'We' and Identity in Political Discourse:
A Case Study of Hillary Clinton

By

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"And so we need—we need you to keep up these fights now and for the rest of your lives. And to all the women, and especially the young women, who put their faith in this campaign and in me: I want you to know that nothing has made me prouder than to be your champion.

Now, I know **we have still not shattered that highest and hardest glass ceiling**, but some day someone will—and hopefully sooner than we might think right now. And to all of the little girls who are watching this, never doubt that you are valuable and powerful and deserving of every chance and opportunity in the world to pursue and achieve your own dreams."

[Hillary Clinton, Concession Speech, 2016]

Abstract

This study investigates the language use through which Hillary Clinton constructs her political identity by examining the extent to which the First-Person Plural Pronoun (FPPP) is important in the political discourse of this American woman politician. Drawing on Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion of face and face-work, this study demonstrates how Hillary Clinton, as a woman in a position of power, actively exploits the referential flexibility of the FPPP in her campaign discourse to construct and negotiate her identities to strategically enhance her political power and/or protect her threatened negative face in different face-threatening situations. The study also demonstrates how Clinton actively exploits self-affiliation to acquire, neutralize or challenge power in her campaign discourse. The study also suggests a role of the power differential between the affiliator (candidate) and the affiliated group in determining the strategic function of the FPPP in the candidate's discourse. The study also shows a key role of the macro-linguistic context in interpreting the meaning of the FPPP in the candidate's discourse, and thus, a more profound understanding of the political identity of the candidate.

The corpus collected for this study comprises five debates and three talks-shows in which Hillary Clinton participated during the period between 2000-2008. A mixed-methodological approach in which quantitative and qualitative methods are combined is used to answer the research questions. The analysis of Hillary Clinton's discourse extracted from the corpus of Hillary Clinton's Debates and Talk-shows (CHCDT) has led to three key conclusions. First, the meaning of the FPPP, in campaign discourse, is more nuanced than has been shown in previous literature. Secondly, in addition to the attested importance of the micro-linguistic context, the study has demonstrated a key role of the macro-linguistic context in understanding the meaning of the FPPP in political discourse. Thirdly, Hillary Clinton's use of the FPPP in campaign discourse has revealed aspects of gendered identity. The implications of the findings and directions for future research are also provided.

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Transcription Key

Symbol	Meaning
:	Beginning of a speech-turn
[..]	Deleted talk, deemed unnecessary for the illustration, especially in very long responses.
{ }	Overlaps /Interruptions
(.)	Micro-pause of under a second
(1)	Timed pause in seconds
[CAPS]	Paralinguistic Expressions
hh	Aspiration
?	Question.
(NC)	Not Clear
(information)	Extra-linguistic information

- Based on Cameron and Shaw (2016) and Jefferson (1984)

A Guide for the Meaning of Acronyms in the Thesis

Acronym	Meaning
CA	Conversation Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CHCDT	Corpus of Hillary Clinton's debates and talk-shows
EPG	Equal-power Group
FPDA	Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis
FPPP	First person plural pronoun
FPSP	First person singular pronoun
FTA	Face-threatening Acts
HPG	Higher-power Group
LPG	Lower-power Group
NK	North Korea
SPP(s)	Second person pronoun(s)
TPP(s)	Third person pronoun(s)

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 General Aim of the Study

This study investigates the language use through which Hillary Clinton constructs her political identity by examining the extent to which the First Person Plural Pronoun (i.e., *we* and its grammatical variants: *us* and *our*) is important in the political discourse of this American woman politician. Drawing on Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion of face and face-work, this study demonstrates how Clinton, as a woman in a position of power, actively exploits the referential flexibility of the First Person Plural Pronoun (hereinafter, FPPP) in her campaign discourse to construct and negotiate her identities to strategically enhance her political power and/or protect her threatened negative face in different face-threatening situations. The study also demonstrates how actively exploits self-affiliation to acquire, neutralize or challenge power in her campaign discourse.

The context of this study is a number of debates and talk-shows in which Clinton participated when running for New York Senator and President of the USA. The corpus collected for this study comprises discourse from five debates and three talks-shows in the period 2000–2008 (see Chapter 5). Throughout the thesis, the corpus will be referred to as the *corpus of Hillary Clinton's Debates and Talk-shows* (hereinafter, the CHCDT). The methodology employed in this study is informed by pragmatics and its premise of intentionality of communicative actions (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Fetzer, 2104); and sociolinguistics and its premise of the indexicality of social actions (Fetzer, 2007). The in-depth pragmatic analysis of Clinton's discourse in the CHCDT demonstrates three salient points: how the meaning of the FPPP in campaign discourse is more nuanced and subtle than has been so far suggested in the literature; that the role of the macro-linguistic context is as relevant as the micro-linguistic context in understating the candidate's (in this case, Hillary Clinton's) political identity; and how Clinton's use of the FPPP reveals aspects of a gendered identity.

Firstly, to understand the meaning of the FPPP, and thus self-affiliation, in political discourse, the study uses a different approach in examining the extent to which the meaning of the FPPP in political discourse is anchored to the power differential between the candidate (in this case, Hillary Clinton) and the affiliated group (i.e., the referent of the FPPP). The distribution of power among the referents is based on their authority in political decision-making, suggesting that the power differential between Clinton and the referents in political discourse is a form of institutional power. Thus, the study proposes that the goals of affiliation in Clinton's discourse vary strategically

according to whether the institutional power of the affiliated group is higher, lower, or Clinton actively uses the FPPP to draw boundaries between her different identities, on the one hand, and between 'self' and the 'other,' on the other hand, thus shifting membership during interaction to fulfill certain communicative needs.

Secondly, this study differs from previous studies that have investigated the FPPP in a political context (e.g., Bramley, 2001; Millar, 2015; Proctor & Su, 2011) in that it incorporates the notion of face and face-work, and politeness (Goffman, 1967; Brown & Levinson, 1987), to account for Clinton's use of the FPPP. I will demonstrate how the uses of the FPPP can be considered face-oriented strategies serving to construct Clinton's identities across interactional contexts. In my corpus, Clinton employs FPPP strategies for face-work beyond Brown and Levinson's (1987) view of positive politeness. In line with this suggestion of a shortcoming in the original conceptualization of face-work (e.g., Culpeper, 2011; Mills, 2003), this study attempts a wider application of the notion of face, based on the premise that interaction — notably in mediated political discourse — is more complex than first proposed in the seminal work of Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1987). This study shows that Clinton affiliates with different groups to satisfy both positive and negative face-wants; that is, to enhance her self-image, and save her threatened face from face-threatening acts (hereinafter, FTAs). Moreover, Clinton exploits the inclusive–exclusive property of the FPPP to threaten her opponent's face as a discursive tactic which will serve to distance them and marginalize their ideologies during the interaction.

Thirdly, the study also employs Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975), and its four maxims, in the analysis of the context of particular situations, wherein I demonstrate that Clinton violates or flouts these maxims thus impacting upon the meaning of the FPPP. That is, the analysis demonstrates how Clinton may overuse the FPPP to mitigate flouting the maxims.

Fourthly, the study also demonstrates how Clinton exploits the FPPP discourse to construct a particular kind of feminine identity when she affiliates with her husband in different situational contexts, thus indexing her identity as the wife of a former President. The implications of these conclusions in the context of American women politicians are discussed in Chapter 10.

The fifth important point that this study foregrounds is that of the roles of the macro- and micro-contexts in understanding the meaning of the FPPP in Clinton's debates and talk-shows. The distribution of other pronominals in the context of interaction is analyzed in order to confirm the meaning of the FPPP. Clinton shifts between the FPPPs and other pronominals to configure her stance on and distance from different issues. Section 1.1.1 illustrates how the notion of context is employed in this discourse.

