment they need to succeed. (WH Web, 17th, Aug, 2009)
> When it comes to decisions as important as keeping this country safe and putting **our troops** into harm's way, the President has made it clear that he will rigorously assess our progress.                                             (WH Web, 30th, Sep, 2009)

We can also find instances of *troops* in the GS corpus that seem to be responses to what has been said by journalists. This sub-section gives two examples. The first one will demonstrate what has been discussed in the MC corpus first and then present how the President responds in his later speeches; the second one will show us how spokespersons change their way of referring to the same issue and then give corpus evidence of these changes.

The first example involves the incident that some journalists, as we can observe from the extracts below, use to emphasize the number of soldiers who have been wounded or killed in the war (see also in 6.5.1), indicating how the situation in Afghanistan has worsened.

> (1) Separately, a French soldier was killed and two others were wounded during a clash with insurgents north of Kabul, the French military said in a statement.
>                                             (NYT, The associated press, 2nd, Aug, 2009)
> (2) More than a year has passed since an Afghan police commander turned on coalition forces and helped insurgents carry out a surprise attack that killed nine Americans, wounded more than **30 United States and Afghan troops** and nearly resulted in the loss of an allied outpost in one of the deadliest engagements of the war.
>                                             (NYT, Shanker, T., 12th, Aug, 2009)

A few weeks after the newspaper reported the number of wounded troops, the President claimed that there are scientists in Pittsburgh who are making advances in tissue regeneration. It is worth noting that he points to a specific group, namely, *our*

*troops wounded in combat in Iraq and Afghanistan.* It therefore raises the question why the President does not simply refer to people who would benefit from the technique of tissue regeneration; rather, he especially emphasizes *our troops wounded in combat in Iraq and Afghanistan.*

> And at medical laboratories in Pittsburgh, scientists are making advances in tissue regeneration, which will help people across the globe, including <u>our troops wounded in combat in Iraq and Afghanistan.</u>          (WH Web, 8th, Sep, 2009)

A possible reason for the President to specifically shed light on the wounded troops is that these troops have been discussed by journalists. The president is not able to change the fact that soldiers have been wounded or killed in the war. The only thing he can do is to highlight the fact that scientists in Pittsburgh are working on tissue regeneration which will benefit these wounded troops.

The second example involves three extracts. The first extract is from the transcript of a press briefing. On the 9 August 2009, a spokesperson says that what General McChrystal is doing is a *thorough assessment of how things are going.* This seems to conflict with what the President says one month later; defining the assessment as *thorough* shows that the assessment has taken into account all the parameters which need to be analysed.

> MR. BURTON:  Well, I would point out that, first of all, there are metrics in place right now …
> General McChrystal has been on the ground, as General Jones talked about earlier today.  And like any good commander, **he's doing a thorough assessment of how things are going**, and that will obviously be coming forward soon.
>                                        (WH Web, 9th, Aug, 2009)

Yet, one month afterwards, the President says that, in addition to the General's report, there are other factors that need to be considered. As shown in the extract below, in addition to what General McChrystal has concluded, the President says that they also have to take into consideration elements from *the civilian side, the diplomatic side,* and *the development side*.

> When I came in I had to make a series of immediate decisions about sending additional troops <u>to ensure that the election could take place during the fighting season.</u>  But I was crystal clear at the time that post-election *<u>we were going to need to do an additional assessment.  General McChrystal has carried out his own assessment on the military strategy, but it's important that we also do an assessment on the civilian side, the diplomatic side, the development side; that we analyze the results of the election and then make further decisions moving forward.</u>*                    (WH Web, 16th, Sep, 2009)

Both the spokesperson and the President refer to the assessment conducted by General McChrystal. This contradiction is assumed to be the result of intertextual

influence from journalists. The MC corpus shows that there are criticisms about the time the President spent on making a troops decision (see analysis of *timetable* in chapter 5). Also, journalists point out that the President is in an embarrassing position regarding further troop decisions on Afghanistan (extract below, see also in 6.5.1). It is therefore not surprising that the President wants to clarify that he needs more time not because he has to resolve the dilemma facing him, but in order to take all the related factors into consideration.

> As President Obama prepares to decide whether to send additional troops to Afghanistan, the political climate appears increasingly challenging for him, leaving him in the awkward position of relying on the Republican Party, and not his own, for support. (NYT, Cooper, H., 2nd, Sep, 2009)

## 6.6 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates how the CADS method developed in this thesis can be applied to explore how spokespersons deal with words which are frequently used by both spokespersons and journalists. Although it has not put enough weight in the details of synonyms of the shared lexical item, it has successfully emphasized the impact of both institutional constraints and intertextual interaction on how spokespersons and journalists choose the lexical item they use. From the perspective of institutional constraints, spokespersons not only avoid using *troops* when discussing issues related to MATAf4 (speculation on troops) before they are authorized to do so, but they also avoid discussing General McChrystal's report, which, as we have explained, may lead to journalists speculating MATAf4. It can also be observed from the corpus that spokespersons only refer to MATAf1 in their responses to journalists' questions which are related to the President's new strategy. Finally, in order not to breach their "job security policy", spokespersons associate MATAf3 with a different referent (the request) from the MATAf3 used by journalists (the report).

Also, manifestations of journalists' intertextual influence can be found in both the direct and indirect interaction between spokespersons and journalists. On the one hand, during press briefings, spokespersons use the same lexical items (or their synonyms) which are used by journalists, contextualizing *troops* (or its synonyms) differently or emphasizing a different aspect from what has been shed light on by journalists. It can be observed from transcripts of press briefings that spokespersons keep explaining the

necessity for MATAf1 six months after it has been approved as a result of being criticized by journalists. Furthermore, spokespersons breach their "job security policy" and respond to issues related to MATAf4 before they are authorized to do so. On the other hand, although it is not clearly stated, it is likely that the spokespersons are structuring their speeches and emphasizing certain points in response to what has been written by journalists (see 6.5.2).

In terms of intertextual relationships, the way the word *troops* in the GS corpus is used is also found to be associated with the time span in which it occurs. More specifically, before December 2009, spokespersons tend to use text segments which maintain a relationship of intertextual interpretation/description or of synonymy with the lexical items used by journalists. After the President announces his new strategy, spokespersons tend to be evasive, replacing what has been said by journalists with text segments which maintain a relationship of hyponymy or of intertextual ellipsis with what has been said by journalists.

# CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION

## 7.0 Introduction

This chapter has two aims. It firstly summarizes and interprets what we have found in chapter 5 and chapter 6, highlighting the main points this study has attempted to emphasize. Secondly, it aims to highlight the weaknesses of the methodology developed in the thesis.

There are therefore two main parts in this chapter in addition to the introduction and conclusion. It begins with a discussion on the principal findings in the current thesis, followed by a discussion on the limitations of the methodology used.

## 7.1 Summary of the findings

The first part of this chapter summarizes the main findings in data analysis.

### 7.1.1 Intertext as the basis of this study

The study is predicated on the notion of intertext (a subset of discourse; furthermore, it is a collection of all the text segments which indicate the same conceptual area, see 2.1). Both analysis chapters have shown how intertext functions as the material connexion between corpus linguistics and intertextuality.

By introducing intertext, the process of exploring intertextual relationships among texts can be simplified into two main procedures, more specifically, (1) the process of defining a group of text segments which indicate the same conceptual area (the first step developed in chapter 4, defining the text segments which will be explored) and (2) the process of how these text segments are structured in terms of how they relate to each other intertextually (the remaining four steps developed in chapter 4). In particular, in this study, the second process shows how texts created by spokespersons are structured in terms of how they relate intertextually to what has been said by journalists.

In other words, intertext is used as the basis of this study because, rather than exploring the abstract mental process of intertextuality in the human brain, it enables us to examine concrete language evidence of intertextuality.

## 7.1.2 Corpus data and techniques as a contribution to the current study

Although chapter 5 and chapter 6 focus on different types of text segments, both of them show us that corpus data plays a significant role in exploring intertextual influence from journalists. In this study, there are three aspects to the contribution made by corpus data.

Firstly, it generates quantitative data that can be used for further analysis. On the one hand, it makes a primary contribution to further data analysis because shared lexical item(s) are chosen based on raw or relative frequencies generated via corpus tools (step 1, e.g.: *troops* is chosen as the shared lexical item mainly because it shows both (1) the highest relative frequency in the whole corpus and (2) the most obvious frequency difference between the GS corpus and the MCQ corpus, see 6.1.1). In other words, the text segments which will or will not be explored are determined by how the shared lexical item is used in the corpus (all the investigated text segments in chapter 6 are those which indicate that the shared semantic field is determined by how *troops* is used in the corpus). On the other hand, corpus statistics indicate how a text segment is used in the corpus as well as in different sub-corpora, demonstrating both the similarities and differences of (1) how it is used between different participants within the same time span and (2) how it is used before and after a period of time by the same participant (step 3). Based on how this is demonstrated in the corpus, we can find the phenomena which are likely to be the result of intertextual influence (e.g.: table 5.5 shows the raw frequency of synonyms of *timetable* used in the corpus; this indicates that the sudden increase of these words and phrases is the result of intertextual influence from journalists, see 5.4.2).

Secondly, corpus data contributes to the semantic analysis of the investigated text segments, providing us the real context of how they are used. There have been a large number of studies in which a corpus is used as the basis to analyse meanings of a word or phrase. Tognini-Bonelli (2001: 35-39), for example, studies the subtle semantic distinctions between the word *largely* and *broadly*. In this study, we categorize different referents of the same text segment based on the context displayed via corpus tools; these referents furthermore contribute to the analysis of the shared semantic field and of intertextual relationships. Also, corpus data displays the actual context of how the

investigated text segment was used, providing us with the language evidence of whether and how the explored text segment is intertextually related to what has been said before.

### 7.1.3 Lexical choices within institutional talk

Another important finding in this thesis is that, within institutional talk, participants' lexical choice is not only determined by institutional constraints, but also by what has been said before by the other participant.

 The current thesis sheds light on two groups of single words, namely, a group consisting of words which are preferred by journalists but disliked by spokespersons and another group including single words which neither spokespersons nor journalists have shown an obvious tendency or preference for either using or not as the case may be. It takes *timetable* and *troops* as an example of each of the two groups and explores them as the shared lexical item in chapter 5 and chapter 6 respectively.

#### 7.1.3.1 Different manifestations of institutional constraints

The exploration of both types of words shows that, in addition to what has been claimed by Heritage (1997: 173) --"a clear way in which speakers orient to institutional tasks and contexts is through their selection of descriptive terms" – there are other types of reflections in the corpus.

 Heritage's claim is manifested in the current study by the way that, under institutional constraints, spokespersons avoid using certain lexical item(s) which are preferred by journalists (e.g.: chapter 5 *timetable*). Yet, it is not the only way through which participants are restricted by their institutional tasks; they also employ the same text segment which has been used by the other participants.

 This study shows that there are two ways in which spokespersons and journalists can achieve different institutional tasks via the same text segment, namely, (1) contextualizing it differently or (2) emphasizing a different aspect of the same issue. To differentiate these two ways, we have to turn back to two examples which we have given in previous chapters. Both extracts below have been analysed in detail in chapter 6. The first extract is used to exemplify how spokespersons tend to contextualize a text segment differently from the way journalists do it while the second is quoted to

emphasize how differently the respect highlighted by spokespersons is from that of journalists. We do not aim to re-explain what we have explored before; rather, this chapter aims to show how the two ways are different from each other.

> (1) Q Isn't there a danger for the President that he may be perceived as weak or indecisive as this policy or strategy review session drags on, fueled by the perception that many in his own party are against **increasing the numbers of troops** in the war?
> MR. GIBBS: When you say "drags on" -- I mean, Secretary Gates said this weekend it took three months in the previous White House to discuss a policy on **a surge of troops** in Iraq. Did anybody -- was there a suggestion by those then that the President was dragging this assessment on?
>
> (WH Web, 29th, Sep, 2009)
>
> (2) Q Robert, in light of the changes in Afghanistan, if a clear majority of the American public tell the White House, tell the President they don't want to send more troops to Afghanistan, does the President have **an obligation** to listen to the American public or to follow his own dictates?
> MR. GIBBS: Well, the President has **an obligation** as Commander-in-Chief to make the very best decision in order to protect our national interest and to protect American citizens here as well as the troops we have on the ground.
>
> (WH Web, 2nd, Nov, 2009)

In the first extract above, the phrase (1) *increasing the numbers of troops* is understood as the synonym of (2) *a surge of troops* (see 6.2.1.2); the phrase and synonym maintain a property of "symmetrical relation" (Lyons 1968: 455) and can be substituted by each other. The journalist contextualizes the phrase within the situation in Afghanistan while the spokesperson uses *a surge of troops* in relation to the war in Iraq. By contextualizing these two text segments differently, the spokesperson and journalist associate the phrase *a surge of troops* with different referents. In the second extract above, although both the spokesperson and the journalist use the same phrase *an obligation*, they explain it from different perspectives. The journalist sheds light on the aspect that the President shall *listen to the American public* rather than *follow his own dictates* while the spokesperson highlights that the President will *make the very best decision* for American people. It can also be observed that the spokesperson and the journalist are defining the same text segment—*an obligation*—from different perspectives. The president has an obligation to *both listen to the American public* and *make the very best decision*. However, *a surge* or an increase *of troops* cannot be combined both in Afghanistan and in Iraq simultaneously. In other words, in the first extract, the two synonyms are associated with different referents while in the second the same referent is defined from different aspects by the spokesperson and the journalist.

In conclusion, in addition to using different lexical item(s), institutional constraints within an institution are also manifested by the use of the same text segment, either by contextualizing it differently or defining it from different perspectives.

### 7.1.3.2 Intertextual influences on lexical choices

Although participants within institutional talk have different preferences when choosing the words they use, they do not select text segments randomly; rather, they tend to replace what has been said by their interlocutors with a text segment which maintains an intertextual relationship with the original text segment.

This study explores five types of intertextual relationship, namely, intertextual reference, hyponymy, synonymy, intertextual interpretation/description and intertextual ellipsis. It is found in the corpus that different types of intertextual relationship are used to deal with different types of text segments. More specifically, in responding to the type of text segments which are preferred by journalists but disliked by spokespersons, the relationship of hyponymy and intertextual ellipsis are found more commonly used (see 5.2); in replies containing text segments which are frequently used by both spokespersons and journalists, the relationship of intertextual reference, synonymy and intertextual interpretation/description are more typical (see 6.2).

By organizing their responses using text segments which maintain a relationship of hyponymy or of intertextual ellipsis with what has been used by journalists (e.g.: *resource decisions* & timetable, strategy & *timetable for withdrawing U.S. troops* [from Afghanistan], see 5.2.2.2), spokespersons are able to intertextually refer to issues which are restricted by institutional constraints (in particular their "job security policy" in this thesis, see 5.3). Both the relationship of hyponymy and that of intertextual ellipsis makes it possible for a spokesperson to discuss an issue which he has not mentioned overtly. It is therefore not surprising that hyponymy and intertextual ellipsis are found to be common in the analysis of *timetable* – the word which is preferred by journalists but disliked by spokespersons.