1.1.1 The Notion of Context in This Study

As Bramley (2001) argues, the construction of identity by politicians cannot be assumed without considering the "sequential context" which enables the listener to identify the referent of, and identity work being done by, the pronouns themselves (p. 2). Therefore, to explore how Clinton constructs her political identity through the use of the FPPP in her campaign discourse, context is considered an integral part of the analysis. In line with Widdowson's (1998) view that "the achievement of pragmatic meaning is a matter of matching up the linguistic elements of the code with the schematic elements of the context" (p. 126), the analysis of the meaning of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse is conducted at two levels of context: the micro- (sequential) and the macro-linguistic context. The study seeks to demonstrate how these two levels of context play key roles in interpreting the meaning of the FPPP in political discourse.

The micro-context refers to the linguistic, as well as non-linguistic, features of Clinton's discourse within the speech-turn, or within a number of exchanges (speech-turns) on the same topic. This includes Clinton's speech-turn in which the FPPP is used, and in most cases the interviewer's question and when related, her opponent's exchanges on the same topic are analyzed, too. Although the key role of the micro-linguistic context has been demonstrated in previous studies such as Bram ley (2001) and Proctor and Su (2011), the present study differs in that it also considers the importance of non-linguistic features that occur in association with the pronominal in Clinton's discourse, notably pauses; semi-linguistic features, such as hesitation markers (*ah*, *eh, um*), and paralinguistic features such as prosodic features (intonation, stress, etc.). The macro-linguistic context, on the other hand, refers to the macro-level of Clinton's discourse in the CHCDT; that is, Clinton's speech-turns on different topics in the same event (it may include her opponent's turns in the same event) and Clinton's discourse in other speech events.

Before introducing the importance of self-presentation in mediated political discourse in Section 1.1.2, it is necessary to briefly point out the meaning of *mediated political discourse* in the study. "Mediation" as Scollon (2001) asserts, can be defined as:

> The production of shared meanings is mediated by a wide range of mediational means or cultural tools such as language, gesture, material objects and institutions which are carriers of their socio-cultural histories. Mediations refers to this process. *Mediated discourse* redundantly reminds us that all actions and all discourse are mediated. (Scollon, 2001, p. 7)

Therefore, *mediated political discourse* in this study refers to political discourse that is delivered to the people through the media, having been performed by political actors mainly regarding political issues. It comprises various genres of discourse, such as debates, preliminary sessions, talk-shows,

inaugural speeches, and so forth.

1.1.2 Self-Presentation in Mediated Political Discourse

 The presentation of self is of great importance to politicians in the meditated political context, where they adjust facets of their discourse identities in line with their communicative goals (Fetzer, 2014). Personal identity characteristics must be projected into points of commonality with the public electorate, forging a relational identity (Wilson & Boxer, 2015). Fetzer (2014) contends that politicians present themselves not only as committed public figures but also as committed individuals: for example, as caring parents, loving husbands and wives, or environmentally-concerned people. Thus, to achieve these communicative goals, political actors use the media and other genres, not only to persuade the electorate, but also to mix styles and genres such as using narratives in election campaign or small stories in political speeches and interviews. Zimmerman (1988) uses the term 'situated' or 'situational' identity (p. 88) to refer to the identities that politicians construct in a particular context during interaction. To Zimmerman, deliberate dispute genres, such as interactive televised debates where one only candidate wins, provide the ideal framework to show how candidates employ a wide range of discourse identities and linguistic strategies appropriate to the context. He postulates that during a debate, candidates construct identities designed as convincing, knowledgeable and authoritative, and which defend themselves against challenges. Zimmerman (1988) also contends that these identities may be related to educational or professional experiences, or associated with being a representative of a political party with a set of political ideologies. Candidates assume particular identities during interactions in the course of an action and simultaneously project a reciprocal identity for co-participants (Zimmerman, 1998). The analysis of debates in this study supports this idea, by revealing that Clinton constructs particular identities during her interactions, for example, when she uses the FPPP to affiliate with her political rivals.

 Identity display and development fulfills a major role for women even more than for men in public life (Wilson & Boxer, 2015). In this sense, Lakoff (1973, 1985) points to the double bind. That is, if a woman speaks like a lady, she is ridiculed and subjected to oppression. On the other hand, if she refuses to speak like a lady, then she is criticized for being unfeminine (see Section 3.2.1). Wilson and Boxer (2015) argue that women candidates, more than their male counterparts, need to build greater solidarity with the audience to achieve election. As Sheldon (2015) contends, there is a double standard for women and men, and our gender ideology is a central organizing principle. In the North American political context, the focus this study, gender identity, through motherhood and other feminine characteristics, is a double bind (Cortes-Conde & Boxer, 2015). Women leaders are

expected to demonstrate not only qualities of toughness, rationality, expertise, and authority, which are stereotypically associated with the masculine domain of political power, but also qualities, such as caring, collaboration and consensus, which are stereotypically associated with femininity (Appleby, 2015; Kammoun, 2015). The analysis of Clinton's use of the FPPP in this study will demonstrate if stereotyping the political identity of a woman candidate is the responsibility of cultural expatiations and thus a double bind alone or whether women leaders reinforce the double bind through their construction of discourse identities.

After outlining the major premises of the thesis, the remaining part of this chapter presents the rationale and the theoretical framework of the study. Section 1.2 puts forward the motivation for conducting the current study. Section 1.3 discusses the notion of face and the pragmatic function of the FPPP as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Grice's Maxims will be briefly introduced in Section 1.4, and the rationale for classifying power relations in this study will be introduced in Section 1.5. Remarks on the perspective of gender in this study will be outlined in Section 1.6. The importance of the study for research is discussed in Section 1.7. the research questions will be outlined in Section 1.8. Finally, an overview of the thesis is presented in Section 1.9.

1.2 Motivation for the Study

The inception of this study was motivated by the importance of three interrelated issues: the contributions of women in presidential bids, particularly in an American context; the need for different perspectives in empirical research exploring the discursive identity of women in political leadership; and the need for linguistically oriented research to analyze Hillary Clinton's discourse, particularly, in the 2008 election.

Despite the increasing body of literature on the discursive identities of women politicians, knowledge regarding how women use language to construct their multiple selves remain insufficient both theoretically and empirically. When this study commenced in 2013, the research focus was on how women in political leadership roles 'perform' linguistically in comparison with their male counterparts whose discourse has been used to set the standard or the norm for good and powerful speech (see Chapter 3). Only a few studies had explored the discursive identity of the individual woman politician through her linguistic choices in a context other than the binary male-and-female relations (e.g., Proctor & Su, 2011). Even these studies that examined women's language in political discourse, such as Childs (2004), which investigated the language of women British PMs, used a descriptive, not analytic, approach (Wilson & Boxer, 2015).

However, only very recently has feminist political research become extensive, diverse and rich (Childs & Krook, 2006). It now raises more fundamental questions about methods/approaches, and the gendered nature of political institutions and processes (Childs & Krook, 2006). Recent studies have focused on how women project their identities in different situations, exploring the multiple selves of the woman politician away from the binary relationship between male and female language (e.g., Davies, 2015). These very recent studies present new approaches to investigating the language of women outside of the shell of binary differences. For example, Cortes-Conde and Boxer (2015) have explored the disparate discourses of two women presidents who have opposing views regarding feminism, and show how these two women have managed to become successful leaders, while portraying two quite different identities (see Section 3.2.2). Thus, the current study intends to align with the latest orientation in the literature, thus refocusing from the powerless discursive features of women, in favor of showing how women in political leadership roles construct different identities through their use of language. It takes an approach that looks into what the woman does with the language and how she constructs her identity in discourse rather than looking at the speaker as a representative of a group. That is, the woman's language style, as Wilson and Irwin (2015) argue, is assessed on its own terms, reflecting what the woman does with language, not assessing her actions against a pre-existing male norm. In this study, the analysis of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse in comparison with her male opponents does not draw on 'essentialist' pre-determined differences in behavior, but on how each candidate constructs their identities in interaction (see Section 3.2.1).