Another manifestation of journalists' intertextual influence is the spokespersons' repetition of what has been said by journalists, in the form of using the journalists' original words or their synonyms (intertextual reference and synonymy). Yet, as we have discussed in 7.1.3.1, they do not simply use the text segments employed by journalists or their synonyms; rather, they tend to contextualize them differently or

describe what has been said by journalists from a different perspective. Therefore, the relationship of intertextual interpretation/description is found commonly used by spokespersons to deal with text segments which are preferred by both spokespersons and journalists. In most cases, spokespersons describe the text segment used by journalists from a perspective which contributes to portraying a positive image of the government (e.g.: the description of *an obligation* by spokespersons and journalists, see 7.1.3.2).

In conclusion, although constrained by institutional limits, participants within institutional talk do not select the text segment they use randomly; rather, they make their lexical choice under intertextual influence from their interlocutors. There is a correlation between the text segment they deal with and the intertextual relationship they employ. More specifically, a text segment which is resisted by the participant tends to be associated with the intertextual relationship of hyponymy and intertextual ellipsis while a text segment which is accepted by all the participants (or its synonyms) is associated with the relationship of intertextual influence, synonymy or intertextual interpretation/description.

### 7.1.4 Newspaper texts as a part of the interaction

The third point this study has shed light on is the role played by newspaper texts. Although there is no section in this thesis highlighting the significance of newspaper editorials and articles, their importance can still be observed during the process of data analysis as can be concluded from two aspects.

Firstly, the corpus shows that the same word is used in a similar way in the MC corpus and Q corpus . Chapter 5 divides journalists' questions (in the Q corpus) into three main groups in terms of time; and a similar method of categorization can be found in the MC corpus. More specifically, journalists use the word *timetable* to achieve different purposes, from (1) simply requiring a timetable or describing that fact that there is no timetable to (2) attempting to explore the timetable, and finally to (3) criticizing the fact that there is no timetable yet (see 5.3.1). This similarity can also be found in chapter 6. Section 6.5 exemplifies how the use of *troops* in the MC corpus is similar to that in the Q corpus. More specifically, it is found in both the Q corpus and the MC corpus that, before December 2009 the majority of the instances of *troops* are

used in the discussion of issues related to the President's new strategy; after the President announces his new strategy, instances of *troops* are used when discussing the problems of this new strategy (see 6.3.1). This similarity in how the same word is used in the Q corpus and the MC corpus shows that there is likely to be an intertextual co-relationship between what is said by journalists during press briefings and what is written in newspapers afterwards. More specifically, it is likely that journalists' questions during press briefings are intertextually influenced by what has been written in newspaper editorials and articles; in the same way, spokespersons' responses during press conferences, which intertextually interact with journalists' questions, are likely to be intertextually influenced by what has been written in the newspaper.

Also, newspaper articles play a significant intertextual role as a resource for journalists' questions during press briefings. This thesis has not explored this aspect in detail; however, we can still observe examples which can be regarded as the resource for journalists' questions. Take the following extracts as an example. There are reports in the newspaper (see the first and second extract below) showing results of public polls on whether or not there is support for the President's decision to send more troops to Afghanistan. The second day after these reports were published, a journalist suggests during a press briefing that public polls show that the President's new strategy on Afghanistan is not supported by most American people (see the third extract). Partington (2002: 93—96) also sheds light on this phenomenon in detail. Taking into account the potential intertextual role played by newspaper editorials and articles, it may be necessary to analyse newspapers as a part of the institutional interaction between spokespersons and journalists.

> (1) Polls show that almost half of Americans oppose committing any more troops, escalating rather than withdrawing militarily, in what is considered an unproductive and unnecessary entanglement in that impoverished, beleaguered and war-torn country.                                    (NYT, 1st, Dec, 2009)
> (2) In a recent CBS News poll, just 38 percent of Americans said they approve of the way Mr. Obama is managing the war, down 6 points since September and 20 points since April. That's a new low in either CBS News or New York Times polls.                                    (NYT, Sussman, D., 1st, Dec, 2009)
> (3) Q: Is he going to pay attention to whether that's -- right now, clearly, the majority of Americans don't support <u>sending more troops over there</u>.  Will he be listening to --
> MR. GIBBS:  Well, what poll are you -- I mean, most of -- well, let me say this, because I'm not going to get into this.  The President didn't make a national security decision last night or in the previous days leading up to last night based on ***polling***.                                    (WH Web, 2nd, Dec, 2009)

## 7.2 Limitations of the methodology

The argument thus far in this chapter is that this thesis has developed a prime CADS approach to the study of intertextuality. However, there is no approach without a weakness. This section presents three main weaknesses of the methodology developed in this thesis.

The first problem to be acknowledged involves weaknesses of the corpus approach as it can show "nothing more than its contents" (Hunston 2002: 22). Yet, within institutional talk (press briefings in this study), there are certain elements beyond the information which can be observed within a corpus. From the perspective of institutional talk, the current study is conducted based only on one of these institutional constraints, namely, the "spokespersons' job security policy". There are other respects which need to be taken into account in future studies, such as the *illocutionary force* (the speaker's intention) or *perlocutionary force* (the effect on the hearer of what has been said by the speaker) (Austin 1962; Searle 1969). These issues need to be explored using a combined methodology of approaches in both corpus analysis and discourse analysis. The methodology developed in the current thesis therefore needs further exploration and development.

Another obvious problem of the current study is the coverage of the data. Firstly, it only presents how single nouns can be investigated as the starting point, exploring a corpus which only covers language samples of a specific kind within a certain time span. It does not take language variation or genre, nor a longer time length, into account, both of which are likely to have significant influence on the creation of text segments.

Also, this thesis fails to explore the MC corpus in much detail. In particular, there is little discussion in the current study on the inter-relationship between the Q corpus and the MC corpus; more specifically, there has been little exploration of how journalists during press briefings are intertextually influenced by what has been written in the newspaper.

Furthermore, the current study only explores two groups of text segments, more specifically, a group favoured by journalists but disliked by spokespersons and a group of text segments which are preferred by both spokespersons and journalists. It has not considered text segments which are preferred by spokespersons but disliked by journalists.

Finally, although it has taken a corpus approach, the current study still relies heavily on intuition. The analysis of the semantic field as well as that of semantic relationships is interpreted in terms of my own understanding of the discourse. For example, the exploration of how the shared lexical item is semantically related to other text segments is totally intuition-based. As the interpreter of the current corpus, I have to make sense of all the data presented by the computer based on my personal experience and knowledge. Therefore, I can only contribute to the interpretation of my discourse data from the perspective of a student in an English department rather than, for example, from that of a politician. Other types of concrete evidence, such as patterns of the shared lexical item, have not been explored.

## 7.3 Conclusion

This chapter summarizes what we have found in the current thesis by comparing and concluding the observations we have made in chapter 5 and chapter 6; it also shows the limitations of the method developed in this thesis, indicating issues which this study has not been able to pay much attention to. By highlighting the observations we have made in previous two chapters and the limitations of the methods, it paves the way for a thorough assessment of the current study. The next chapter will, therefore, present the assessment in detail and gives implications for further studies.

# CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

## 8.0 Introduction

This final chapter begins with a brief assessment of whether and to what extent the three primary research purposes presented in the introduction have been achieved in this thesis. It then discusses the implications of the findings in this study and points towards potential lines of inquiry for further research.

## 8.1 Achievements of the thesis

The first part of this chapter presents a brief assessment of this study.

### 8.1.1 A brief review of the proposed purposes

As we have proposed in the beginning of this thesis, there are three specific purposes of the current study. It attempts to

1. establish a corpus approach to understanding and exploring intertextuality (methodological objective);

2. explore how spokespersons' statements are intertextually influenced by journalists under institutional constraints (theoretical objective);

3. examine both the direct and indirect interactions between White House spokespersons and journalists during and after press briefings (empirical objective).

This thesis has broadly succeeded in meeting all the objectives. The following discussion will therefore examine whether and how the findings in this thesis contribute to these three specific purposes.

### 8.1.2 Methodological insights

There are two aspects to the methodological contribution made by this study. Firstly, although there are some limitations of the current study (see 7.2), it succeeds in applying the corpus approach to the exploration of how texts are related to each other by

introducing intertext as the core concept. Secondly, taking into account some shortcomings of the traditional corpus approach, it proposes CADS (corpus-assisted discourse studies) as the solution.

The first aspect can be summarized by the fact that the current study has succeeded in exemplifying how the notion of intertext enables the connection between the corpus approach and intertextuality. It shows that the reason why few of the current corpus studies have explored intertextuality is perhaps the fact that the corpus approach is based on concrete language samples while intertextuality has been associated with an abstract mental process. By introducing intertext as the material connexion between these two fields, it enables us to explore how texts are intertextually related to each other via corpus data and techniques.

More importantly, based on the notion of intertext, the corpus methodology can directly provide us with concrete empirical evidence that can be used to investigate intertextual relationships; in particular, with a large number of concrete language samples, we can determine how two texts are intertextually related to each other even if we have not read these texts before.

This point is crucial because it creates a link between texts that is more objective and material than personal experience or a mental process. In other words, personal experience is not the only element that connects a text with previous texts. Rather than a mental process which mainly depends on the reader's knowledge of the textual allusions found in a text, as explained in the literature (see 2.1.1.1), the link between texts can be directly observed by using corpus tools in these texts.

From this perspective, the corpus approach helps us to define the range of texts within which intertextual relationships are explored, including the genre of texts, the content of texts and the time span within which these texts are created; so that we can set up the range of and the number of texts which we aim to explore, regardless of whether we are familiar with them or not. The corpus approach, therefore, enables us to analyse texts which we have never read before, enhancing our competence in dealing with interrelationships between texts using a large amount of texts which are beyond our previous personal experience or mental process.

The second aspect of the methodological contribution originates from perceived limitations of the corpus approach. It mainly emphasizes two points – "a corpus presents language out of its context" (Hunston 2002: 23) (it presents language out of the institutional environment in this study) and "can show nothing more than its own

contents" (Hunston 2002: 22) (it does not provide us with what has been evasively expressed by spokespersons). Based on these two observations, the current study proposes the CADS approach as the solution to these limitations. More specifically, in addition to corpus data, other techniques –in particular, theories from the field of institutional talk – are employed to obtain the "most satisfying and complete results" (Partington 2013 et al.: 10) and contemplate other elements of the investigated corpus. It is shown that, as a methodological approach, the CADS approach enables us to explore language from different aspects and therefore provides more information in addition to the corpus data itself.

### 8.1.3 Theoretical aspect

The main contribution that the current study makes to the theoretical aspect can also be summarized from two perspectives. It demonstrates, in addition to the role of lexical choices emphasized by Heritage (1997), two more manifestations of how participants are oriented to their institutional tasks. This thesis begins with the observation made by Heritage (1997: 173) that "a clear way in which speakers orient to institutional tasks and contexts is through their selection of descriptive terms". Moreover, it shows that lexical choice is not the only way in which participants within institutional talk are oriented to their institutional tasks. Participants within institutional talk also contextualize the same text segment differently or describe and explain the same issue differently from what has been contextualized or described and explained by the other side.

Also, this thesis emphasizes the fact that although participants of institutional talk have different preferences for selecting the lexical items they use, they do not choose the words randomly under the impact of intertextual influence; rather, they tend to employ text segments which are intertextually related to those used by their interlocutors. It is also worth noting that different types of intertextual relationship are found to be associated with different types of the text segments that they refer to.

### 8.1.4 An emphasis on the indirect interaction

The final contribution of the current study is in the field of institutional talk, by providing empirical evidence of direct and indirect interactions both during and after

press briefings. From this perspective, it enables us to substantiate and refine previous researches, complementing our understanding of institutional talk.

It also highlights the active role played by newspaper texts of enabling an indirect interaction between spokespersons and journalists, indicating that there is a correlation between what has been written in the newspaper and journalists' previous questions during press briefings. From this perspective, the definition of institutional talk can be expanded, including both the talk which "occurs in the course of carrying out an institution's business" (Hartford & Bardovi 2005: 1) and previous texts (both spoken and written) which have intertextually influenced interactions during "the course". Meanwhile, we need to bear in mind that no text is isolated; we are thus not able to explore all the texts which have been created since human beings started to use language. It is up to us, the observers, to decide upon the range of texts which shall be included within a type of institutional talk.

## 8.2 Implications for further studies

The study and methodology reported in this thesis opens up potential scope for further study. First of all, it should be pointed out that, among all the words that occur in the corpus, we have only explored two of them as shared lexical items for the present research. Further studies could extend the exploration of words and examine other types of text segments, such as adjectives, adverbs and even prepositions as well as longer sequences of words.

Also, the current study can only emphasize one of many institutional constraints within institutional talk; thus, it only sheds light on interactions between spokespersons and journalists. Future studies could therefore focus on other types of institutional talk (e.g.: court room language (Atkinson & Drew 1979; Levi & Walker 1990) and emergency telephone calls for police assistance (Zimmerman 1992)). It could also be worth exploring other types of institutional constraints (e.g.: face-work (Goffman 1967)).

Thirdly, the current study demonstrates how theories from conversational analysis can be combined with quantitative data in a systematic approach to the exploration of intertextuality. A possibility for further studies is therefore a deeper exploration of how the combination of corpus data and techniques and theories from other disciplines can

contribute to studying intertextual relationships among texts, such as assumptions in psychology (Lieven, et al. 2010; Sternberg 2009) and culture studies (Delanoy, et al. 1993).

Finally, it is hoped that this example of exploring intertextuality via corpus data serves to pave the way for other studies in the field of CADS.

# REFERENCES

1. Aarts, J. (1991) 'Intuition-based and observation-based grammars.' In Aijmer, K. & Altenberg, B. (ed.) *English Corpus Linguistics. Studies in honour of Jan Svartvik.* London and New York: Longman. pp. 44-62.

2. Adolphs, S. (2008) *Corpus and context*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins publishing company.

3. Allen, G. (2000) *Intertextuality.* London: Routledge.

4. Antaki, C. (2011) 'Six kinds of applied conversation analysis.' In Antaki, C. (ed.) *Applied conversation analysis: intervention and change in institutional talk.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 1-14.

5. Atkins, S., Clear, J. & Osler, N. (1992) Corpus design criteria. *Literary and linguistic computing*, 7(1): 1-16.

6. Atkinson, J.M. & Drew, P. (1979) *Order in court: the organisation of verbal interaction in judicial settings.* London: Macmillan.

7. Austin, J.L. (1962) *How to do things with words: the William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

8. Baker, P. (2006) *Using corpora in discourse analysis*. London; New York: Continuum.

9. Bamford, J. (2005) 'Interactivity in academic lectures: the role of questions and answers.' In Bamford, J. & Bondi, M. (eds.) *Dialogue within discourse communities: metadiscursive perspectives on academic geners*. URL: http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=bJ_1s_sbiEwC&pg=PA131&dq=question+answer+adjacency+pair&hl=zh-CN&sa=X&ei=TPbOUqLVCM2RhQf5j4CADA&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=question%20answer%20adjacency%20pair&f=false. [Accessed 5 June 2015]. pp. 123-146.

10. Barss, A. (2003) 'Preface.' In Barass, A. (ed.) *Anaphora: a reference guide*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

11. Barthes, R. (1977) *Image, music, text.* Heath, S. (trans.) London: Fontana Press.

12. Barthes, R. (1981) 'Theory of the text.' In Young. R. (ed.) *Untying the text: a post-structuralist reader*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. pp: 190-205.

13. Barthes, R. (1984) *Elements of Semiology*. Lavers. Annette, L. & Smith, C. (trans.) New York: Hill and Wang.

14. Bastow. A. J. (2006) *Persuasion and consensus in U.S. defence speeches: a corpus study*. PhD Thesis, Birmingham: University of Birmingham.