This study chooses to focus on one influential women politician. This focus on one case study is of great importance because, as Bean (2015) asserts, studies of individual women who use language effectively in public can "extend understanding of how women employ language forms to strategically fashion new identities in talk" (p. 243), and how they create individual identities through their language choices (Bean & Johnstone, 2004). Selecting Hillary Clinton as a case study stems from the fact that she is recognized as one of the most influential political women figures who has received considerable media and research attention.

As the former USA Secretary of State and the first woman Democratic nominee for USA presidency in 2016, Clinton is a prominent example of a powerful woman politician who has achieved more than many of her male counterparts. Although she lost the latest 2016 election to a male opponent, Donald Trump, Clinton made history by being the first woman in the history of American politics to reach the final stage of an election. Therefore, with all these remarkable achievements in the political arena, Clinton's discourse offers rich material for investigation into the

use of the FPPP in electoral bids, whether in debates or talk shows, and the role the pronominal plays in the construction of her political identities in different time periods.

However, despite Clinton's achievements in 2008, the focus period of this study, as the first woman to reach the final stage of the Democratic primaries, her discursive performance in that presidential election has received criticism from a number of analysts. The failure of her 2008 campaign features in all analyses of her more recent campaign in 2016 (see Lockhart, 2015; Mollick, 2015; Mollick & Lockhart, 2015; Williams, 2015). Most analysts found Clinton's discursive performance in the 2016 election to result in a more competent and persuasive discourse than in 2008. The major point of criticism of Clinton is her self-attachment to her husband's legacy (Blair, 2015; Mollick, 2015; Williams, 2015). That is, in 2008, Clinton could not fully extricate herself from her husband's tenure in office (Mollick, 2015); she could not separate her actions and policies from those of her husband. Therefore, critics suggest that Clinton was required to transform her image if she desired to be regarded as a public face, and to run as a more established candidate (Mollick, 2015). However, these studies, as will be demonstrated in Section 4.3, are oriented towards analyzing Clinton's political rhetoric (e.g., Hillin, 2015; Lockhart, 2015), not linguistic behavior. Therefore, the present study is hoped to achieve two interrelated goals. First, it seeks to contribute to the discussion on Clinton's discursive performance, particularly in the 2008 election, through analyzing Clinton's linguistic, rather than rhetorical choices. Considering Clinton's linguistic behavior, the study also seeks to demonstrate that Clinton's use of the FPPP, in particular situations, in 2008 (and in other political bids) has contributed saliently to the construction of her political identity as 'a former first lady' rather than an established, independent and authoritative candidate (see Section 7.2.2).

Moreover, this study is additionally motivated by a need in the literature to investigate the use of the FPPP from a perspective of face-work and the influence of the power difference between Clinton and the other referent(s) of the term *we*. Notwithstanding the increasing interest to explore the strategic uses of the FPPP in political discourse, to my best of knowledge, no study has yet attempted to analyze a politician's use of the FPPP from the face-work perspective. In this study, Clinton's use of the FPPP is examined mainly on the basis of how these strategic uses are employed to save Clinton's face in different FTAs. As aforementioned, the study, in particular situations, employs Grice's Maxims to speculate on the pragmatic implications of Clinton's use of the FPPP: notably, when Clinton uses the FPPP in utterances that violate or flout these maxims. The study also approaches from a new perspective the relationship between the meaning of the FPPP and the power-status of the referent(s) with whom Clinton identifies herself.

Considering the rationale for carrying out this study, it is essential first to discuss some basic

notions that are employed in this study; in particular, those pertaining to face-work strategies in the context of Clinton's use of the FPPP. Section 1.3 discusses the notion of face and the pragmatic function of the FPPP as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987).

1.3 Brown & Levinson's (1987) Notion of Face and the FPPP in Mediated Political Context

As already noted, this study differs from previous studies that have investigated the use of the FPPP in political contexts (e.g., Bramley, 2001; Fetzer, 2014; Millar, 2015; Proctor & Su, 2015) in that it implements the notion of face and face-work (Goffman, 1967; Brown & Levinson, 1987) in its analysis of Clinton's uses of the FPPP. Despite the extensive implementation of the theory, the present study suggests and attempts to conduct a wider contextual application of the notion of face and more varied functions of the FPPP beyond being a mere positive politeness marker (see Section 2.2). These new dimensions of application are motivated by the context of mediated political discourse itself.

Brown and Levinson (1987) base their theory of politeness on Goffman's (1967) notion of face. Goffman (1967) defines face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (p. 5). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction. In general, people "cooperate (and assume each other's cooperation) in maintaining face in interaction, such cooperation being based on the mutual vulnerability of face" (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 66).

In their account of the positive politeness strategies, Brown and Levinson (1987) assert that the speaker can claim common ground with the hearer, indicating that they both belong to the same set of persons who share specific wants and values. The speaker can make this claim by using in-group language markers to stress common membership in group or category with the hearer. One of these markers which indicate common ground is the use of inclusive *we* by which the speaker includes the hearer in the activity. Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that by using inclusive *we*, when it only refers to the speaker and the hearer (*you* and *me*), the speaker "can call upon the cooperative assumptions and thereby redress FTAs" (p. 127). The study proposes that the FPPP in mediated political discourse can function beyond marking positive politeness, considering the complicated nature of interaction, and, particularly, the face-threatening nature of debate as form of campaign discourse.

In this vein, I argue that Brown and Levinson's (1987) view of the FPPP as a mere positive-politeness marker is not sufficiently comprehensive for the functions I have observed in Clinton's

political discourse. My argument draws upon three premises: the complex nature of interactions in general; the multiplicity of the addressee in the context of mediated (media) discourse; and the function of impoliteness that the FPPP may suggest through its inclusive–exclusive property, particularly in the context of political debate. These three premises are interrelated.

Firstly, Brown and Levinson's conceptualization of the FPPP as a positive-politeness strategy may not apply appropriately in the context of interaction that comprises multi-interactants or multi-hearers/addressees (Bell, 1984; Dynel, 2011; Strauss and Feiz, 2014), or multi-audience interactions (Ilie, 2004), such as televised political debates and talk shows, which feature as the scope of this study. This argument can be first supported by a brief explanation of the participation framework in mediated discourse, the scope of this study.

Participants (who may constitute, here, the referents of *we* in Clinton's discourse) are divided into those who are directly or indirectly targeted in the conversation (Levinson, 1988). Bell (1984) uses the terms *ratified hearers* and *unratified hearers* or *over-hearers.* Unlike the unratified hearers, ratified hearers are fully entitled to listen to the speaker (Bell, 1984). Audiences in media discourse can be also termed as *ratified over-hearers* (Bell, 1984; Dynel, 2011). Viewers targeted in the broadcast area are considered ratified hearers, and everyone else is unratified overhearers (Strauss & Feiz, 2014). In the same vein, Fetzer (2014) emphasizes that in media discourse, the actual addressee and the target of the meaning-negotiation processes is the media audience. Based on these classifications, it can be concluded that debates and talks shows — the context of this study — encompass a number of interactants whom Clinton addresses and can identify with. This multiplicity of addressees enables the FPPP to perform additional functions, beyond that of positive politeness (see Chapter 2). That is, the inclusive–exclusive property of the FPPP may allow the speaker to satisfy the face of one addressee (or more) while excluding others, in order to distance them from the interaction.

Consequently, it can be argued that Brown and Levinson's (1987) model does not account for this framework of participation particularly in debates and talk-shows. The use of the FPPP in Brown and Levinson's (1987) model suggests a linear, unidimensional interaction whereby a speaker is interacting with one hearer. Brown and Levinson's view of the FPPP suggests a type of interaction that is, as termed by Strauss and Feiz (2014), a rigid linear model of communication that involves a single speaker and a single addressee. Therefore, limiting the function of the FPPP to only positive politeness neglects the complex nature of a normal interaction in which various parties can be engaged in the conversation; that is, an FPPP may refer to hearers who participate in the interaction as well as hearers who might be absent from the interaction.

Regarding the notion of face itself, the study proposes that speakers can use the FPPP to satisfy both face-wants: the positive and negative. I also argue that the positive face must not necessarily be given by others, but rather the speaker may use the positive-politeness marker to attend to their own face. This fits with Culpeper's (2011) criticism which states that Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of the mutual vulnerability of face is insufficient as an explanation of cooperation in face-work. People are actively involved in maintaining and enhancing their own faces, and not merely hoping for reciprocal face-work (Culpeper, 2011). In the political context, for example, the speaker may use the FPPP and in non-FTAs to claim membership with a hearer who is more powerful, or in the interests of the speaker themselves, not that of the hearer (as will be illustrated in Chapter 7). Therefore, whenever the speaker uses the FPPP there are always face benefits for both the speaker and the hearer, not only for the hearer as Brown and Levinson (1987) propose. Arguably, in this vein, the FPPP may also be used to simultaneously satisfy the two face-wants of the speaker (i.e., positive and negative). This argument is best supported by Culpeper's (2011) view that there is no clear separation between positive and negative face-work. In Culpeper's view, acts may primarily have implications for one kind of face, but will often have secondary implications for the other kind. This argument can be exemplified in this study by contexts in which Clinton affiliates with her husband to avoid FTAs and to save her negative face and at the same time, the FPPP implies an enhancement of her face thus enabling her to be recognized as a powerful politician because of her association with a powerful leader. In short, the use of the FPPP in multi-hearer discourse has further pragmatic implications on face-work beyond positive politeness.

In addition to the notion of face, Grice's Cooperative Principle is also applied in particular situations when Clinton's violation or flouting of the maxims has profound implications on the meaning of the FPPP. The next short section presents an overview of Grice's Maxims.

1.4 Grice's Maxims and the Cooperative Principle

Grice (1975) suggests that conversation is based upon a shared principle of cooperation. In his principle, Grice states that effective communication in conversation can be achieved through cooperation of the speaker and the listener to understand each other in a particular way. As he phrases it: "[m]ake your conversational contribution what is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (p.49). The cooperative principle contains four categories as rules or maxims, as follows:

The Maxim of Quantity: give the most helpful amount of information, that is, be as informative as you possibly can; give as much information as is needed.

The Maxim of Quality: be truthful, and do not say what you believe to be false, or that is not supported by evidence.

The Maxim of Relation: be relevant, and say things that are pertinent to the discussion.

The Maxim of Manner: put what you say in the clearest, briefest and most orderly manner. Avoid ambiguity and obscurity.

These maxims can overlap in many instances; for example, between the maxims of quantity and manner. More importantly, these maxims can be broken in conversation in two main ways: either by violating or flouting the maxim. Violation, according to Grice (1975), is accidental: it is "quiet non-observance of a maxim". Thus, a speaker who violates a maxim "will be liable to mislead" (p. 49). Flouting a maxim, on the other hand, is the opposite of violation: it is the speaker's deliberate and obvious misuse of some conversational maxim. Implicatures arise from this flouting. When, for example, a speaker deliberately says something that is untrue or for which the speaker has inadequate evidence, the maxim of quality is flouted and an implicature is generated accordingly. Thomas (1995, p. 68) provides an example of this case from a conversation between two people on a train ride, where a person who wants to read a book is being disturbed by a stranger:

A: What do you do?

B: I'm a teacher.

A: Where do you teach?

B: Outer Mongolia!

A: Sorry I asked!

In this study, as previously noted, the analysis will demonstrate how Clinton overuses the FPPP in certain situations to flout these maxims. The next section introduces the rationale for classifying the referents of *we* according to their power-status in this study.

1.5 Rationale for Exploring and Classifying Power Relations in This Study

1.5.1 Power and Political Discourse

This study is concerned with exploring how the meaning of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse is determined to a large extent by the institutional status of the referent of the FPPP. Therefore, it is essential first to explain how the power relations in the context of this study are accounted for.

To begin with, the literature has shown probably three ways of conceptualizing of power in discourse: power relations are established before interaction, configured during interaction or pre-established but challenged during interaction. In the first view, power relations are pre-established or pre-determined based on the speaker's social status (e.g., Brown & Gilman, 1960; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1975; Van Dijk, 2008; Zimmerman & West, 1975).

In the first view, Brown and Levinson (1987) classify social power or relative power as one of the three contextual determinants that influence the speaker's use of politeness strategies. Relative Power (P) of the hearer over the speaker is an asymmetric social dimension. It is the degree to which a participant can impose their own plans and self-evaluation. Therefore, they suggest that deference is symptomatic of a great power differential. In this way, Brown and Levinson focus only on social power that is established before interaction. In the same vein, Van Dijk (2008) defines power in discourse as the property of relations between social groups, institutions or organizations. In other 'discriminating' views, power can be gained by difference (or inequality) in gender or race (e.g., Mills, 2011; Van Dijk, 2008). Van Dijk's (2008) definition of power is synonymous with dominance. Van Dijk defines social power in terms of the control exercised by one group or organization (or its 'members') over the members of another group, thus "limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies" (p. 84). In a definition of power that is relevant to the context of this study, Van Dijk contends that power of a specific group or institution "may be 'distributed', and may be restricted to a specific social domain or scope, such as that of politics, the media, and so on, thus resulting in different 'centres' of power and elite groups that control such centres" (p. 84). However, although his definition is synonymous with the meaning of dominance according to Lakoff (1975), West and Zimmerman (1983), and Zimmerman and West (1975), Van Dijk differentiates between social power and dominance by arguing that dominance is a form of abuse of social power; that is, "as a legally or morally illegitimate exercise of control over others, often resulting in social inequality" (p. 84).

Mills and Mullany (2011), among others, argue that power is fluid; it is not something that someone 'possesses' in relation to another. Instead, it should be seen as enacted and contested in everyday interactions. In the Foucauldian approach, with which Mills and Mullany align, the analysis

of power should examine the ways in which these differences manifest in everyday experiences, rather than examining power relations as intangible abstract relations that are imposed from above. Proponents of this view also argue that power is gained as a result of the verbal skills with which the speaker is equipped during the conversation; that is, power in discourse or powerful discourse (sometimes called linguistic power) is viewed as a verbal skill, and is demonstrated in the way some speakers dominate others during talk-in interactions through language use (Bradac et al, 1981; Bradac & Mulac, 1984; Milles, 2011; Mills & Mullany, 2011; O'Barr & Atkins, 1980; Takano, 2005). Although this view, in contrast to the first, underscores the intricate and fluid nature of interaction and context, it neglects the fact that the social-status of the speaker, which is fixed and pre-established, can play a salient role in the interaction even though may be challenged during the on-going interaction, as Ilie (2001) maintains.

In the third view, power relations, although determined before the interaction can subsequently be contested and challenged during the interaction (Ilie, 2001). This view is more commonly held in the context of media discourse where relations of power can be challenged due to the roles of the media institution itself. The approach focuses on how participants negotiate their institutional roles and thus their power in talk. Diamond (1996) summarizes this approach by arguing that although intricately tied to social standing and institutional status, power is more than just the sum of one's institutional standing, age, education, race and gender. While these factors convey rank, "conversants use discourse to jockey for position and contest their relational role vis-a-vis their discourse partners" (p. 2). She further argues that although institutional standing may be more or less fixed, power of relational roles fluctuates greatly because, "power is accorded through a process of ratifying the positive self-image of a speaker" (p. 2). Hence, one's standing in a group is a community negotiation (Diamond, 1996). The present study aligns with this comprehensive view of power in discourse. The analysis of power in this study focuses on both the social standing and the institutional status of the speakers (and the ratified and unratified hearers) in investigating the meaning of the FPPP. The study shows how these factors interact with each other in conversation to influence the candidate's use of pronominals, particularly the FPPP. However, the study shows that the concept of power is more complicated than this view suggests. Institutional status is subtle. In line with Fetzer's (2013) analysis, I argue that institutions also vary in their level of power. Media institutions, for example, are less powerful than political institutions in terms of political decision-making.