15. Bavelas, J.B. & Smith, B. J. (1982) A method for scaling verbal disqualification. *Human Communication Research*, Vol 8: 214 -- 27.

16. Bavelas, J. B., Black, A., Bryson, L., & Mullett, J. (1988) Political equivocation: a situational explanation. *Journal of language and social psychology*, Vol 7: 137-145

17. Bavelas, J. B., Black, A., Chovil, N., & Mullett, J. (1990) *Equivocal communication*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

18. Bell, A., Joyce, M & Rivers, D. (2001) *Advanced level media.* 2nd ed. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

19. Biber, D. & Finegan, E. (1989) Drift and evolution of English style: a history of three genres. *Language*, Vol 65: 487-517.

20. Biber D. (1993) Representativeness in Corpus Design. *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, vol 8(4): 243-257.

21. Biber, D., Conrad, S. & Reppen, R. (1998) *Corpus linguistics: investigating language structure and use.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

22. Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G. and Conrad, S. et al. (eds.) (1999) *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Harlow: Longman.

23. Bruce, B. (2013) *On the origin of spin: (Or how Hollywood, the Ad men and the world wide web became the fifth estate and created our images of power).* [online]. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform. Available from: Google books. https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=7rNu06-I6IsC&pg=PP1&dq=how+Hollywood,+the+Ad+men+and+the+world+wide+web+became+the+fifth+estate+and+created+our+images+of+power&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Q5RwVY_uCcOYsAXB3IOYBw&ved=0CCAQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=how%20Hollywood%2C%20the%20Ad%20men%20and%20the%20world%20wide%20web%20became%20the%20fifth%20estate%20and%20created%20our%20images%20of%20power&f=false [Accessed 5 June 2015].

24. Bull, P. & Mayer, K. (1993) How not to answer questions in political interviews. *Political Psychology,* 14: 651-66.

25. Cameron, D. (2000) *Good to talk? Living and working in a communication culture.* London: Sage publications.

26. Carter, R. & McCarthy, M. (1995) Grammar and the spoken language. *Applied Linguistics* Vol. 16(2): 141-158.

27. Carty, F. X. (2004) 'Ireland'. In Ruler, V. & Vercic, D. (eds.) *Public relations and communication management in Europe: a nation-by-nation introduction to public relations theory and practice.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

28. Charteris- Black, J. (2004) *Corpus approaches to critical metaphor analysis.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

29. Cazden, C. B. (1988) *Classroom discourse: the language of teaching and learning*. Portsmouth, NH : Heinemann

30. Chilton, P. A. (2004) *Analysing political discourse: theory and practice*. London: Routledge.

31. Clayman, S.E. (1993) Reformulating the question: A device for answering/not answering questions in news interviews and press conferences. *Text* 13:159-88.

32. Clayman, S. E. (2001) Answers and evasions. *Language in Society* 30: 403--42.

33. Clayman, S.E. & Heritage, J. (2002) *The news interview: journalist and public figures on the air.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

34. Clayman, S.E. & Romaniuk, T. (2011) Questioning candidates. In Ekström, M. & Patrona, M. (eds.) *Talking politics in broadcast media : cross-cultural perspectives on political interviewing, journalism and accountability.* Amsterdam; Philadelphia, Pa: Johan Benjamins Publishing. pp: 15-32.

35. (COBUILD) Sinclair, J. (1995) (ed.) *Collin Cobuild English dictionary*. London: Harper Collins.

36. Conrad, S. (1994) 'Variation in Academic writing: textbooks and research articles across disciplines'. In *Annual Conference of the American Association of Applied Linguistics*. Baltimore.

37. Conrad, S. (1999) 'The importance of corpus-based research for language teachers'. *System,* 27: 1-18.

38. Coombs, W. T. (2008) 'Crisis spokesperson.' In Coombs, W.T. (ed.) *PSI handbook of business security*. U.S.A.: Greenwood Publishing Group.

39. Corner, J. (ed.) (1997) *Popular television in Britain: studies in cultural history.* London: BFI Publications.

40. Curran, J. & Seaton, J. (1998) *Power without responsibility: the press and broadcasting in Britain,* 5th ed. London: Routledge.

41. Dahlgren, P. (1995) *Television and the public sphere: citizenship, democracy and the media*. London: Sage.

42. Dash, N. S. (2005) *Corpus linguistics and language technology: with reference to Indian languages*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.

43. Davis, A. (2002) *Public relations democracy: politic relations, politics and the mass media in Britain.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

44. de Beaugrande, R., & Dressler, W. U. (1981) *Introduction to text linguistics*. London: Longman.

45. Devitt, A. J. (1991) 'Intertextuality in tax accounting: generic, referential, and functional.' In Bazerman, C & Paradis J. (eds.) *Textual dynamics of the professions: historical and contemporary studies of writing in professional setting.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. pp: 336- 357.

46. Drew, P. (2012) 'Turn Design.' In Sidnell, J. & Stivers, T. (eds.) *Handbook of conversation analysis.* Boston: Wiley-Balckwell.

47. Drew, P. & Heritage, J. (1992) *Talk at work: interaction in institutional settings*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

48. Dyck, R. (2011) *Canadian Politics: concise*. 5th ed. U.S.A.: Nelson Education Ltd.

49. Dziewulska Agata (ed.) *Practitioners' advice on EU project management*. Poland: Agata Dziewulska.

50. Ebeling, J. (1998) Contrastive linguistics, translation, and parallel corpora. *Meta: Translators' Journal*, vol 43 (4). URL:
http://nelson.cen.umontreal.ca/revue/meta/1998/v43/n4/002692ar.pdf [Accessed 5 June 2015]

51. Ekström, M. & Patrona, M. (2011) *Talking politics in broadcast media: cross-cultural perspectives on political interviewing, journalism and accountability.* Amsterdam; Philadelphia, Pa.: John Benjamines Publishing Company.

52. Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and social change.* Cambridge: Polity press.

53. Fairclough, N. (1995) *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.

54. Ferguson (2009a) *Careers in Focus: public relations.* 2nd ed. New York: Ferguson.

55. Ferguson (2009b) *Career discovery encyclopedia*. 7th ed. New York: Infobase Publishing.

56. Fillmore, C. (1992) '"Corpus linguistics" or "Computer- aided arm chair linguistics"', in Svartvik, J. (ed.) *Directions in corpus linguistics: proceeding of the Nobel Symposium 82, Stockholm, 4- 8 August 1991*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp: 35- 60.

57. Firth, J.R. (1957) *Papers in linguistics 1934-1951*. London: Oxford University Press.

58. Fisher, S. & Todd, D. D. (eds.) (1983) *The social organization of doctor- patient communication.* Washington DC: Center for Applied linguistics.

59. Flowerdew, L. (2004) 'The argument for using English specialized corpora to understand academic and professional language'. In Connor U. and Upton T. (eds.) *Discourse in the professions: perspectives from corpus linguistics.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp: 11- 33

60. Flowerdew, L. (2008) *Corpus- based analyses of the problem- solution pattern: a phraseological approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

61. Flowerdew, L. (2012) *Corpora and language education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

62. Flowerdew, L. (2014) 'Introduction: discourse in context'. In Flowerdew, L. & Wei, L. (2014) *Discourse in context: contemporary applied linguistics, volume 3*. London: Bloomsbury publishing. pp: 1-25.

63. Fox, B.A. (1987) *Discourse structure and anaphora: written and conversational English.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

64. Fox, B.A. (ed.) (1996) *Studies in anaphora*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

65. Francis, W. N. (1982) 'Problems of assembling and computerizing large corpora.' In Johanson S. (ed.) *Computer corpora in English language research*. Bergen: Norwegian Computing Centre for the Humanities. pp: 7- 24.

66. Garcia, H.F. & Doorley, J. (2011) *Reputation management: the key to successful public relations and corporate communication.* 2nd ed. New York, NY; Abingdon: Routledge.

67. Genette, G. (1997) *Paratexts: thresholds of interpretation*. Lewin, J. E. (trans.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

68. Georgiew, M. (2012) 'Notes of a PR practitioner—key points for a successful

media contact.' In Agata Dziewulska (ed.) *Practitioner's advice on EU project management*. Poland: Agata Dziewulska. pp: 29-41.

69. Gillespie, M. (2005) *Media Audiences.* New York: Open University Press in association with the Open University.

70. Goffman, E. (1967) *Interaction ritual: essays on face to face behavior.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

71. Goodwin, C. (1979) 'The interactive construction of a sentence in natural conversation.' In *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology*, Psathas, G. (ed.) New York: Irvington. pp: 97-121.

72. Goodwin, C. (1981) *Conversational organization: interaction between speakers and hearers*. New York, NY: Academic Press.

73. Graber, D.A. (ed.) (1990) *Media power in politics*. 2nd ed. Washington, DC.: Congressional Quarterly Press.

74. Graber, D.A., McQuail, D. & Norris, P. (eds.) (1998) *The politics of news: the news of politics.* Washington, DC: CQ Press.

75. Gray, J. (2010) *Show sold separately promos, spoilers, and other media paratexts*. New York: New York University Press.

76. Greatbatch, D. (1988) A turn-taking system for British news interviews. *Language in society*, 17(3): 401-430.

77. Greer, G. (1999) *A new introduction to journalism*. Kenwyn: Juta and Company Ltd.

78. Gries, S. T. (2009) *Quantitative corpus linguistics with R: a practical introduction.* New York: Routledge.

79. Habermas, J. (1984) *Theory of communicative action, Vol. 1.* McCarthy, T. (trans.) London: Heinemann.

80. Hall, S. (1980) 'Encoding/ decoding.' In Hall, S. (ed.) (1980) *Culture, media, language: working papers in cultural studies 1972-1979.* London: Hutchinson in association with the center for contemporary cultural studies, University of Birmingham.

81. Halliday, M.A.K. & Hasan, R. (1976) *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.

82. Halliday, M. A. K. (1992) 'Language as system and language as instance: the corpus as a theoretical construct.' In Svartvik J. (ed.) *Directions in Corpus linguistics: proceedings of Nobel Symposium 82, Stockholm, 4- 8 August 1991*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. pp: 61- 77.

83. Hamilton, M. A., & Mineo, P. J. (1998) A framework for understanding equivocation. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 17:3-35.

84. Hallin, D. C., (1989) *The "uncensored war": the media and Vietnam.* Berkeley; London: University of California Press.

85. Harris, S. (1991) 'Evasive action: How politicians respond to questions in political interviews.' In Scannell P. (ed.) *Broadcast Talk*. London: Sage. pp: 76-99.

86. Hartford, B. S. & Bardovi, H. K. (2005) 'Introduction'. In Hartford, B.S. & Bardovi, H.K. *Interlanguage pragmatics: exploring institutional talk.* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Inc. Publishers. pp: 1-6.

87. Hasan, R. (1999) 'Speaking with Reference to Context.' In Ghadessy, M. (ed.) *Text and context in functional linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. pp.: 219-328.

88. Have, P. T. (2007) *Doing conversation analysis: a practical guide.* 2$^{nd}$ ed.London: Sage Publications Ltd.

89. Heath, C. (1986) *Body movement and speech in medical interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

90. Heritage, J. & Roth, A. (1995) Grammar and institution: questions and questioning in the broadcast news interview. *Research on language and social interaction* 28: 1-60

91. Heritage, J. (1997) 'Conversation analysis and institutional talk: analyzing data.' In Silverman, D. (ed.) *Qualitative research: theory, method and practice.* London: Sage. pp: 161—182.

92. Heritage, J. (2004) 'Conversation analysis and institutional talk'. In Sanders, R. & Fitch, K. (eds.) *Handbook of language and social interaction.* Mahwah NJ, Erlbaum. pp: 103-146.

93. Hervik, P. (2011) *The annoying difference: the emergence of Danish neonationalism, neoracism, and populism in the post-1989 world.* New York; London: Berghahn Books.

94. Huddleston, R. (1984) *Introduction to the grammar of English.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

95. Huddleston, R. (1988) *English grammar: an outline.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

96. Hunston, S. (2002) *Corpora in applied linguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

97. Hutchby, I. (2006) *Media talk: conversation analysis and the study of broadcasting.* England: McGra-Hill International.

98. Hutchby, I. & Wooffitt, R. (1998) *Conversation analysis: principles, practices and applications*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

99. Holmes, J. (1997) Generic pronouns in the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English. *Kotare.* 1: 32-40.

100. Hyland, K. (1999) Talking to students: metadiscourse in introductory coursebooks. *English for specific purposes*, 18(1): 3-26.

101. Ihalainen, O., Kyto, M. & Rissanen, M. (1987) The Helsinki corpus of English texts: diachronic and dialectal report on work in progress. In Meijs, W. (ed.) *Corpus linguistics and beyond: proceeding of the seventh international conference on English language research on computerized corpora.* Amsterdam: Rodopi. pp: 21 - 32.

102. Jamieson, K.H. & Valdman, P. (2003) *The press effect: politicians, journalists and the stories that shape the political world.* Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

103. Jefferies, L. (2006) *Discovering language: the structure of modern English.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

104. Jefferson, G. (1972) Side sequences. In *Studies in Social Interaction*, David Sudnow, D. (ed.) New York: Free Press. pp: 294-338.

105. Jones, A. (2003) Nurses talking to patients: exploring conversation analysis as a means of researching nurse-patient communication. *International journal of nursing studies*, 40(6): 609-618

106. Jones, N. (1996) *Soundbites and spin doctors: how politicians manipulate the media – and vice versa.* London: Indigo.

107. Kennedy, G. D. (1998) *An introduction to corpus linguistics*. London: Longman.

108. Koester, A. (2006) *Investigating workplace discourse*. London: Routledge.

109. Kristeva, J. (1980) *Desire in language: a semiotic approach to literature and art.* Gora, T., Jardine, A. & Roudiez, L. (eds. & trans.). Oxford: Blackwell.

110. Lauerbach, G. (2004) Political interviews as hybrid genre. *Text,* 24(3): 353-397.

111. Lauerbach, G. & Fetzer, (2007) A. Political discourse in the media: cross-cultural perspective. In Lauerbach, G. & Fetzer, A. (eds.) *Political discourse in the media: cross-cultural perspective.* Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins. pp: 3-29.

112. Leech, G. N. (1991) The state of the art in corpus linguistics. In Aijmer, K. & Altenberg, B. (eds.), *English corpus linguistics: studies in honour of Jan Svartvik.* London: Longman.

113. Leech, G. N. (1992) 'Corpora and theories of linguistic performance.' In Svartvik J. (ed.) *Directions in Corpus Linguistics* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp: 105- 122.

114. Leech, G. N. (2000) Grammars of spoken English: new outcomes of corpus-oriented research. *Language Learning,* 50 (4): 675- 724.

115. Lehmann, H. (2002) 'Zero subject relative constructions in American and British English.' In Peters, P., Collins, P. & Smiths, A. (eds.) *New Frontiers in corpus research.* Amsterdam: Rodopi. pp: 163-177.

116. Lehrer, A. (1985) 'The influence of semantic fields on semantic change.' In Fisiak, J. (ed.) *Historical semantics historical word formation.* Berlin; New York: Mouton Publishers. pp: 283-296.

117. Leinemann, R. & Baikaltseva, E. (2006) *How to manage a successful press conference.* Hampshire: Gower Publishing Limited.