Therefore, although interviewers in talk shows (talk shows are classified as a form of institutional discourse. See Section 5.2), for example, are usually of high social standing as celebrities

(see Section 9.2.2), in the context of mediated political discourse, Clinton has a higher institutional status than the interviewer. However, while being politically more powerful than the interviewer before the interaction, Clinton's power is contested and dominated by the rules and roles of the media institution. In talk shows, as a form of institutional discourse, power relations are asymmetrically distributed between the host and the participants (Ilie, 2001). Talk shows are characterized by the "highly authoritative role of the show-host and the asymmetrical distribution of power between the host and the other participants" (Ilie, 2001, p. 217). That is, the show-host is institutionally empowered with a role that they assume, while the participants are expected to assume institutional roles that have been assigned to them. Therefore, when a guest is a powerful politician (for example, HC), two forms of institutional power are in conflict. Clinton is more powerful than all other participants and the show-host in the interaction but is confronted with the authoritative powerful role of the show-host. This struggle over power and control during the interaction is observed in this study to influence Clinton's strategic use of the FPPP (see Section 9.2.2). Therefore, to examine the effect of this conflict of power relations on Clinton's use of the FPPP, there should first be a classification of the institutional status of the participants in this study before proceeding with the analysis of the discourse. The following section illustrates the classification of the power status of the participants in Clinton's discourse (whether ratified or unratified hearers), as proposed by Fetzer (2013).

1.5.2 Power Relations in Political Discourse and Fetzer's (2013) Model

As aforementioned, a fundamental objective of this study is to explore the influence of the power differential between the affiliator (i.e., Hillary Clinton) and the affiliated group on the meaning of the FPPP. I shall demonstrate how the meaning of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse can be determined to a large extent by the power differential between Clinton and the affiliated group in terms of political power and authority in the decision-making process. Therefore, a classification scheme for power relations should be established at the outset.

Clinton's political power comes from her authority in decision-making. Decision-making means, as Yan (2015) asserts, that a country's leaders, leadership, or political parties "compare and select implementing principles and approaches and means to achieve the target in political practical activities for the purpose, principles and direction of activities" (p.1). In modern democracies, citizens may also participate in this decision-making process; although, unlike politicians, citizen contributions are limited to voting for some decisions (Njugo, 2011). This hierarchical power in decision-making is manifested in the roles of participation in mediated political discourse (Fetzer, 2013). Thus, it is valid to propose that, institutionally, Clinton is more powerful than citizens

symbolized in the media discourse by the ratified and unratified hearers: that is, the audience and viewers.

From an ethno-methodological perspective, Fetzer (2014) argues that politicians 'do' politics in and through their acts of communication. Politicians can be seen both as "bringing their discourse identities as political against into a communicative setting, and as bringing them out in the setting" (Fetzer, 2014, p. 333). Fetzer (2013) argues that 'doing' politics can be conceptualized from two perspectives: political discourse as discourse from above and political discourse as discourse from below. The distinction between the two perspectives is based on the participants' power and their authority for political action.

Doing politics from above in discourse is typically performed by leading politicians, who may be in power or hold powerful positions, such as heads of state, or leading representatives of the government or of political parties in power, or influential and powerful opposition (Fetzer, 2013). These discourses from above tend to be performed on special occasions or for official purposes such as in parliamentary debates, press conferences, and so on (Fetzer, 2013). Participants who perform political discourse from below, on the other hand, are those who lack the power and authority to make political decisions, such as journalists, interviewers, studio experts and the audience (Fetzer, 2013). According to Fetzer, when people belonging to this group, such as interviewers in political debates or interviews who carry out debates with powerful politicians, engage in these political events, they initiate discourse from below. Politics from below is also reflected in audience-participation programs, whereby audiences are invited to engage in conversation with leading politicians (Fetzer, 2013).

From this brief introduction of Fetzer's (2013) classification of power and authority in political discourse, it can be concluded that political actors have a higher political power or institutional status than the other participants in political discourse. Thus, if applying Fetzer's classification of power alongside Brown and Levinson's (1987) concept of relative power to the context of this study, Clinton's social standing and institutional status are, arguably, greater than that of interviewers, journalists, and the audience (in the studio or the public). Therefore, Clinton's discourse with an interviewer and the audience reflects a pattern of doing discourse from higher to lower power. This classification of participants' role in political discourse according to their political power lays the foundation for the analysis of the power relations between Clinton and the referents of the FPPP in the dataset.

In this way, the referents of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse may constitute participants of lower institutional status. Therefore, when *we* refers to groups or individuals who do politics from

below, such as interviewers, journalists, and the audience, they are classified as a low-power group (hereinafter, LPG). However, the referents may also exhibit a political power that is higher than or equal to that of Clinton because power differential also exists within this institution according to the politician's position. Presidents and political collectives (such as administration parties), for example, are more politically-powerful than Clinton. Therefore, when Clinton engages in interaction with an opponent, the discourse is performed by two people of equal social and institutional status. Thus, if Clinton identifies herself with any of these people, she is identifying with either someone of equal power or higher power. That is, politicians who have the same authority as Clinton in politics, such as individual senators and opponents (i.e., other candidates) running for presidency, are considered to be from an equal-power group (hereinafter, EPG). The political institutions themselves, such as the American Administration (government) and Clinton's political party, are considered a high-power group (hereinafter, HPG) because of their inherent collective power. This argument aligns with Bramley's (2001) view about the inherent power of the government:

> This shift enables [female interviewee] to present herself as a politician who belongs to a benevolent Government that communicates directly to the Australian people. The effect of this animation is dramatic (Clayman 1992, Goffman 1981, Malone 1997:64) and enables the [interviewee] to distance herself (Clayman 1992:165) from her own words uttered as an individual, to identify herself as part of the Government and its inherent collective power. (Bramley, 2001, p.169)

Since the data in this study examine Clinton's discourse as a candidate, I will show that the in-group membership that Clinton constructs with political institutions such as her own political party (the Democrats), or the American government/administration, opposite political parties, and the Senate, indicates that these institutions are a source of power in the candidate's discourse. Thus, institutions represent powerful collectives with which Clinton identifies herself in order to acquire power (Section 7.2). In addition to the political institutions, HPG comprises other political individuals who have higher political authority or are appointed in positions higher than that of Clinton at the moment of her speech, such as presidents, vice presidents, or former presidents. However, in my data, the HPG is mainly comprised of political institutions; the only individual who has higher political power and authority than her in this data is her husband, Bill Clinton, who is himself a former American president. Therefore, Clinton's husband is classified as belonging to an HPG. This classification depends on political and social considerations. First, politically, Bill Clinton was appointed USA president for two terms; the position for which Hillary Clinton is struggling to attain. Socially, on the other hand, Bill's social role as the husband in a traditional American family

(Clinton, 2004; Kelly, 2001) affords him dominance as the leader of the family. This perceived dominance was observed in all remarks and criticisms leveled against Clinton's senatorial and presidential campaigns (see Section 7.2 for illustrations). Figure 1.1 illustrates the classification of power relations in CHCDTs.

Figure 1.1 *Power Relations between Candidates and 'Others' in Discourse*
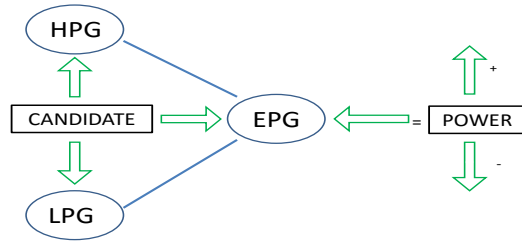
1.6 Remarks on the Gender Perspective of the Study

Although the examination of Clinton's discourse, for the reasons listed above, is considered an important case study on how women politicians construct their identities, this study does not claim that Clinton is representative of all women politicians. As previously noted, Clinton's social and political background makes her a unique case for investigation. The study may provide insights into how Clinton's social prominence and long political standing may be influencing how subsequent politicians, or women generally, may perceive and understand how to manage femininity and power in their discourse. However, it is of great importance to point out that unlike in many studies into the discourse of women politicians, this study does not hypothesize that Clinton faces a dilemma because of her gender and that this dilemma is reflected in her use of language as early feminist research suggested (see Section 3.2). Conversely, the study takes a constructive perspective. At its simplest, 'construction' originates in the role that language has "in reproducing a status quo or in challenging it, by overcoming the notion of 'a pre-existing identity' in terms of gender – for example – in the workplace (Formato, 2014, p. 18). Pertaining to gender as a construct, Walsh (2001) suggests that "[g]ender does not simply reflect a pre-existing identity, but helps to constitute, maintain and transform that identity in everyday situations via talk and the paralinguistic behavior that accompanies it" (p. 15). In line with the notion of construction, this study does not take a top-down approach, therefore avoiding pre-determining Clinton's identity on the basis of her gender and pre-formulating the interpretations, which would risk 'gearing' the analysis toward pre-supposed conclusions. Instead, this study employs a bottom-up approach, whereby the interpretations are made

based on the identity that Clinton constructs through her discourse. The study considers the dynamic feature of the context of discourse to speculate on Clinton's choice of language (see Section 3.2).

Additionally, it is important to note that the results of the study between Clinton and her male opponents should not lead to gender stereotypes about the use of the FPPP by women politicians. The study does not pursue gender differences; it only considers gender in Clinton's pronominal usage when the linguistic markers explicitly encourage that association, such as when using relational kinship terminology such as 'husband' and 'wife'. The comparisons between Clinton and Barack Obama in their use of the FPPP, for example, aim to shed light on the possibility that the differences, if any, may have contributed to the construction of a more powerful image of Obama compared to that of Clinton; which, in turn, led to the Obama's success in the presidential bid of 2008.

As aforementioned in Section 1.2, this study attempts to transcend the 'essentialist' male-and-female binary (see Section 3.2.1), using a constructionist method of analysis. In this way, throughout the thesis, the terms *men* and *women*, which are socially, not biologically orientated (i.e., *male* and *female)*, have been used. However, avoiding the essentialist terms (male/female) was not possible in all contexts, which is a common problem for all researchers in this field due to the sexist mature of language. It is noteworthy that no researcher among all feminist researchers cited here or in any other work could avoid this binary as such. This dilemma has also been pointed out by Crosby (2016):

> While historically a marker connoting aberration, I use the term "female" as an adjective in order to reference athletes who participate in sex-segregated women's and girls' organized sports. Athletics is an institution that reinforces the gender binary, gender hierarchy, and enacts exclusionary practices that privilege. (p. 230)

Therefore, using *female* and *male* was inevitable in some contexts particularly when these terms are used as adjectives for nouns such as *opponent*, *rival*, and *counterpart*. In such contexts the use of man/woman and men/women would sound awkward and inappropriate. Therefore, due to the absence of non-essentialist terms that could be used in such contexts, the terms, *male* and *female* are used only in two distinct places: when they occur before the nouns *opponent*, *rival* or *counterpart* and/or when they occur in quoted speech.

1. 7 Importance of the Study for Research

This study intends to contribute to a number of fields of applied linguistics, discourse analysis, feminine discourse analysis, gender studies and other fields of linguistics. To the best of my knowledge, this study is the first to investigate a number of issues pertaining to the use of the FPPP in a political context, notably by a woman politician. This study claims originality with regards to its

demonstration of how the meaning of the FPPP in political campaign discourse is influenced to a large extent by the institutional status of the affiliated group. That is, how Clinton, as a candidate, varies her strategic uses of the FPPP according to the power-status of the affiliated group (see Section 1.5).

Equally important is the study's analysis of the use of the FPPP from the perspective of face-work (see Section 1.3 above). Unlike some studies that have solely investigated the woman politician's use of the first personal pronouns (e.g., Millar, 2015), this study also makes use of the contribution of male opponents in debates in order to compare Clinton's use of the FPPP with that of her male opponents; albeit not with the intention of generalizing regarding gender differences. The study also compares the candidate's performance between two genres, particularly debates and talks shows.

1.8 Research Questions

The study aims to explore how Clinton constructs her political identity through the use of the FPPP, while paying particular attention to the role of the FPPP in face-work management. To achieve this goal, a number of research questions are formulated to investigate three main issues: whether Clinton's use of the FPPP varies strategically according to the institutional status of the affiliated group; and the extent to which Clinton's exploitation of the FPPP serves to save her face from different FTAs and the relevance of gender in Clinton's use of the FPPP. These questions will be answered throughout this study, quantitatively and/or qualitatively. The specific research questions to be addressed are:

1.7.1 What is the distribution of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse? How frequently does Clinton use the FPPP in her discourse? How is this sensitive to interactional, chronological and contextual factors such as power, topic and type of genre?

1.7.2 What are the strategic goals of the FPPP in Clinton's campaign discourse? How do these goals vary according to the institutional status of the affiliated group?

1.7.3 How does Clinton exploit the FPPP to enhance her positive face and save her negative face from FTAs?

1.7.4 Does Clinton use the FPPP more frequently than her opponents in debates; is gender relevant in these terms?

1.7.5 Does Clinton's affiliation with her husband affect her political image as an independent politician? Does Clinton's use of the FPPP to identify with her husband support or refute the criticism leveled at her concerning her reliance on her husband's legacy?

1.7.6 Are there differences between Clinton and Barack Obama in the way they use the FPPP during the presidential elections in 2008? Do these differences contribute to creating an image of Clinton as less competent than Obama?

The questions that investigate frequencies (Questions 1.7.1 and 1.7.4) will be addressed and discussed thoroughly in Chapter 6 (Quantitative Analysis), whereas the remainder of the questions will be answered qualitatively in Chapters 7, 8, and 9.

1.9 Overview of the Thesis

After introducing the aim of the study and its importance for research in Chapter 1, Chapters 2, 3, and 4 provide an empirical background by means of literature reviews. Chapter 2 investigates the importance of the FPPP in discourse analysis research and the different approaches available to test this importance. Chapter 3 presents a detailed account of how the language of women in power is approached in research, focusing on studies that have investigated the conflict of identity that these women face during political events. Chapter 4 presents the social, political and linguistic background of Clinton's identity. Chapter 5 offers a fairly extensive description of the methodological framework for the study. The first section describes the data and the data collection procedures. The second section describes the quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. Chapter 6 investigates, through quantitative analyses, the questions that address the distribution of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse. It demonstrates the frequencies and percentages of the FPPP in Clinton's debates and talk shows and in her male opponents' discourse, and the interpretations of these statistics in the light of the influence of power, topic and type of genre.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 are related to the analysis of the context in which Clinton uses the FPPP. They present the strategic functions of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse. Each chapter discusses Clinton's affiliation with one power group: that is, HPG, EPG, and LPG, respectively. Chapter 10 presents the conclusions of the study. The conclusion focuses on four major points: the summary and implications of the findings, limitations of the study, and suggestions for further research. The chapter will also provide personal speculations on the findings of the study.

Chapter 2

The First Person Plural Pronoun and Political Discourse:
A Pragmatic Perspective

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this study is to explore how Hillary Clinton uses the first-person plural pronoun (hereinafter, FPPP) and its grammatical variants (*us*, *our*) in her campaign discourse to strategically construct different identities. This study also aims to demonstrate how the use of the FPPP enables Clinton (as a candidate) to perform face-work within and beyond that which is suggested through Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory (see Section 1.3). Therefore, this chapter summarises previous research relevant to the use of the FPPP in the political context. The chapter discusses uses of the FPPP from a pragmatic, not structural, perspective; because, firstly, in traditional grammar, as Bello (2013) points out, pronouns are analyzed only in terms of their deictic or anaphoric features which does not help in "unraveling the associations they socially and politically engender" (p. 86). Secondly, recent research has discussed the importance of the FPPP from a pragmatic perspective due to the essential role of context in interpreting the meaning of the FPPP (see the studies below). Therefore, the FPPP, as a deictic expression, must be analyzed within the context of interaction and identity-work that politicians accomplish, and not as merely a way of expressing person, number and gender (Bramley, 2001). In addition to the introduction, this chapter is divided into two main sections: Section 2.2 discusses the role of pronouns in self-presentation and Section 2.3 outlines the major works that have investigated the importance of the FPPP in political discourse.