118. Lerner, G. H. (1991) On the syntax of sentences-in-progress. *Language in Society*, 20: 441-458.

119. Levi, J. & Walker, A.G. (eds.) (1990) *Language in the judicial process*. New York: Plenum.

120. Lindquist, H. (2009) *Corpus linguistics and the description of English.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

121. Linell, P. & Luckmann, T. (1991) 'Asymmetries in dialogue: some conceptual preliminaries.' In Markova, I. & Foppa, K. (eds.) *Asymmetries in dialogue*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf. pp: 1-20.

122. Ludwig, O. (1983) 'Writing systems and written language'. In Coulmas, F. & Ehlich, K. (eds.) *Writing in focus*. Berlin, New York: Mouton. pp: 31-44.

123. Lynch, L. (2012) *Exploring journalism and the media.* U.S.A.: Cengage Learning.

124. Lyons, J. (1968) *Introduction to theoretical linguistics*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press.

125. Lyons, J. (1981) *Language and linguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

126. Maia, B. (1998) Word order and the first person singular in Portuguese and English. *Meta: Translators' Journal*, vol 43 (4): 589-601. URL:
http://quebec.synergiescanada.org/revue/meta/1998/v43/n4/003539ar.pdf
[Accessed 5 June 2015].

127. Maltese J. (1992) *Spin Control: The White House Office of Communication and the Management of Presidential News.* Chapel Hill, London: The University of North Carolina Press.

128. McClellan, S. (2008) *What happened: inside the Bush White House and Washington's culture of deception.* U.S.A.: PublicAffairs.

129. McEnery T., Botley, S. & Mark, A. (eds.) (2000) *Corpus-based and computational approaches to discourse anaphora.* Amsterdam; Netherlands: Benjamins.

130. McEnery T. & Wilson, A. (eds.) (2001) *Corpus linguistics: an introduction*. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

131. McEnery T., Xiao R. & Tono Y. (2005) 'A corpus-based approach to tense and aspect in English-Chinese translation.' In Schwitalla, J. & Wegstein W. (eds.) *Korpuslinguistik deutsch: synchron - diachron - kontrastiv: Würzburger Kolloquium.* Niemeyer: Tübingen. pp: 27-50.

132. McEnery T., Xiao R. & Tono Y. (2006) *Corpus-based language studies: an advanced resource book*. London: Routledge.

133. McEnery, T. & Hardie, A. (2012) *Corpus linguistics: method, theory and practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

134. Meyer, C. F. (2002) *English corpus linguistics: an introduction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

135. Meyer, T. & Hinchman, L. (2002) *Media democracy: how the media colonize politics.* U.S.A: Blackwell Publishing Inc.

136. Miller, G.A. & Fellbaum, C. (1991) 'Semantic networks of English.' In Levin, B. & Pinker, S. (eds.) *Lexical and conceptual semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp: 197-229.

137. Mitkov, R. (2014) *Anaphora resolution.* Abingdon: Routledge.

138. Montgomery, M. (2007) *The discourse of broadcast news: a linguistic*

*approach.* London: Routledge.

139. Morley, J. (2009) 'Introduction: a description of CorDis.' In Morley, J. & Bayley, P. (eds.) *Corpus-assisted discourse studies on the Iraq conflict: wording the war.* Abingdon: Routledge. pp: 1-12.

140. Morley, J. & Bayley, P. (2009) (eds.) *Corpus-assisted discourse studies on the Iraq conflict: wording the war.* Abingdon: Routledge.

141. Murphy, M. L. (2003) *Semantic relations and the lexicon.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

142. Oates, S. (2008) *Introduction to Media and Politics.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

143. Olds, G. & Taylor, I. (2004) *Never say "no comment": how spin doctors answer questions.* Toronto: LB Publishing Services.

144. Orr, M. (2003) *Intertextuality: debates and contexts.* Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishing.

145. Partington, A. (1998) *Patterns and meanings: using corpora for English language research and teaching.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

146. Partington, A. (2002) *The linguistics of political argument: the spin-doctor and the wolf-pack at the White House.* London: Routledge.

147. Partington, A., Morley, J. & Haarman, L. (2004) *Corpora and discourse.* Bern; Oxford: Peter Lang.

148. Partington, A. (2006a) 'Metaphors, motifs and similes across discourse types: corpus-assisted discourse studies (CDAS) at work.' In Stefanowitsch, A. & Gries, S. T. (eds.) *Corpus-based approaches to metaphor and metonymy.* Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. pp: 267-304.

149. Partington, A. (2006b) *The linguistics of laughter: a corpus-assisted study of laughter-talk.* London: Routledge.

150. Partington, A. (2008) 'The armchair and the machine: corpus-assisted discourse studies.' In Torsello, C. T., Ackerley, K. & Castello, E.(eds.) *Corpora for university language teachers.* Bern: Peter Lang. pp: 189-213.

151. Partington, A., Duguid, A. & Taylor, Charlotte. (2013) *Patterns and meanings in discourse: theory and practice in corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS).* Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

152. Patterson, B.H. (2008) *To serve the president: continuity and innovation in the White House staff.* Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

153. Peitsara, K. (1993) 'On the development of the *by*-agent in English.' In Rissanen, M, Kyto, M. & Palander-Collin, M. (eds.) *Early English in the computer age: exploring through the Helsinki corpus*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp: 217-233.

154. Perloff, R.M. (1998) *Political communication: politics, press and public in America.* Mahwah, NJ/London: Erlbaum.

155. Plett, H. F. (ed.) (1991) *Intertextuality*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

156. Proctor, K. & Su, L. I.W. (2011) The 1st person plural in political discourse – American politicians in interviews and in a debate. *Journal of pragmatics* 2011 (43): 3251-3266

157. Puurtinen, T. (2003) 'Nonfinite constructions in Finnish children's literature: features of translationese contradicting translation universals?' In Granger, S., Lerot, J. & Petch- Tyson, S. (eds.) *Corpus- based approaches to contrastive linguistics and translation studies.* Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi. pp: 141-154.

158. Qian, Y. (2010) *Discursive constructions around terrorism in the People's Daily (China) and the Sun (U.K.) before and after 9.11: a corpus- based contrastive critical discourse analysis.* Germany: Peter Lang AG, International Academic Publishers.

159. Renkema, J (2004) *Introduction to discourse studies.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

160. Riffaterre, M. (1984) Intertextual representation: on mimesis as interpretive discourse. *Critical inquiry*, 11(1): 141-162.

161. Roberts, R. N., Iammond S. J. & Sulfaro, V. A. (2012) *Presidential campaigns, slogans, issues an platforms: the complete encyclopedia.* ABC-CLIO.

162. Rozell, M.J. (1992) *The press and the ford presidency.* U.S.A.: the University of Michigan Press.

163. Sabato, L. J. (1991) *Feeding frenzy: how attack Journalism has transformed American politics.* New York: the Free Press.

164. Sacks, H., Schegloff, E.A. & Jefferson, G.A. (1974) A simple systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation. *Language*, 50: 696-735.

165. Scannell P. (1996) *Radio, television and modern life: a phenomenological approach.* Oxford: Blackwell.

166. Schegloff, E.A. (1972) 'Notes on a conversational practice: formulating

place.' In Sudnow D. (ed.) *Studies in social interaction.* New York, Free Press. pp: 75-119.

167. Schegloff, E.A. & Sacks, H. (1973) Opening up Closings. *Semiotica,* 7: 289-327.

168. Schegloff, E. A. (1992) 'On talk and its institutional occasions.' In Drew, P. & Heritage, J. (eds.) *Talk at work: interaction in institutional settings.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp: 101- 134.

169. Scheithauer, R. (2007) 'Metaphors in election night Television coverage in Britain, the United States and Germany'. In Fetzer, A. & Lauerbach, G. E. (eds.) *Political discourse in the media: cross-cultural perspectives.* Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins. pp: 75-106.

170. Schmidt, S. W., Shelley, M.C. & Bardes, B. A. (2011) *Cengage advantage books: American government and politics today, brief edition.* Boston: Wadsworth Political Science

171. Schraufnagel, S. (2011) *Historical dictionary of the U.S. congress*. Plymouth: Scarecrow Press.

172. Scott, M. (1997) PC analysis of keywords – and key keywords. *System* 25 (2): 233- 245.

173. Scott, M. (2004) *WordSmith Tools 4*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

174. Scott, M. (2008) *WordSmith Tools 5*. Liverpool: Lexical Analysis Software.

175. Searle, J. R. (1969) *Speech acts: an essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press

176. Sigley, R. (1997) *Choosing your relatives: relative clauses in New Zealand English*. PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington.

177. Simon, A.F. & Jerit, J. (2007) Toward a theory relating political discourse, media, and public opinion. *Journal of communication*, 57(2): 254-271.

178. Sinclair, J. McH. & Coulthard, R. M., (1975) *Towards an analysis of discourse : the English used by teachers and pupils.* London: Oxford University Press.

179. Sinclair, J. McH. (1991) *Corpus, concordance, collocation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

180. Sinclair, J. McH. (2004) *Developing linguistics corpora: a guide to good practice corpus and texts – basic principles*. Tuscan Word Center

URL: http://www.ahds.ac.uk/creating/guides/linguistic-corpora/chapter1.htm

[Accessed 5 June 2015]

181. Silverman, D. (1987) *Communication and medical practice.* London: Sage.

182. Skinner, B.F. (1992) *Verbal behaviour*. Copley Publishing Group: Acton, Mass.

183. Sloan, W. D. & Parcell, L.M. (eds.) (2002) *American journalism: history, principles, practices*. Carolina: McFarland.

184. Startt, J. D. (2002) 'The press and U.S. presidents.' In Sloan, D. & Parcell, L, M (eds.) *American journalism: history, principles, practices.* U.S.A: McFarland. pp: 171-180.

185. Stephenson, D. (1998) *How to succeed in Newspaper journalism*. London: Kogan Page Publishers.

186. Stockwell, S. (2007) 'Spin doctors, citizens and democracy.' In Young, S. (ed.) *Government communication in Australia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp: 130-143.

187. Strobel, W. P. (1997) *Late-breaking foreign policy: the news media's influence on peace operations*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press.

188. Stubbs, M. (1996) *Text and corpus analysis: computer- assisted studies of language and culture*. Oxford: Blackwell.

189. Stubbs, M. (2001) *Words and phrases: corpus studies of lexical semantics.* Oxford: Blackwell Publisher.

190. Tanner, S. (1998) 'Watchdog or attack dog: the media, politics and ethics.' In Preston, N., Sampford, C. & Bois, C. (eds.) *Ethics and political practice: perspectives on legislative ethics*. Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea: the Federation Press. pp: 90-107.

191. Temple, M. (2008) *The British Press*. Glasgow: McGraw-Hill International.

192. Teubert, W. (2005) My version of corpus linguistics. *International journal of corpus linguistics*, 10 (1): 1-13.

193. Teubert, W. (2007) 'Corpus linguistics and lexicography.' In Teubert, W. (ed.) *Text corpora and multilingual lexicography*. Amsterdam: Joh Benjamins. pp: 109-133.

194. Teubert, W. & Cermáková, A. (2007) *Corpus linguistics: a short introduction*. London: Continuum.

195. Teubert, W. (2010) *Meaning, discourse and society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

196. Thurstun, J. & Candlin, C. (1998) Concordancing and the teaching of the vocabulary of academic English. *English for specific purposes,* 17: 267-280.

197. Tognini- Bonelli, E. (2001) *Corpus linguistics at work.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

198. Tolson, A. (2006) *Media Talk: spoken discourse on TV and radio.* Erdinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

199. van Dijk, T. A. (2008) 'Contextualization in parliamentary discourse: Aznar, Iraq and the pragmatics of lying'. In van Dijk, T.A. *Discourse and Power.* London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp: 237—289.

200. Widdowson, H.G. (1996) Discourse and interpretation: conjectures and refutations. *Language and literature,* Vol 5(1): 57-69.

201. Widdowson, H. G. (2000) The limitations of linguistics applied. *Applied linguistics*, 21(1): 3- 25.

202. Wilson, A. & Zeitln, D. (1995) The distribution of person-referring expressions in natural conversation. *Research on language & social interaction* 28(1): 61-92.

203. Worton, M. & Still, J. (eds.) (1990) *Intertextuality: theories and practices.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

204. Wright, T. (ed.) (2000) *The British political process: an introduction.* Routledge: London.

205. Xiao, R. (2009) 'Theory- driven corpus *research*: using corpora to inform aspect theory.' In Lüdeling, A. & Kytö, M. (eds.) *Corpus Linguistics: an international handbook.* Vol 2. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. pp: 987- 1008

206. Young, S. (2008) The broadcast political interview and strategies used by politicians: how the Australian prime minister promoted the Iraq war. *Media, culture & Society* 30(5): 623-640.

207. Zimmerman, D. (1992) 'The interactional organization of calls for emergency assistance.' In Drew, P. & Heriage, J.C. (eds.) *Talk at work: interaction in institutional settings.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. pp: 418-469.

# APPENDICES

## Appendix 2.1 Two extracts of how "war of necessity" is explained in the corpus

(1)And our new strategy has a clear mission and defined goals: to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda and its extremist allies.

…

As I said when I announced this strategy, there will be more difficult days ahead. The insurgency in Afghanistan didn't just happen overnight and we won't defeat it overnight. This will not be quick, nor easy. But we must never forget: This is not a war of choice. This is a war of necessity. Those who attacked America on 9/11 are plotting to do so again. If left unchecked, the Taliban insurgency will mean an even larger safe haven from which al Qaeda would plot to kill more Americans. So this is not only a war worth fighting. This is a -- this is fundamental to the defense of our people.

(WH Web, 17th, Aug, 2009)

(2) Q Two questions, Robert, the first one also on Afghanistan. Does the President still view the war there as a war of necessity?

MR. GIBBS: I think the President believes strongly that the goals that he outlined are still very key to our national security -- that we have to disrupt, dismantle and destroy al Qaeda and its extremist allies; that we have to prevent terrorist organizations from setting up safe havens -- having safe havens to set up terrorist camps to plot attacks on this country. There's no question about that. The President will, again, meet with advisors today to figure out the best way forward in doing that.

Q Is that the same as saying it's a war of necessity?

MR. GIBBS: I believe so. (WH Web, 30th, Sep, 2009)

## Appendix 2.2 Transcript of Dick Cheney on 21st of October 2009

Cheney: Obama seems 'afraid' to make decision on Afghanistan

(DOWNLOADED FROM: http://songdongnigh.blogspot.co.uk/2009_10_01_archive.html Accessed ON 6 DECEMBER, 2014)

Most anyone who is given responsibility in matters of national security quickly comes to appreciate the commitments and structures put in place by others who came before. You deploy a military force that was planned and funded by your predecessors. You inherit relationships with partners and obligations to allies that were first undertaken years and even generations earlier. With the authority you hold for a little while, you have great freedom of action. And whatever course you follow, the essential thing is always to keep commitments, and to leave no doubts about the credibility of your country's word.

So among my other concerns about the drift of events under the present administration, I consider the abandonment of missile defense in Eastern Europe to be a strategic blunder and a breach of good faith.