2.2 The First Person Plural Pronoun and Self-Presentation

Pronouns belong to a closed word class and, therefore, there is only a limited number of such linguistic devices to refer to 'self' or to 'other' (Kibrik, 2011). Fetzer (2014) contends that in natural-language communication, reference pronouns are of key importance to the presentation of *self* and the *other* and for their interpersonal relationship where they may indicate intimacy, distance and social hierarchy. Fetzer (2014) uses the terms 'self-reference' and 'other-references' to classify pronouns in communication. Aligning with Bull and Fetzer (2006), Fetzer (2014) argues that *self* and *other* references are used strategically to negotiate discourse identities, as well as social and interactional roles. These references are indispensable to the definition and negotiation of the participant's interpersonal relationships where they may signify intimacy, distance and hierarchy (Fetzer, 2014).

Fetzer contends that in everyday communication, "discourse identities, and social roles are constructed, reconstructed, deconstructed and negotiated by face-to-face participants and other ratified participants" (Fetzer, 2014, p. 332).

In English and other Germanic languages, for example, these references are anchored to the pronominal system, while "in 'pro-drop' languages, they may be realized by inflection, pronouns or both" (Fetzer, 2014, p. 332). Fetzer divides pronouns into self-reference and 'other'-reference. In English, self-reference is realized by the use of the first person singular pronoun (hereinafter, FPSP), *I*, or the FPPP, *we*. The other-references are realized by the second-person singular and plural pronouns (hereinafter, SPP), *you*, and the third-person pronouns (hereinafter, TPP), *he, she* and *they*. The choices of self- and other-reference pronouns that people continuously make provide information about the interlocutors such as formality, solidarity, power, sex and class (Brown & Gilman, 1960; Proctor & Su, 2011).

The FPPP has a nearly universal status and it responds to similar constraints on meaning and usage (Duszak, 2014). Duszak contends that *we* across languages occupies a relatively stable position in person-marking systems, "hierarchically and areally" (p. 207). The FPPP has been investigated in different languages, focusing on issues such as collective subjectivity, referential ambiguity, intensity, politeness, involvement identity and opposition, commitment and emotive expression (Bazzanella, 2014). In this vein, Floyd (2014) contends that the FPPP does not have distributional semantics (i.e., speakers) but rather associational (i.e., speakers and relevant associates). Floyd contends that, in most, or even, all languages, the FPPP can be used by speakers in interaction to refer to any conceivable social groups, from specific co-present pairs and small groups to large-scale social groups "whose full membership may cross-cut huge sectors of human population" (Floyd, 2014, p. 142).

Quirk et al. (1985) maintain that the FPPP in English has wider meanings than the second person and third person pronouns. That is, the FPPP may refer to the speaker, the addressee(s), and third parties. The referents of the FPPP can extend "progressively to include those that are directly involved in the immediate speech situation to the whole human race" (Quirk, 1985, p. 137). Muhlhausler and Harre (1990) argue that the traditional view of the English FPPP referring to a group of people including the speaker is simplified. Interestingly, they contend that given the right contextual factors, *we* can encode any of the six persons usually distinguished in English; that is, the first, second and third person singular, and first, second, and third person plural (p. 77). However, *we* can also refer to a singular entity as in plural majesty, the *royal we,* which is used by monarchs, or the *editorial we* used by editorial columnists in newspapers to refer to themselves, or the *author's we*

which authors use to refer to themselves or sometimes to include the reader (see Section 7.2.1). Nonetheless, the *royal we* is usually exclusive (Wales, 1996) and distancing, since the speaker, by distancing themselves, "precludes the possibility of a normal of a reciprocal relationship" (Siewierska, 2004, p. 218); whereas the *author's we* can be exclusive, for example, when editors want to reflect the fact that their opinions represent those of the publishers (Sanderson, 2008), or inclusive to detract attention from self and suggest joint rather than singular authorship (Siewierska, 2004). The discussion here will focus on the functions of the inclusive *we*.

Similar to other person markers, the FPPP combines a number of features: pronominal, indexical, referential, and so forth (Pavlidou, 2014). Therefore, the FPPP is a deictic, indexical expression (Duszak, 2014; Fetzer, 2014; Zupnik, 1994). Scheibman (2014) asserts that in recent years, scholars, such as Fillmore (1997), have argued that all language use is indexical in the sense that producing and interpreting linguistic expressions depends on the situation of use, including participants' cultural knowledge and beliefs. Zupnik (1994) maintains that "the term 'deixis' refers to the ways in which language encodes features of the context of utterance" (p. 340). Social indexicals, such as the FPPP, "arise from social structure and power relations, and not just from personal distance" (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002, p. 30). In this vein, Scheibman (2014) asserts that the FPPP is a "quintessential" indexical expression because the use and interpretation of the pronominal requires knowledge of who is speaking in any given context (p. 40).

Since *we* form is a deictic marker of which the referents can frequently shift, it may refer to many different groups in one and the same interaction (Van De Mieroop, 2014), creating complexity of referentiality. However, the complexity of the FPPP goes beyond the usual problems associated with person dixies and reference (Pavlidou, 2014, p.1). The complexity arises partly from its referential range and its potential ambiguity (Pavlidou, 2014). This ambiguity in who the term encompasses makes the FPPP analytically problematic (Bateman, 2014; Fetzer, 2014; Millar, 2015; Pavlidou, 2014; Proctor & Su, 2011). In this sense, the FPPP can be subject to multiple interpretations, depending on its referential scope (Bateman, 2014; Duszak, 2014; Pavlidou, 2014).

Duszak (2014), among others, points to the "fuzziness of *we*-groups and their heterogeneous territoriality," that is, *we*-family, *we*-students, *we*-nation, and so forth (p. 207). She argues that the referential complexity of the English *we* may lead to difficulties in some contexts. She adds that some uses of *we* may not be referentially transparent at all. For example, by using *we*, the speaker may be referring to co-present addressee(s), yet the speaker may also "point outside of the immediate situation to a group of identifiable referents or even construe an imaginative *we*-group" (Duszak, 2014, p. 207).

The ambiguity of *we* is recognized in the literature, due to its interpretative nature (Bateman, 2014; Pavlidou, 2014; Proctor & Su, 2011). Recently, some studies have explored the ambiguous nature of the FPPP, and how speakers deal with this problem in interactions. Scheibman (2014) examined the effect of the referentiality of the FPPP in 664 utterances extracted from 33 non-task-based conversations among friends, family members, and acquaintances from the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English*. The study focuses on the relationships between referential characteristics of the pronoun (inclusive or exclusive, individual or collective) and formal distributions of co-occurring predicates (tense, modal auxiliaries). She distinguishes uses of *we* that refer to groups (collectivities) from those that refer to specific individuals. Her analyses show that the type of collectivity indexed by *we* (general, culturally conventional, relational/circumstantial) contributes to the formal and functional character of the inclusive and exclusive utterance types in which they occur. For example, in utterances that express exclusiveness, *we* indexes people and collectives that are institutional affiliations central to participants' routine lives. She reveals that all the tokens of modals occur with exclusive tokens of *we.* Inclusive expressions of *we*, on the other hand, are shaped by the social understanding that when speakers include other discourse participants in their assertions, these utterances "mediate inclusion of other participants through the use of modal elements or through presentation of opinions as commonly shared" (Scheibman, 2014, p. 40).