It is certainly not a model of diplomacy when the leaders of Poland and the Czech Republic are informed of such a decision at the last minute in midnight phone calls. It took a long time and lot of political courage in those countries to arrange for our interceptor system in Poland and the radar system in the Czech Republic. Our Polish and Czech friends are entitled to wonder how strategic plans and promises years in the making could be dissolved, just like that - with apparently little, if any, consultation. Seventy years to the day after the Soviets invaded Poland, it was an odd way to mark the occasion.

You hardly have to go back to 1939 to understand why these countries desire - and thought they had - a close and trusting relationship with the United States. Only last year, the Russian Army moved into Georgia, under the orders of a man who regards the collapse of the Soviet Union as the greatest geopolitical disaster of the 20th century. Anybody who has spent much time in that part of the world knows what Vladimir Putin is up to. And those who try placating him, by conceding ground and accommodating his wishes, will get nothing in return but more trouble.

What did the Obama Administration get from Russia for its abandonment of Poland and the Czech Republic, and for its famous "Reset" button? Another deeply flawed election and continued Russian opposition to sanctioning Iran for its pursuit of nuclear weapons.

In the short of it, President Obama's cancellation of America's agreements with the Polish and Czech governments was a serious blow to the hopes and aspirations of millions of Europeans. For twenty years, these peoples have done nothing but strive to move closer to us, and to gain the opportunities and security that America offered. These are faithful friends and NATO allies, and they deserve better. The impact of making two NATO allies walk the plank won't

be felt only in Europe. Our friends throughout the world are watching and wondering whether America will abandon them as well.

Big events turn on the credibility of the United States - doing what we said we would do, and always defending our fundamental security interests. In that category belong the ongoing missions in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the need to counter the nuclear ambitions of the current regime in Iran.

Candidate Obama declared last year that he would be willing to sit down with Iran's leader without preconditions. As President, he has committed America to an Iran strategy that seems to treat engagement as an objective rather than a tactic. Time and time again, he has outstretched his hand to the Islamic Republic's authoritarian leaders, and all the while Iran has continued to provide lethal support to extremists and terrorists who are killing American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Islamic Republic continues to provide support to extremists in Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinian territories. Meanwhile, the regime continues to spin centrifuges and test missiles. And these are just the activities we know about.

I have long been skeptical of engagement with the current regime in Tehran, but even Iran experts who previously advocated for engagement have changed their tune since the rigged elections this past June and the brutal suppression of Iran's democratic protestors. The administration clearly missed an opportunity to stand with Iran's democrats, whose popular protests represent the greatest challenge to the Islamic Republic since its founding in 1979. Instead, the President has been largely silent about the violent crackdown on Iran's protestors, and has moved blindly forward to engage Iran's authoritarian regime. Unless the Islamic Republic fears real consequences from the United States and the international community, it is hard to see how diplomacy will work.

Next door in Iraq, it is vitally important that President Obama, in his rush to withdraw troops, not undermine the progress we've made in recent years. Prime Minister Maliki met yesterday with President Obama, who began his press availability with an extended comment about Afghanistan. When he finally got around to talking about Iraq, he told the media that he reiterated to Maliki his intention to remove all U.S. troops from Iraq. Former President Bush's bold decision to change strategy in Iraq and surge U.S. forces there set the stage for success in that country. Iraq has the potential to be a strong, democratic ally in the war on terrorism, and an example of economic and democratic reform in the heart of the Middle East. The Obama Administration has an obligation to protect this young democracy and build on the strategic success we have achieved in Iraq.

We should all be concerned as well with the direction of policy on Afghanistan. For quite a while, the cause of our military in that country went pretty much unquestioned, even on the left. The effort was routinely praised by way of contrast to Iraq, which many wrote off as a failure until the surge proved them wrong. Now suddenly - and despite our success in Iraq -

we're hearing a drumbeat of defeatism over Afghanistan. These criticisms carry the same air of hopelessness, they offer the same short-sighted arguments for walking away, and they should be summarily rejected for the same reasons of national security.

Having announced his Afghanistan strategy last March, President Obama now seems afraid to make a decision, and unable to provide his commander on the ground with the troops he needs to complete his mission.

President Obama has said he understands the stakes for America. When he announced his new strategy he couched the need to succeed in the starkest possible terms, saying, quote, "If the Afghan government falls to the Taliban - or allows al-Qaeda to go unchallenged - that country will again be a base for terrorists who want to kill as many of our people as they possibly can." End quote.

Five months later, in August of this year, speaking at the VFW, the President made a promise to America's armed forces. "I will give you a clear mission," he said, "defined goals, and the equipment and support you need to get the job done. That's my commitment to you."

It's time for President Obama to make good on his promise. The White House must stop dithering while America's armed forces are in danger.

Make no mistake, signals of indecision out of Washington hurt our allies and embolden our adversaries. Waffling, while our troops on the ground face an emboldened enemy, endangers them and hurts our cause.

Recently, President Obama's advisors have decided that it's easier to blame the Bush Administration than support our troops. This weekend they leveled a charge that cannot go unanswered. The President's chief of staff claimed that the Bush Administration hadn't asked any tough questions about Afghanistan, and he complained that the Obama Administration had to start from scratch to put together a strategy.

In the fall of 2008, fully aware of the need to meet new challenges being posed by the Taliban, we dug into every aspect of Afghanistan policy, assembling a team that traveled to Pakistan and Afghanistan, reviewing options and recommendations, and briefing President-elect Obama's team. They asked us not to announce our findings publicly, and we agreed, giving them the benefit of our work and the benefit of the doubt. The new strategy they embraced in March, with a focus on counterinsurgency and an increase in the numbers of troops, bears a striking resemblance to the strategy we passed to them. They made a decision - a good one, I think - and sent a commander into the field to implement it.

Now they seem to be pulling back and blaming others for their failure to implement the strategy they embraced. It's time for President Obama to do what it takes to win a war he has repeatedly and rightly called a war of necessity.

It's worth recalling that we were engaged in Afghanistan in the 1980's, supporting the Mujahadeen against the Soviets. That was a successful policy, but then we pretty much put

Afghanistan out of our minds. While no one was watching, what followed was a civil war, the takeover by the Taliban, and the rise of bin Laden and al-Qaeda. All of that set in motion the events of 9/11. When we deployed forces eight years ago this month, it was to make sure Afghanistan would never again be a training ground for the killing of Americans. Saving untold thousands of lives is still the business at hand in this fight. And the success of our mission in Afghanistan is not only essential, it is entirely achievable with enough troops and enough political courage.

Then there's the matter of how to handle the terrorists we capture in this ongoing war. Some of them know things that, if shared, can save a good many innocent lives. When we faced that problem in the days and years after 9/11, we made some basic decisions. We understood that organized terrorism is not just a law-enforcement issue, but a strategic threat to the United States.

At every turn, we understood as well that the safety of the country required collecting information known only to the worst of the terrorists. We had a lot of blind spots - and that's an awful thing, especially in wartime. With many thousands of lives potentially in the balance, we didn't think it made sense to let the terrorists answer questions in their own good time, if they answered them at all.

The intelligence professionals who got the answers we needed from terrorists had limited time, limited options, and careful legal guidance. They got the baddest actors we picked up to reveal things they really didn't want to share. In the case of Khalid Sheik Muhammed, by the time it was over he was not was not only talking, he was practically conducting a seminar, complete with chalkboards and charts. It turned out he had a professorial side, and our guys didn't mind at all if classes ran long. At some point, the mastermind of 9/11 became an expansive briefer on the operations and plans of al-Qaeda. It happened in the course of enhanced interrogations. All the evidence, and common sense as well, tells us why he started to talk.

The debate over intelligence gathering in the seven years after 9/11 involves much more than historical accuracy. What we're really debating are the means and resolve to protect this country over the next few years, and long after that. Terrorists and their state sponsors must be held accountable, and America must remain on the offensive against them. We got it right after 9/11. And our government needs to keep getting it right, year after year, president after president, until the danger is finally overcome.

Our administration always faced its share of criticism, and from some quarters it was always intense. That was especially so in the later years of our term, when the dangers were as serious as ever, but the sense of general alarm after 9/11 was a fading memory. Part of our responsibility, as we saw it, was not to forget the terrible harm that had been done to America ... and not to let 9/11 become the prelude to something much bigger and far worse.

Eight years into the effort, one thing we know is that the enemy has spent most of this time on the defensive - and every attempt to strike inside the United States has failed. So you would think that our successors would be going to the intelligence community saying, "How did you did you do it? What were the keys to preventing another attack over that period of time?" Instead, they've chosen a different path entirely - giving in to the angry left, slandering people who did a hard job well, and demagoguing an issue more serious than any other they'll face in these four years. No one knows just where that path will lead, but I can promise you this: There will always be plenty of us willing to stand up for the policies and the people that have kept this country safe.

On the political left, it will still be asserted that tough interrogations did no good, because this is an article of faith for them, and actual evidence is unwelcome and disregarded. President Obama himself has ruled these methods out, and when he last addressed the subject he filled the air with vague and useless platitudes. His preferred device is to suggest that we could have gotten the same information by other means. We're invited to think so. But this ignores the hard, inconvenient truth that we did try other means and techniques to elicit information from Khalid Sheikh Muhammed and other al-Qaeda operatives, only turning to enhanced techniques when we failed to produce the actionable intelligence we knew they were withholding. In fact, our intelligence professionals, in urgent circumstances with the highest of stakes, obtained specific information, prevented specific attacks, and saved American lives.

In short, to call enhanced interrogation a program of torture is not only to disregard the program's legal underpinnings and safeguards. Such accusations are a libel against dedicated professionals who acted honorably and well, in our country's name and in our country's cause. What's more, to completely rule out enhanced interrogation in the future, in favor of half-measures, is unwise in the extreme. In the fight against terrorism, there is no middle ground, and half-measures keep you half exposed.

For all that we've lost in this conflict, the United States has never lost its moral bearings - and least of all can that be said of our armed forces and intelligence personnel. They have done right, they have made our country safer, and a lot of Americans are alive today because of them.

Last January 20th, our successors in office were given the highest honors that the voters of this country can give any two citizens. Along with that, George W. Bush and I handed the new president and vice president both a record of success in the war on terror, and the policies to continue that record and ultimately prevail. We had been the decision makers, but those seven years, four months, and nine days without another 9/11 or worse, were a combined achievement: a credit to all who serve in the defense of America, including some of the finest people I've ever met.

What the present administration does with those policies is their call to make, and will become a measure of their own record. But I will tell you straight that I am not encouraged when intelligence officers who acted in the service of this country find themselves hounded with a zeal that should be reserved for America's enemies. And it certainly is not a good sign when the Justice Department is set on a political mission to discredit, disbar, or otherwise persecute the very people who helped protect our nation in the years after 9/11.

There are policy differences, and then there are affronts that have to be answered every time without equivocation, and this is one of them. We cannot protect this country by putting politics over security, and turning the guns on our own guys.

We cannot hope to win a war by talking down our country and those who do its hardest work - the men and women of our military and intelligence services. They are, after all, the true keepers of the flame.

Thank you very much

## Appendix 4.1 Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan

Eisenhower Hall Theatre, United States Military Academy at West Point, West Point, New York

8:01 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT:  Good evening.  To the United States Corps of Cadets, to the men and women of our Armed Services, and to my fellow Americans:  I want to speak to you tonight about our effort in Afghanistan -- the nature of our commitment there, the scope of our interests, and the strategy that my administration will pursue to bring this war to a successful conclusion.  It's an extraordinary honor for me to do so here at West Point -- where so many men and women have prepared to stand up for our security, and to represent what is finest about our country.

To address these important issues, it's important to recall why America and our allies were compelled to fight a war in Afghanistan in the first place.  We did not ask for this fight. On September 11, 2001, 19 men hijacked four airplanes and used them to murder nearly 3,000 people.  They struck at our military and economic nerve centers.  They took the lives of innocent men, women, and children without regard to their faith or race or station.  Were it not for the heroic actions of passengers onboard one of those flights, they could have also struck at one of the great symbols of our democracy in Washington, and killed many more.

As we know, these men belonged to al Qaeda -- a group of extremists who have distorted and defiled Islam, one of the world's great religions, to justify the slaughter of innocents. Al Qaeda's base of operations was in Afghanistan, where they were harbored by the Taliban -- a ruthless, repressive and radical movement that seized control of that country after it was ravaged by years of Soviet occupation and civil war, and after the attention of America and our friends had turned elsewhere.

Just days after 9/11, Congress authorized the use of force against al Qaeda and those who harbored them -- an authorization that continues to this day.  The vote in the Senate was 98 to nothing.  The vote in the House was 420 to 1.  For the first time in its history, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization invoked Article 5 -- the commitment that says an attack on one member nation is an attack on all.  And the United Nations Security Council endorsed the use of all necessary steps to respond to the 9/11 attacks.  America, our allies and the world were acting as one to destroy al Qaeda's terrorist network and to protect our common security.

Under the banner of this domestic unity and international legitimacy -- and only after the Taliban refused to turn over Osama bin Laden -- we sent our troops into Afghanistan.  Within a matter of months, al Qaeda was scattered and many of its operatives were killed.  The

Taliban was driven from power and pushed back on its heels. A place that had known decades of fear now had reason to hope. At a conference convened by the U.N., a provisional government was established under President Hamid Karzai. And an International Security Assistance Force was established to help bring a lasting peace to a war-torn country.

Then, in early 2003, the decision was made to wage a second war, in Iraq. The wrenching debate over the Iraq war is well-known and need not be repeated here. It's enough to say that for the next six years, the Iraq war drew the dominant share of our troops, our resources, our diplomacy, and our national attention -- and that the decision to go into Iraq caused substantial rifts between America and much of the world.

Today, after extraordinary costs, we are bringing the Iraq war to a responsible end. We will remove our combat brigades from Iraq by the end of next summer, and all of our troops by the end of 2011. That we are doing so is a testament to the character of the men and women in uniform. (Applause.) Thanks to their courage, grit and perseverance, we have given Iraqis a chance to shape their future, and we are successfully leaving Iraq to its people.

But while we've achieved hard-earned milestones in Iraq, the situation in Afghanistan has deteriorated. After escaping across the border into Pakistan in 2001 and 2002, al Qaeda's leadership established a safe haven there. Although a legitimate government was elected by the Afghan people, it's been hampered by corruption, the drug trade, an under-developed economy, and insufficient security forces.

Over the last several years, the Taliban has maintained common cause with al Qaeda, as they both seek an overthrow of the Afghan government. Gradually, the Taliban has begun to control additional swaths of territory in Afghanistan, while engaging in increasingly brazen and devastating attacks of terrorism against the Pakistani people.

Now, throughout this period, our troop levels in Afghanistan remained a fraction of what they were in Iraq. When I took office, we had just over 32,000 Americans serving in Afghanistan, compared to 160,000 in Iraq at the peak of the war. Commanders in Afghanistan repeatedly asked for support to deal with the reemergence of the Taliban, but these reinforcements did not arrive. And that's why, shortly after taking office, I approved a longstanding request for more troops. After consultations with our allies, I then announced a strategy recognizing the fundamental connection between our war effort in Afghanistan and the extremist safe havens in Pakistan. I set a goal that was narrowly defined as disrupting, dismantling, and defeating al Qaeda and its extremist allies, and pledged to better coordinate our military and civilian efforts.

Since then, we've made progress on some important objectives. High-ranking al Qaeda and Taliban leaders have been killed, and we've stepped up the pressure on al Qaeda worldwide.

In Pakistan, that nation's army has gone on its largest offensive in years. In Afghanistan, we and our allies prevented the Taliban from stopping a presidential election, and -- although it was marred by fraud -- that election produced a government that is consistent with Afghanistan's laws and constitution.

Yet huge challenges remain. Afghanistan is not lost, but for several years it has moved backwards. There's no imminent threat of the government being overthrown, but the Taliban has gained momentum. Al Qaeda has not reemerged in Afghanistan in the same numbers as before 9/11, but they retain their safe havens along the border. And our forces lack the full support they need to effectively train and partner with Afghan security forces and better secure the population. Our new commander in Afghanistan -- General McChrystal -- has reported that the security situation is more serious than he anticipated. In short: The status quo is not sustainable.

As cadets, you volunteered for service during this time of danger. Some of you fought in Afghanistan. Some of you will deploy there. As your Commander-in-Chief, I owe you a mission that is clearly defined, and worthy of your service. And that's why, after the Afghan voting was completed, I insisted on a thorough review of our strategy. Now, let me be clear: There has never been an option before me that called for troop deployments before 2010, so there has been no delay or denial of resources necessary for the conduct of the war during this review period. Instead, the review has allowed me to ask the hard questions, and to explore all the different options, along with my national security team, our military and civilian leadership in Afghanistan, and our key partners. And given the stakes involved, I owed the American people -- and our troops -- no less.

This review is now complete. And as Commander-in-Chief, I have determined that it is in our vital national interest to send an additional 30,000 U.S. troops to Afghanistan. After 18 months, our troops will begin to come home. These are the resources that we need to seize the initiative, while building the Afghan capacity that can allow for a responsible transition of our forces out of Afghanistan.

I do not make this decision lightly. I opposed the war in Iraq precisely because I believe that we must exercise restraint in the use of military force, and always consider the long-term consequences of our actions. We have been at war now for eight years, at enormous cost in lives and resources. Years of debate over Iraq and terrorism have left our unity on national security issues in tatters, and created a highly polarized and partisan backdrop for this effort. And having just experienced the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, the

American people are understandably focused on rebuilding our economy and putting people to work here at home.

Most of all, I know that this decision asks even more of you -- a military that, along with your families, has already borne the heaviest of all burdens.  As President, I have signed a letter of condolence to the family of each American who gives their life in these wars.  I have read the letters from the parents and spouses of those who deployed.  I visited our courageous wounded warriors at Walter Reed.  I've travelled to Dover to meet the flag-draped caskets of 18 Americans returning home to their final resting place.  I see first-hand the terrible wages of war.  If I did not think that the security of the United States and the safety of the American people were at stake in Afghanistan, I would gladly order every single one of our troops home tomorrow.

So, no, I do not make this decision lightly.  I make this decision because I am convinced that our security is at stake in Afghanistan and Pakistan.  This is the epicentre of violent extremism practiced by al Qaeda.  It is from here that we were attacked on 9/11, and it is from here that new attacks are being plotted as I speak.  This is no idle danger; no hypothetical threat.  In the last few months alone, we have apprehended extremists within our borders who were sent here from the border region of Afghanistan and Pakistan to commit new acts of terror. And this danger will only grow if the region slides backwards, and al Qaeda can operate with impunity.  We must keep the pressure on al Qaeda, and to do that, we must increase the stability and capacity of our partners in the region.

Of course, this burden is not ours alone to bear.  This is not just America's war.  Since 9/11, al Qaeda's safe havens have been the source of attacks against London and Amman and Bali.  The people and governments of both Afghanistan and Pakistan are endangered.  And the stakes are even higher within a nuclear-armed Pakistan, because we know that al Qaeda and other extremists seek nuclear weapons, and we have every reason to believe that they would use them.

These facts compel us to act along with our friends and allies.  Our overarching goal remains the same:  to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and to prevent its capacity to threaten America and our allies in the future.

To meet that goal, we will pursue the following objectives within Afghanistan.  We must deny al Qaeda a safe haven.  We must reverse the Taliban's momentum and deny it the ability to overthrow the government.  And we must strengthen the capacity of Afghanistan's security forces and government so that they can take lead responsibility for Afghanistan's future.

We will meet these objectives in three ways.  First, we will pursue a military strategy that will break the Taliban's momentum and increase Afghanistan's capacity over the next 18 months.

The 30,000 additional troops that I'm announcing tonight will deploy in the first part of 2010 -- the fastest possible pace -- so that they can target the insurgency and secure key population centers.  They'll increase our ability to train competent Afghan security forces, and to partner with them so that more Afghans can get into the fight.  And they will help create the conditions for the United States to transfer responsibility to the Afghans.

Because this is an international effort, I've asked that our commitment be joined by contributions from our allies.  Some have already provided additional troops, and we're confident that there will be further contributions in the days and weeks ahead. Our friends have fought and bled and died alongside us in Afghanistan.  And now, we must come together to end this war successfully.  For what's at stake is not simply a test of NATO's credibility -- what's at stake is the security of our allies, and the common security of the world.

But taken together, these additional American and international troops will allow us to accelerate handing over responsibility to Afghan forces, and allow us to begin the transfer of our forces out of Afghanistan in July of 2011.  Just as we have done in Iraq, we will execute this transition responsibly, taking into account conditions on the ground.  We'll continue to advise and assist Afghanistan's security forces to ensure that they can succeed over the long haul.  But it will be clear to the Afghan government -- and, more importantly, to the Afghan people -- that they will ultimately be responsible for their own country.

Second, we will work with our partners, the United Nations, and the Afghan people to pursue a more effective civilian strategy, so that the government can take advantage of improved security.

This effort must be based on performance.  The days of providing a blank check are over.  President Karzai's inauguration speech sent the right message about moving in a new direction.  And going forward, we will be clear about what we expect from those who receive our assistance.  We'll support Afghan ministries, governors, and local leaders that combat corruption and deliver for the people.  We expect those who are ineffective or corrupt to be held accountable.  And we will also focus our assistance in areas -- such as agriculture -- that can make an immediate impact in the lives of the Afghan people.

The people of Afghanistan have endured violence for decades. They've been confronted with occupation -- by the Soviet Union, and then by foreign al Qaeda fighters who used Afghan land for their own purposes.  So tonight, I want the Afghan people to understand -- America seeks an end to this era of war and suffering.  We have no interest in occupying your country.  We will support efforts by the Afghan government to open the door to those Taliban

who abandon violence and respect the human rights of their fellow citizens. And we will seek a partnership with Afghanistan grounded in mutual respect -- to isolate those who destroy; to strengthen those who build; to hasten the day when our troops will leave; and to forge a lasting friendship in which America is your partner, and never your patron.

Third, we will act with the full recognition that our success in Afghanistan is inextricably linked to our partnership with Pakistan.

We're in Afghanistan to prevent a cancer from once again spreading through that country. But this same cancer has also taken root in the border region of Pakistan. That's why we need a strategy that works on both sides of the border.

In the past, there have been those in Pakistan who've argued that the struggle against extremism is not their fight, and that Pakistan is better off doing little or seeking accommodation with those who use violence. But in recent years, as innocents have been killed from Karachi to Islamabad, it has become clear that it is the Pakistani people who are the most endangered by extremism. Public opinion has turned. The Pakistani army has waged an offensive in Swat and South Waziristan. And there is no doubt that the United States and Pakistan share a common enemy.

In the past, we too often defined our relationship with Pakistan narrowly. Those days are over. Moving forward, we are committed to a partnership with Pakistan that is built on a foundation of mutual interest, mutual respect, and mutual trust. We will strengthen Pakistan's capacity to target those groups that threaten our countries, and have made it clear that we cannot tolerate a safe haven for terrorists whose location is known and whose intentions are clear. America is also providing substantial resources to support Pakistan's democracy and development. We are the largest international supporter for those Pakistanis displaced by the fighting. And going forward, the Pakistan people must know America will remain a strong supporter of Pakistan's security and prosperity long after the guns have fallen silent, so that the great potential of its people can be unleashed.

These are the three core elements of our strategy: a military effort to create the conditions for a transition; a civilian surge that reinforces positive action; and an effective partnership with Pakistan.

I recognize there are a range of concerns about our approach. So let me briefly address a few of the more prominent arguments that I've heard, and which I take very seriously.

First, there are those who suggest that Afghanistan is another Vietnam. They argue that it cannot be stabilized, and we're better off cutting our losses and rapidly withdrawing. I believe this argument depends on a false reading of history. Unlike Vietnam, we are joined by a

broad coalition of 43 nations that recognizes the legitimacy of our action. Unlike Vietnam, we are not facing a broad-based popular insurgency. And most importantly, unlike Vietnam, the American people were viciously attacked from Afghanistan, and remain a target for those same extremists who are plotting along its border. To abandon this area now -- and to rely only on efforts against al Qaeda from a distance -- would significantly hamper our ability to keep the pressure on al Qaeda, and create an unacceptable risk of additional attacks on our homeland and our allies.

Second, there are those who acknowledge that we can't leave Afghanistan in its current state, but suggest that we go forward with the troops that we already have. But this would simply maintain a status quo in which we muddle through, and permit a slow deterioration of conditions there. It would ultimately prove more costly and prolong our stay in Afghanistan, because we would never be able to generate the conditions needed to train Afghan security forces and give them the space to take over.

Finally, there are those who oppose identifying a time frame for our transition to Afghan responsibility. Indeed, some call for a more dramatic and open-ended escalation of our war effort -- one that would commit us to a nation-building project of up to a decade. I reject this course because it sets goals that are beyond what can be achieved at a reasonable cost, and what we need to achieve to secure our interests. Furthermore, the absence of a time frame for transition would deny us any sense of urgency in working with the Afghan government. It must be clear that Afghans will have to take responsibility for their security, and that America has no interest in fighting an endless war in Afghanistan.

As President, I refuse to set goals that go beyond our responsibility, our means, or our interests. And I must weigh all of the challenges that our nation faces. I don't have the luxury of committing to just one. Indeed, I'm mindful of the words of President Eisenhower, who -- in discussing our national security -- said, "Each proposal must be weighed in the light of a broader consideration: the need to maintain balance in and among national programs."

Over the past several years, we have lost that balance. We've failed to appreciate the connection between our national security and our economy. In the wake of an economic crisis, too many of our neighbors and friends are out of work and struggle to pay the bills. Too many Americans are worried about the future facing our children. Meanwhile, competition within the global economy has grown more fierce. So we can't simply afford to ignore the price of these wars.

All told, by the time I took office the cost of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan approached a trillion dollars. Going forward, I am committed to addressing these costs openly and

honestly. Our new approach in Afghanistan is likely to cost us roughly $30 billion for the military this year, and I'll work closely with Congress to address these costs as we work to bring down our deficit.

But as we end the war in Iraq and transition to Afghan responsibility, we must rebuild our strength here at home. Our prosperity provides a foundation for our power. It pays for our military. It underwrites our diplomacy. It taps the potential of our people, and allows investment in new industry. And it will allow us to compete in this century as successfully as we did in the last. That's why our troop commitment in Afghanistan cannot be open-ended -- because the nation that I'm most interested in building is our own.

Now, let me be clear: None of this will be easy. The struggle against violent extremism will not be finished quickly, and it extends well beyond Afghanistan and Pakistan. It will be an enduring test of our free society, and our leadership in the world. And unlike the great power conflicts and clear lines of division that defined the 20th century, our effort will involve disorderly regions, failed states, diffuse enemies.

So as a result, America will have to show our strength in the way that we end wars and prevent conflict -- not just how we wage wars. We'll have to be nimble and precise in our use of military power. Where al Qaeda and its allies attempt to establish a foothold -- whether in Somalia or Yemen or elsewhere -- they must be confronted by growing pressure and strong partnerships.

And we can't count on military might alone. We have to invest in our homeland security, because we can't capture or kill every violent extremist abroad. We have to improve and better coordinate our intelligence, so that we stay one step ahead of shadowy networks.

We will have to take away the tools of mass destruction. And that's why I've made it a central pillar of my foreign policy to secure loose nuclear materials from terrorists, to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, and to pursue the goal of a world without them -- because every nation must understand that true security will never come from an endless race for ever more destructive weapons; true security will come for those who reject them.

We'll have to use diplomacy, because no one nation can meet the challenges of an interconnected world acting alone. I've spent this year renewing our alliances and forging new partnerships. And we have forged a new beginning between America and the Muslim world -- one that recognizes our mutual interest in breaking a cycle of conflict, and that promises a future in which those who kill innocents are isolated by those who stand up for peace and prosperity and human dignity.

And finally, we must draw on the strength of our values -- for the challenges that we face may have changed, but the things that we believe in must not. That's why we must promote our values by living them at home -- which is why I have prohibited torture and will close the prison at Guantanamo Bay. And we must make it clear to every man, woman and child around the world who lives under the dark cloud of tyranny that America will speak out on behalf of their human rights, and tend to the light of freedom and justice and opportunity and respect for the dignity of all peoples. That is who we are. That is the source, the moral source, of America's authority.

Since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, and the service and sacrifice of our grandparents and great-grandparents, our country has borne a special burden in global affairs. We have spilled American blood in many countries on multiple continents. We have spent our revenue to help others rebuild from rubble and develop their own economies. We have joined with others to develop an architecture of institutions -- from the United Nations to NATO to the World Bank -- that provide for the common security and prosperity of human beings.

We have not always been thanked for these efforts, and we have at times made mistakes. But more than any other nation, the United States of America has underwritten global security for over six decades -- a time that, for all its problems, has seen walls come down, and markets open, and billions lifted from poverty, unparalleled scientific progress and advancing frontiers of human liberty.

For unlike the great powers of old, we have not sought world domination. Our union was founded in resistance to oppression. We do not seek to occupy other nations. We will not claim another nation's resources or target other peoples because their faith or ethnicity is different from ours. What we have fought for -- what we continue to fight for -- is a better future for our children and grandchildren. And we believe that their lives will be better if other peoples' children and grandchildren can live in freedom and access opportunity. (Applause.)

As a country, we're not as young -- and perhaps not as innocent -- as we were when Roosevelt was President. Yet we are still heirs to a noble struggle for freedom. And now we must summon all of our might and moral suasion to meet the challenges of a new age.

In the end, our security and leadership does not come solely from the strength of our arms. It derives from our people -- from the workers and businesses who will rebuild our economy; from the entrepreneurs and researchers who will pioneer new industries; from the teachers that will educate our children, and the service of those who work in our communities at home; from the diplomats and Peace Corps volunteers who spread hope abroad; and from the men

and women in uniform who are part of an unbroken line of sacrifice that has made government of the people, by the people, and for the people a reality on this Earth.  (Applause.)

This vast and diverse citizenry will not always agree on every issue -- nor should we.  But I also know that we, as a country, cannot sustain our leadership, nor navigate the momentous challenges of our time, if we allow ourselves to be split asunder by the same rancor and cynicism and partisanship that has in recent times poisoned our national discourse.

It's easy to forget that when this war began, we were united -- bound together by the fresh memory of a horrific attack, and by the determination to defend our homeland and the values we hold dear.  I refuse to accept the notion that we cannot summon that unity again.  (Applause.)  I believe with every fiber of my being that we -- as Americans -- can still come together behind a common purpose.  For our values are not simply words written into parchment -- they are a creed that calls us together, and that has carried us through the darkest of storms as one nation, as one people.

America -- we are passing through a time of great trial.  And the message that we send in the midst of these storms must be clear:  that our cause is just, our resolve unwavering.  We will go forward with the confidence that right makes might, and with the commitment to forge an America that is safer, a world that is more secure, and a future that represents not the deepest of fears but the highest of hopes.  (Applause.)

Thank you.  God bless you.  May God bless the United States of America.  (Applause.)  Thank you very much.  Thank you.  (Applause.)

## Appendix 4.2 Top 50 nouns in the corpus

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 43 | TROOPS |
| 2 | 55 | WAR |
| 3 | 58 | MILITARY |
| 4 | 61 | SECURITY |
| 5 | 66 | PEOPLE |
| 6 | 74 | FORCES |
| 7 | 77 | STRATEGY |
| 8 | 104 | DECISION |
| 9 | 117 | YEAR |
| 10 | 119 | YEARS |
| 11 | 130 | ELECTION |
| 12 | 132 | SUPPORT |
| 13 | 133 | WAY |
| 14 | 139 | WORLD |
| 15 | 145 | MEETING |
| 16 | 153 | POLICY |
| 17 | 155 | FORCE |
| 18 | 160 | TROOP |
| 19 | 161 | PART |
| 20 | 171 | WEEK |
| 21 | 182 | ARMY |
| 22 | 184 | END |
| 23 | 186 | TODAY |
| 24 | 191 | ALLIES |
| 25 | 192 | SPEECH |
| 26 | 193 | NEED |
| 27 | 194 | LEADERS |
| 28 | 198 | QUESTION |

## Appendix 4.2 Top 50 nouns in the corpus

| 29 | 201 | WORK |
|----|-----|------|
| 30 | 202 | COMMANDER |
| 31 | 203 | PROCESS |
| 32 | 206 | MONTHS |
| 33 | 208 | GATES |
| 34 | 209 | PLAN |
| 35 | 218 | DAY |
| 36 | 221 | NUMBER |
| 37 | 222 | HEALTH |
| 38 | 223 | SOLDIERS |
| 39 | 229 | TRAINING |
| 40 | 234 | REGION |
| 41 | 235 | MISSION |
| 42 | 237 | EFFORT |
| 43 | 239 | EFFORTS |
| 44 | 251 | TOP |
| 45 | 256 | SENATOR |
| 46 | 259 | CONGRESS |
| 47 | 262 | SOMETHING |
| 48 | 264 | PERCENT |
| 49 | 267 | SITUATION |
| 50 | 271 | PEACE |

## Appendix 5.1 New words in the GS corpus (between 11 August 2009 and 20 August 2009)

0811-0820

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| above | calling | diplomatic | guys | link | politically | sectors |
| absent | camps | discussions | hands | linked | politician | seeking |
| acceptance | candid | distrust | happened | lists | polls | seem |
| accomplish | candidate | divergent | harmed | little | poppy | senators |
| achievable | candidates | diverse | harry | london | popular | settlement |
| achieving | capability | divided | having | lone | populations | severely |
| acknowledged | capitals | doesn | head | lose | position | shadow |
| acknowledges | car | doubtful | hear | losing | posture | shape |
| act | cart | draw | heavily | low | potential | sheryl |
| admiration | casualties | draws | heavy | loyalty | powers | shift |
| advanced | caveats | drew | helicopters | majority | pre | shooting |
| advances | chances | driver | hesitation | maliki | present | |
| advice | changed | drones | higher | manual | presidency | |
| advising | changes | duty | highest | marine | pressed | sign |
| advocated | chaos | ed | himself | markets | prevented | signing |
| afraid | chapel | editorial | hiring | massive | prevention | simultaneous |
| african | chapter | effect | historians | matter | previous | singh |
| aim | choosing | eighth | historic | matters | previously | society |
| aligned | christine | eikenberg | holbrooke | maxim | primarily | solely |
| alive | cities | eikenberry | holds | mccain | primary | solution |
| allowed | closer | electoral | holiday | | principle | somewhat |
| allows | closes | electricity | honest | meanwhile | principles | somewhere |
| alternative | cloud | else | horse | measurable | prize | son |
| alternatives | | elsewhere | host | measured | | sort |
| although | collapse | embrace | however | mechanism | proceed | sound |
| am | comment | emergency | huge | messages | produced | sounded |
| ambassador | commentary | emphasize | hurt | messy | producer | sources |
| amplify | comments | ending | ideal | midst | programs | soviet |
| analogy | commercial | endorsed | identify | militarily | projects | space |
| announcement | communicate | engage | ignore | minds | promising | speaking |
| announcements | communication | enjoy | ignored | minute | proposed | spend |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| answering | communications | enough | | missiles | prospect | spending |
| anybody | compared | entered | illegal | mistakes | protecting | spread |
| anytime | complex | equip | imagine | mobile | pursuit | standards |
| appears | complexity | equipped | impact | moderate | push | standing |
| applause | complicated | eradicate | importantly | monitoring | pushed | standpoint |
| appreciated | component | escalation | impose | morrell | question | starting |
| approached | concerns | essential | imposed | mostly | questions | status |
| approximately | concurrent | essentially | impossible | mountains | quick | story |
| argument | conduct | estimates | impressive | moving | radical | straits |
| arizona | conducted | ethnicity | improvement | myself | radio | street |
| arizonan | confident | evolved | inadequate | name | raised | strikes |
| armored | confirmed | exchanges | inclined | named | raising | stronghold |
| arms | congressmen | exercise | incredibly | names | ranks | stuck |
| arrest | consider | existence | incumbent | nationwide | reaction | student |
| arrive | consideration | expansion | industry | natural | really | stuff |
| arsenal | considered | expel | injury | | reasons | style |
| article | conspicuous | experiences | insecure | necessity | receptions | succeeded |
| articles | constitution | extend | insufficient | negotiate | recognize | sufficiently |
| asked | constraints | extension | interconnected | negotiated | recognizes | suited |
| asking | consumed | extremely | interesting | negotiating | recommend | supplies |
| assessing | contenders | eye | interfering | neither | reconciliation | supply |
| assessments | contested | facing | internet | news | reconstruction | supportive |
| assignment | context | fails | interrupted | nobody | record | surge |
| assisting | continued | fair | intervention | notes | reelection | surrender |
| attacking | contractors | fall | intimidate | noting | reevaluating | surrounded |
| attempt | contrast | fallen | intimidation | | reference | sustain |
| attempts | contributed | falling | invite | obvious | reflect | sustainable |
| audience | contribution | families | inviting | occupying | regard | swelled |
| available | contributor | farmers | involve | offensive | regarding | tactical |
| avoid | controlled | fears | involvement | offering | register | talk |
| background | conventional | fighting | involves | officially | reinforce | talking |
| backing | convincing | financial | iran | oil | reintegration | talks |
| bad | core | fingers | | ones | remain | tax |
| baghdad | corrupt | fits | issue | opium | remained | taxpayer |
| balance | councils | flawed | | opponents | remarkable | tend |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ballot | counsel | flow | jobs | opposing | remind | terrain |
| ballots | counter | folks | join | opposition | remote | territory |
| banks | coverage | followed | journalists | option | renounces | terrorized |
| bases | creating | footing | joy | orange | repeat | threaten |
| battlefield | credibility | forever | judged | organization | repeated | throughout |
| bearing | criminal | forget | judgment | ours | reporters | thursday |
| begin | criticism | fraud | justifications | outcome | reporting | thus |
| begins | crops | freezing | justify | overcome | republic | tone |
| behavior | cultivation | frontier | karl | overwhelming | republican | tour |
| benefits | culture | fronts | ken | pace | request | traditional |
| besides | dangers | function | knows | page | requests | traditionally |
| beyond | deadliest | functioning | korea | paid | require | trafficking |
| biden | december | fundamental | korean | pains | residence | trainers |
| big | decisive | funded | kosovo | pakistanis | resistance | trajectory |
| blair | defeated | funds | land | parliament | resolution | transformed |
| blanking | defining | furthermore | languages | participate | resulted | transit |
| blast | definitive | gains | large | participating | results | treated |
| blood | degree | gauge | largely | participation | reward | treatment |
| bombings | deliver | gay | lastly | partly | rigorous | trends |
| book | delivered | geoff | latest | parts | ring | tried |
| boots | demanding | george | latter | pashtun | roll | trip |
| branch | dependent | georgia | laws | pass | roots | TRUE |
| brave | depends | gestures | lay | patient | rough | trust |
| brief | deploying | gives | layered | perceived | round | try |
| britain | deployments | gold | lays | persian | routes | turn |
| brought | describes | gone | least | person | running | turned |
| Brown | desert | gordon | leave | persuade | runs | type |
| Brutal | deserves | grand | legal | phoenix | russian | typically |
| Built | despite | green | lessens | places | ruthless | umbrella |
| bureau | detailed | gregory | lesson | platforms | says | unaware |
| bureaucracy | developed | groundwork | letters | pledge | scale | uncertainty |
| Burns | devoted | guard | life | pledged | scattered | unchecked |
| | did | guidance | limit | pledging | sectarian | uncomfortabl |
| | difference | gulf | limited | pointed | | undertake |
| | | | | policymakers | | |

## Appendix 5.2 Instances of *timetable* which can only be found in Journalists' questions:

http://www.whitehouse.gov/video/Press-Briefing-9/08/09#transcript

Q So has he had a chance to read it? Is he now talking to staff about it? What's sort of his timetable for making some important decisions about the way forward?

MR. GIBBS: Well, understand that this was part of a rigorous reassessment of our strategy in Afghanistan that the President demanded when he came into office. Obviously he made some initial decisions to ensure a security environment for recent elections which I think most people will tell you were important for those to happen. He will continue to talk with staff here, and as I think Secretary Gates said last week, he will be getting from Secretary Gates and Admiral Mullen, as well as General Petraeus, their thoughts on the McChrystal assessment. I think those meetings will be ongoing.

In terms of additional resource requests, I think General McChrystal and Secretary Gates have said that would be forthcoming in a separate document over the next few coming weeks.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/video/Press-Briefing-9/16/09#transcript

Q But when you say U.S. troops won't be there forever, the President also talked in the campaign about having **a clear timetable** for withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq. Why is he not using the same strategy for Afghanistan?

MR. GIBBS: Well, again, I'm not saying we're not following that strategy because, again, Ed, there's a --

Q But there's no **timetable -**-

MR. GIBBS: Because there's an assessment going on right now. This -- the speech that he gave in March isn't the totality of that assessment. That assessment is ongoing. And that's precisely why the President said that the resource -- any additional resource decisions are not immediate or imminent. The President is going to take the time that he thinks is necessary to listen to -- hold on -- to listen to each of those involved in this decision, to talk to a multitude of voices, and ultimately decide on the very best strategy moving forward.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/briefing-white-house-press-secretary-robert-gibbs

Q Robert, a couple of topics, first Afghanistan. Tomorrow you guys are having a meeting -- the President is meeting with the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, General Petraeus obviously on Afghanistan. Is that where he's going to at least lay out a timetable for making his strategy review decision, sort of saying --

MR. GIBBS: No, I think I'll leave it at it's a number of weeks.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/briefing-white-house-press-secretary-robert-gibbs-11209

Q    How does this resolution, if at all, affect the President's timetable on war strategy?

MR. GIBBS:  Look, again, I think there's -- we obviously now know who the government is going to be, so I think some of the conversations that I just alluded to can take place with who we know is going to lead the country.  I think the decision is still -- will be made in the coming weeks.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/briefing-white-house-press-secretary-robert-gibbs-11609

Q Robert, the Pentagon is obviously focused on the Texas shooting and the aftermath of that. Does this impact the timetable on the Afghanistan decision?

MR. GIBBS: I don't -- I've not gotten that indication from any of the participants that have been here for those meetings.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-obama-and-prime-minister-singh-india-joint-press-conference

Q    Well, perhaps you'd like to help us set a new stage in our relationship by telling us where you stand on your decision on Afghanistan.  You had your -- what we were told was your final meeting

last evening. Can you tell us how many more troops you'll be sending to Afghanistan, how you'll be paying for them, and whether you'll be announcing a timetable and/or exit strategy for them?

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Mark, I will be making an announcement to the American people about how we intend to move forward. I will be doing so shortly.

I think that the review that we've gone through has been comprehensive and extremely useful, and has brought together my key military advisors, but also civilian advisors. I can tell you, as I've said before, that it is in our strategic interest, in our national security interest to make sure that al Qaeda and its extremist allies cannot operate effectively in those areas. We are going to dismantle and degrade their capabilities and ultimately dismantle and destroy their networks. And Afghanistan's stability is important to that process.

I've also indicated that after eight years -- some of those years in which we did not have, I think, either the resources or the strategy to get the job done -- it is my intention to finish the job. And I feel very confident that when the American people hear a clear rationale for what we're doing there and how we intend to achieve our goals that they will be supportive.

Now, I think it's worth mentioning since I'm with the Prime Minister of India that this important not just to the United States, but it's important to the world, and that the whole world I think has a core security interest in making sure that the kind of extremism and violence that you've seen emanating from this region is tackled, confronted in a serious way.

Now, we have to do it as part of a broader international community. And so one of the things I'm going to be discussing is the obligations of our international partners in this process. It's going to be very important to recognize that the Afghan people ultimately are going to have to provide for their own security. And so we'll be discussing that process whereby Afghan security forces are properly trained and equipped to do the job. And it's going to be important to recognize that in order for us to succeed there you've got to have a comprehensive strategy that includes civilian and diplomatic efforts.

So I think that's a sufficient preview to last until after Thanksgiving, Mark.


<span style="color:red">20091130</span>

http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/briefing-white-house-press-secretary-robert-gibbs-113009

Q    You said last week -- I think Wednesday in the gaggle -- that we wouldn't be there in eight or nine years. Will the President spell that out as a **timetable t**omorrow on when troops will leave?

MR. GIBBS:  Again, I found a good job security policy is not to get too far ahead of where the President is.  I think you can be assured that the President will talk about the fact that this is not an open-ended commitment.

20091201

http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/press-briefing-senior-administration-officials-presidents-west-point-speech

Q    Thank you very much.  Two quick questions, related.  One, on the issue of the timetable, I know you want to make sure this is not misinterpreted, but even the July 2011 timeframe there have been arguments that setting up any date just encourages the Taliban, the insurgents to lay low and to wait people out.  Can you address that criticism?  And point two, the ability to get to 30,000 into theater by the summer -- there's been some noise already out of the Pentagon this morning that that may be logistically impossible.  Can you address that?  Is it actually doable to get that many troops into an infrastructure-free country that quickly?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL:  Let me, again, take them in reverse sequence.  As for the deployment timeline, first of all, this is, as you know, an imprecise science in terms of exactly which units flow when based on the infrastructure available and so forth.  So I think the best -- as precise as we wish to get here, and we refer you to the Pentagon for greater precision, is that the 30,000 troop surge is due to arrive in Afghanistan in the summer of 2010.  For additional precision you'll have to go to the experts in the Pentagon.

I'm sorry, the first point had to do with?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL:  The Taliban --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL:  Oh, yes.  Well, remember what July 2011 represents.  It represents the beginning of a process which will be conditions-based.  So if the Taliban thinks they can wait us out, I think that they're misjudging the President's approach.  On the other hand there's a value in setting a date like this as a sort of strategic inflection point because it does put everyone on pressure -- under pressure to do more sooner.  And that pressure of the timeline begins with the U.S. government itself, but also extends to our allies and our Afghan and Pakistani partners.

So, you know, it may be misinterpreted, but the Taliban will do that at its own risk.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL:  Let me add to each of those just real quickly, again in reverse order.  Let me simply say what I think you've seen administration officials say today.  The force option that the President has chosen gets more troops into Afghanistan faster than any option

that was previously presented to him. That's point number one. By the way, that's more U.S. troops faster and more NATO troops faster than any other option presented.

Secondly, the logic of the Taliban waiting anybody out would subscribe to the logic that we will all be there forever. And the President's viewpoint on that is, as you've heard my colleague say, this is not an open-ended commitment on behalf of the President.

## Appendix 5.3 Transcripts of the president's speech on 27 March 2009

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

Office of the Press Secretary

_____

For Immediate Release          March 27, 2009

**REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON A NEW STRATEGY FOR AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN**

Room 450
Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building

THE PRESIDENT:  Good morning.  Please be seated.

Before I begin today, let me acknowledge, first of all, Your Excellencies, all the ambassadors who are in attendance.  I also want to acknowledge both the civilians and our military personnel that are about to be deployed to the region.  And I am very grateful to all of you for your extraordinary work.

I want to acknowledge General David Petraeus, who's here, and has been doing an outstanding job at CENTCOM, and we appreciate him.  I want to thank Bruce Reidel -- Bruce is down at the end here -- who has worked extensively on our strategic review.  I want to acknowledge Karl Eikenberry, who's here, and is our Ambassador-designate to Afghanistan.  And to my national security team, thanks for their outstanding work.

Today, I'm announcing a comprehensive, new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan.   And this marks the conclusion of a careful policy review, led by Bruce, that I ordered as soon as I took office.  My administration has heard from our military commanders, as well as our diplomats.  We've consulted with the Afghan and Pakistani governments, with our partners and our NATO allies, and with other donors and international organizations.  We've also worked closely with members of Congress here at home. And now I'd like to speak clearly and candidly to the American people.

The situation is increasingly perilous.  It's been more than seven years since the Taliban was removed from power, yet war rages on, and insurgents control parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan.  Attacks against our troops, our NATO allies, and the Afghan government have risen steadily.  And most painfully, 2008 was the deadliest year of the war for American forces.

Many people in the United States -- and many in partner countries that have sacrificed so much -- have a simple question: What is our purpose in Afghanistan? After so many years, they ask, why do our men and women still fight and die there? And they deserve a straightforward answer.

So let me be clear: Al Qaeda and its allies -- the terrorists who planned and supported the 9/11 attacks -- are in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Multiple intelligence estimates have warned that al Qaeda is actively planning attacks on the United States homeland from its safe haven in Pakistan. And if the Afghan government falls to the Taliban -- or allows al Qaeda to go unchallenged -- that country will again be a base for terrorists who want to kill as many of our people as they possibly can.

The future of Afghanistan is inextricably linked to the future of its neighbor, Pakistan. In the nearly eight years since 9/11, al Qaeda and its extremist allies have moved across the border to the remote areas of the Pakistani frontier. This almost certainly includes al Qaeda's leadership: Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri. They have used this mountainous terrain as a safe haven to hide, to train terrorists, to communicate with followers, to plot attacks, and to send fighters to support the insurgency in Afghanistan. For the American people, this border region has become the most dangerous place in the world.

But this is not simply an American problem -- far from it. It is, instead, an international security challenge of the highest order. Terrorist attacks in London and Bali were tied to al Qaeda and its allies in Pakistan, as were attacks in North Africa and the Middle East, in Islamabad and in Kabul. If there is a major attack on an Asian, European, or African city, it, too, is likely to have ties to al Qaeda's leadership in Pakistan. The safety of people around the world is at stake.

For the Afghan people, a return to Taliban rule would condemn their country to brutal governance, international isolation, a paralyzed economy, and the denial of basic human rights to the Afghan people -- especially women and girls. The return in force of al Qaeda terrorists who would accompany the core Taliban leadership would cast Afghanistan under the shadow of perpetual violence.

As President, my greatest responsibility is to protect the American people. We are not in Afghanistan to control that country or to dictate its future. We are in Afghanistan to confront a common enemy that threatens the United States, our friends and our allies, and the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan who have suffered the most at the hands of violent extremists.

So I want the American people to understand that we have a clear and focused goal: to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either

country in the future.  That's the goal that must be achieved.  That is a cause that could not be more just.  And to the terrorists who oppose us, my message is the same:  We will defeat you.

To achieve our goals, we need a stronger, smarter and comprehensive strategy.  To focus on the greatest threat to our people, America must no longer deny resources to Afghanistan because of the war in Iraq.  To enhance the military, governance and economic capacity of Afghanistan and Pakistan, we have to marshal international support.  And to defeat an enemy that heeds no borders or laws of war, we must recognize the fundamental connection between the future of Afghanistan and Pakistan -- which is why I've appointed Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, who is here, to serve as Special Representative for both countries, and to work closely with General Petraeus to integrate our civilian and military efforts.

Let me start by addressing the way forward in Pakistan.

The United States has great respect for the Pakistani people.  They have a rich history and have struggled against long odds to sustain their democracy.  The people of Pakistan want the same things that we want:  an end to terror, access to basic services, the opportunity to live their dreams, and the security that can only come with the rule of law.  The single greatest threat to that future comes from al Qaeda and their extremist allies, and that is why we must stand together.

The terrorists within Pakistan's borders are not simply enemies of America or Afghanistan -- they are a grave and urgent danger to the people of Pakistan.  Al Qaeda and other violent extremists have killed several thousand Pakistanis since 9/11. They've killed many Pakistani soldiers and police.  They assassinated Benazir Bhutto.  They've blown up buildings, derailed foreign investment, and threatened the stability of the state.  So make no mistake:  al Qaeda and its extremist allies are a cancer that risks killing Pakistan from within.

It's important for the American people to understand that Pakistan needs our help in going after al Qaeda.  This is no simple task.  The tribal regions are vast, they are rugged, and they are often ungoverned.  And that's why we must focus our military assistance on the tools, training and support that Pakistan needs to root out the terrorists.  And after years of mixed results, we will not, and cannot, provide a blank check.

Pakistan must demonstrate its commitment to rooting out al Qaeda and the violent extremists within its borders.  And we will insist that action be taken -- one way or another -- when we have intelligence about high-level terrorist targets.

The government's ability to destroy these safe havens is tied to its own strength and security. To help Pakistan weather the economic crisis, we must continue to work with the IMF, the World Bank and other international partners. To lessen tensions between two nuclear-armed nations that too often teeter on the edge of escalation and confrontation, we must pursue constructive diplomacy with both India and Pakistan. To avoid the mistakes of the past, we must make clear that our relationship with Pakistan is grounded in support for Pakistan's democratic institutions and the Pakistani people. And to demonstrate through deeds as well as words a commitment that is enduring, we must stand for lasting opportunity.

A campaign against extremism will not succeed with bullets or bombs alone. Al Qaeda's offers the people of Pakistan nothing but destruction. We stand for something different. So today, I am calling upon Congress to pass a bipartisan bill co-sponsored by John Kerry and Richard Lugar that authorizes $1.5 billion in direct support to the Pakistani people every year over the next five years -- resources that will build schools and roads and hospitals, and strengthen Pakistan's democracy. I'm also calling on Congress to pass a bipartisan bill co-sponsored by Maria Cantwell, Chris Van Hollen and Peter Hoekstra that creates opportunity zones in the border regions to develop the economy and bring hope to places plagued with violence. And we will ask our friends and allies to do their part -- including at the donors conference in Tokyo next month.

I don't ask for this support lightly. These are challenging times. Resources are stretched. But the American people must understand that this is a down payment on our own future -- because the security of America and Pakistan is shared. Pakistan's government must be a stronger partner in destroying these safe havens, and we must isolate al Qaeda from the Pakistani people. And these steps in Pakistan are also indispensable to our efforts in Afghanistan, which will see no end to violence if insurgents move freely back and forth across the border.

Security demands a new sense of shared responsibility. And that's why we will launch a standing, trilateral dialogue among the United States, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Our nations will meet regularly, with Secretaries Clinton and Secretary Gates leading our effort. Together, we must enhance intelligence sharing and military cooperation along the border, while addressing issues of common concern like trade, energy, and economic development.

This is just one part of a comprehensive strategy to prevent Afghanistan from becoming the al Qaeda safe haven that it was before 9/11. To succeed, we and our friends and allies must reverse the Taliban's gains, and promote a more capable and accountable Afghan government.

Our troops have fought bravely against a ruthless enemy. Our civilians have made great sacrifices. Our allies have borne a heavy burden. Afghans have suffered and sacrificed for their future. But for six years, Afghanistan has been denied the resources that it demands because of the war in Iraq. Now, we must make a commitment that can accomplish our goals.

I've already ordered the deployment of 17,000 troops that had been requested by General McKiernan for many months. These soldiers and Marines will take the fight to the Taliban in the south and the east, and give us a greater capacity to partner with Afghan security forces and to go after insurgents along the border. This push will also help provide security in advance of the important presidential elections in Afghanistan in August.

At the same time, we will shift the emphasis of our mission to training and increasing the size of Afghan security forces, so that they can eventually take the lead in securing their country. That's how we will prepare Afghans to take responsibility for their security, and how we will ultimately be able to bring our own troops home.

For three years, our commanders have been clear about the resources they need for training. And those resources have been denied because of the war in Iraq. Now, that will change. The additional troops that we deployed have already increased our training capacity. And later this spring we will deploy approximately 4,000 U.S. troops to train Afghan security forces. For the first time, this will truly resource our effort to train and support the Afghan army and police. Every American unit in Afghanistan will be partnered with an Afghan unit, and we will seek additional trainers from our NATO allies to ensure that every Afghan unit has a coalition partner. We will accelerate our efforts to build an Afghan army of 134,000 and a police force of 82,000 so that we can meet these goals by 2011 -- and increases in Afghan forces may very well be needed as our plans to turn over security responsibility to the Afghans go forward.

This push must be joined by a dramatic increase in our civilian effort. Afghanistan has an elected government, but it is undermined by corruption and has difficulty delivering basic services to its people. The economy is undercut by a booming narcotics trade that encourages criminality and funds the insurgency. The people of Afghanistan seek the promise of a better future. Yet once again, we've seen the hope of a new day darkened by violence and uncertainty.

So to advance security, opportunity and justice -- not just in Kabul, but from the bottom up in the provinces -- we need agricultural specialists and educators, engineers and lawyers. That's how we can help the Afghan government serve its people and develop an economy that isn't dominated by illicit drugs. And that's why I'm ordering a substantial increase in our civilians on the

ground.  That's also why we must seek civilian support from our partners and allies, from the United Nations and international aid organizations -- an effort that Secretary Clinton will carry forward next week in The Hague.

At a time of economic crisis, it's tempting to believe that we can shortchange this civilian effort.  But make no mistake: Our efforts will fail in Afghanistan and Pakistan if we don't invest in their future.  And that's why my budget includes indispensable investments in our State Department and foreign assistance programs.  These investments relieve the burden on our troops.  They contribute directly to security.  They make the American people safer.  And they save us an enormous amount of money in the long run -- because it's far cheaper to train a policeman to secure his or her own village than to help a farmer seed a crop -- or to help a farmer seed a crop than it is to send our troops to fight tour after tour of duty with no transition to Afghan responsibility.

As we provide these resources, the days of unaccountable spending, no-bid contracts, and wasteful reconstruction must end. So my budget will increase funding for a strong Inspector General at both the State Department and USAID, and include robust funding for the special inspector generals for Afghan Reconstruction.

And I want to be clear:  We cannot turn a blind eye to the corruption that causes Afghans to lose faith in their own leaders.  Instead, we will seek a new compact with the Afghan government that cracks down on corrupt behavior, and sets clear benchmarks, clear metrics for international assistance so that it is used to provide for the needs of the Afghan people.

In a country with extreme poverty that's been at war for decades, there will also be no peace without reconciliation among former enemies.  Now, I have no illusion that this will be easy. In Iraq, we had success in reaching out to former adversaries to isolate and target al Qaeda in Iraq.  We must pursue a similar process in Afghanistan, while understanding that it is a very different country.

There is an uncompromising core of the Taliban.  They must be met with force, and they must be defeated.  But there are also those who've taken up arms because of coercion, or simply for a price.  These Afghans must have the option to choose a different course.  And that's why we will work with local leaders, the Afghan government, and international partners to have a reconciliation process in every province.  As their ranks dwindle, an enemy that has nothing to offer the Afghan people but terror and repression must be further isolated.  And we will continue to support the basic human rights of all Afghans -- including women and girls.

Going forward, we will not blindly stay the course.  Instead, we will set clear metrics to measure progress and hold ourselves accountable.  We'll consistently assess our efforts to train Afghan security forces and our progress in combating insurgents.  We will measure the growth of Afghanistan's economy, and its illicit narcotics production.  And we will review whether we are using the right tools and tactics to make progress towards accomplishing our goals.

None of the steps that I've outlined will be easy; none should be taken by America alone.  The world cannot afford the price that will come due if Afghanistan slides back into chaos or al Qaeda operates unchecked.  We have a shared responsibility to act -- not because we seek to project power for its own sake, but because our own peace and security depends on it.  And what's at stake at this time is not just our own security -- it's the very idea that free nations can come together on behalf of our common security.  That was the founding cause of NATO six decades ago, and that must be our common purpose today.

My administration is committed to strengthening international organizations and collective action, and that will be my message next week in Europe.  As America does more, we will ask others to join us in doing their part.  From our partners and NATO allies, we will seek not simply troops, but rather clearly defined capabilities:  supporting the Afghan elections, training Afghan security forces, a greater civilian commitment to the Afghan people.  For the United Nations, we seek greater progress for its mandate to coordinate international action and assistance, and to strengthen Afghan institutions.

And finally, together with the United Nations, we will forge a new Contact Group for Afghanistan and Pakistan that brings together all who should have a stake in the security of the region -- our NATO allies and other partners, but also the Central Asian states, the Gulf nations and Iran; Russia, India and China.  None of these nations benefit from a base for al Qaeda terrorists, and a region that descends into chaos.  All have a stake in the promise of lasting peace and security and development.

That is true, above all, for the coalition that has fought together in Afghanistan, side by side with Afghans.  The sacrifices have been enormous.  Nearly 700 Americans have lost their lives.  Troops from over 20 countries have also paid the ultimate price.  All Americans honor the service and cherish the friendship of those who have fought, and worked, and bled by our side.  And all Americans are awed by the service of our own men and women in uniform, who've borne a burden as great as any other generation's.  They and their families embody the example of selfless sacrifice.

I remind everybody, the United States of America did not choose to fight a war in Afghanistan.  Nearly 3,000 of our people were killed on September 11, 2001, for doing nothing more than going about their daily lives.  Al Qaeda and its allies have since killed thousands of people in many countries.  Most of the blood on their hands is the blood of Muslims, who al Qaeda has killed and maimed in far greater number than any other people.  That is the future that al Qaeda is offering to the people of Pakistan and Afghanistan -- a future without hope or opportunity; a future without justice or peace.

So understand, the road ahead will be long and there will be difficult days ahead.  But we will seek lasting partnerships with Afghanistan and Pakistan that promise a new day for their people.  And we will use all elements of our national power to defeat al Qaeda, and to defend America, our allies, and all who seek a better future.  Because the United States of America stands for peace and security, justice and opportunity.  That is who we are, and that is what history calls on us to do once more.

Thank you.  God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.  (Applause.)