Interestingly, notwithstanding the problematic complexity of the FPPP due to its different potential interpretations, Floyd (2014) maintains that speakers can achieve mutual recognition of underspecified collective references largely because they have a socially-shared awareness of the kind of collectivities that are relevant, that is "which specific "we" is relevant for specific instances" (p. 135). In this regard, Floyd proposes three elements to answer the question of how speakers in interaction manage to successfully resolve the FPPP references. These elements are linguistic forms, situated usages of these forms in instances of interaction, and the broader ethnographic context of those instances. One of the basic criteria is the inclusion–exclusion of the other interlocutors in the scope of the pronoun.

What is more, and in line with the results of the analysis of Clinton's use of the FPPP in this study, some linguists have focused on the advantages of the inherent vagueness of the reference of *we*. Van De Mieroop (2014) points to the advantages of this referential complexity. She contends that the referential ambiguity of *we* forms gives this pronoun a great flexibility, which can be used strategically in particular contexts, but which can also create the need for explicit disambiguation in others. In line with the strategic uses of the ambiguity, Bazzanella (2014) asserts that ambiguity can be exploited to perform a range of pragmatic functions, such as to portray intensity and expression of

emotions, solidarity and opposition, as well as to construct identities and ideology. In line with Bazzanella's view, Temmerman (2014) maintains that this ambiguity makes it possible for the speaker to shift back and forth between collectivities, including or excluding the hearers. The complexity of referents also enables speakers to play on the different meanings by blurring the referential scope, intentionally or not. The current study supports the latter view. It shows how Clinton employs the ambiguity of the FPPP, such as the ambiguity between her campaigners and husband, to distance herself and husband from face-threatening situations (see Section 7.2.2). Thus, the ambiguity in many instances in the CHCDT may be interpreted as intentional because Clinton avoids being explicit regarding the referent of the FPPP to minimize the threat to her face. Because the FPPP accommodates multiple referential possibilities, it carries "a hefty functional load" (Scheibman, 2014). That is, by indexing different participants and affiliations in discourse, the FPPP marks relational stances between the speaker and other individuals and groups (Duszak, cited by Scheibman, 2014).

Context is of key importance in constructing and interpreting the meaning of the FPPP (Bull & Fetzer, 2006; Fetzer, 2014; Millar, 2015; Proctor & Su, 2011; Van Dijk, 2008). Because of its status as a context-dependent indexical expression, the FPPP requires a linguistic and social context for referential assignment and to make possible disambiguation (Fetzer, 2014). Thus, given that the meaning of the FPPP is closely anchored to its context (Proctor & Su, 2011), its usage can, thus, be easily manipulated (Proctor & Su, 2011; Fetzer, 2014). Proctor and Su (2011) point out that empirical research has shown that manipulation of personal pronouns, particularly the FPPP, influences the way we interpret our relationship with others.

Muhlhausler (2014) points out that in English and some other languages, indexically-used pronouns can shape situations and relationships, and that pronouns are used primarily as social indices, "i.e., as devices for carving people space rather than as anaphors; pronouns are not only situation dependent but situation creating" (Muhlhausler, 2014, p. 110). Therefore, when a person uses *we*, the indexical pronoun, one forms a bridge between oneself and a group or the society in which they live (Dori-Hacohen, 2014). Therefore, the FPPP has a strong social significance (Dori-Hacohen, 2014; Mahlhausler, 2014).

Muhlhausler (2014) proposes that the conditions that determine the use of the FPPP are socio-pragmatic. In this vein, Scheibman (2014) maintains that the FPPP utterance types are sensitive to shared social and cultural knowledge. The FPPP can hold different meanings depending on the context and how the members in their turn-by-turn co-production invoke words, as this is "context in action" (MacHoul et al., as cited in Bateman, 2014, p. 228). Thus, Scheibman (2014) suggests that a

richer understanding of the pronominal requires "familiarity with a variety of aspects of the context beyond simply knowing who is speaking" (p. 40).

What is more important about the FPPP is the pragmatic functions it performs in relation to the construction of identity in discourse. As many studies on identity construction have demonstrated, the FPPP, like other pronouns, is a good marker of identities (e.g., Fetzer, 2014, Van De Mieroop, 2014). Because of its context-dependence, *we* can be used to construct, deconstruct and negotiate identities (Fetzer, 2014) (see Section 2.3). *We* is typically a pronoun that signals the construction of some kind of a collective identity, which can be based on very diverse elements, such as the institution to which a speaker belongs or their ethnicity (Van De Mieroop, 2014). The FPPP, as other pronouns, not only directly marks interlocutory identities but may also have the potential to indirectly mark social identity "because it can index particular stances associated with those identities" (Van De Mieroop, 2014, p. 309). Van De Mieroop provides examples on how the FPPP can construct an identity. By shifting from the first-singular to the first-plural pronoun, for example, people may shift alignments, construct different in-groups and out-groups, thus highlighting collectivity over individuality. The present study provides a further detailed account of how these shifts index the construction of different identities in the politician's (particularly Clinton's) discourse.

The role of the FPPP in the construction of identity is demonstrated in the pragmatic functions the speaker can perform through using this marker of collectivity. Borthen and Thomassen (2014) contend that the use of the FPPP is not only motivated by the intention to refer to an entity but to also by the intention to fulfill other communicative functions. Bazzanella (2014) summarizes the different pragmatic functions *we* can perform into: constructing the identity of a particular group, and "activating emotional phenomena related to real or presented affiliation/participation/identity" (p. 91). In this vein, Borthen and Thomassen (2014) list five communicative functions of *we* in discourse: directive, expressive, phatic, cognitive, and integrative.

As thoroughly illustrated in Section 1.3, one of the major functions of the in-group marker pronoun, as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), is saving the positive-face from face-threatening acts (hereinafter, FTAs). They posit that in everyday conversation, the use of the FPPP signifies positive politeness. The FPPP indicates in-group membership (also a deictic expression) (Brown & Levinson, 1987). They argue that using the inclusive *we* indicates that the speaker and the hearer share the same point of view, values and interests. It specifically indicates cooperation because the speaker includes the hearer in the activity. However, as I argued above, research, including this study, has demonstrated additional functions of the FPPP beyond the constrains of positive politeness (see Section 1.3).

Muhlhausler and Harre (1990) argue that the use of *we* in English is not only motivated by the speaker's intention to refer to a certain entity but also by the intention to fulfill other communicative functions. Many studies have explored the functions of the FPPP in different settings. Beard (2000) points out that plural forms of first person pronouns share the responsibility between the speaker and the other members of the social group. In line with the results of this study, Beard also adds that in some cases, the ambiguity of the FPPP is especially useful when the information is uncertain or tricky because it may reduce responsibility. In this way, the FPPPs contribute to delivering an image of corporate union and team work, which may evoke a sense of tranquility and security among the audience (Beard, 2000). Pennycook (1994) also maintains that the FPPP constitutes a pronoun of solidarity and of rejection due to its property of being simultaneously inclusive and exclusive.

In line with the conclusions of the present study, Muhlhausler (2014) anchors the function of the FPPP to the type of situation itself. That is, in socially unmarked situations, the English pronoun *we* is employed to create solidarity and to reduce social distance. In socially marked situations, where there are unequal power relations, *we* can also be used to create social distance, as in the case of the *royal we* through which a King (or a Queen) in a monarchy refers to their singular 'self' (see Section 7.2.1 for further discussion of the *royal we*). He points at the role of power in the function of the FPPP. Although Muhlhausler does not elaborate on the functions of the FPPP when power relations are unequal, his view is one of the very few that refer to the role of power in the functions of *we*. The current study will focus on the functions of *we* in situations where power relations are either equal or not.

We can be subject to multiple interpretations, depending on its referential scope and on the discourse context. Temmerman (2014) lists four general rhetorical and argumentative functions of the FPPP used by editors in Flemish women's magazines. Although Temmerman focuses on interaction through texts, not verbal interaction, and in Flemish, not English, her conclusions strongly correspond to the conclusions of the present study. She asserts that *we* in Flemish women's magazines are used to express solidarity, manifest power, avoid personal responsibility and mitigate FTAs. Temmerman reveals that the most important function of the FPPP in her corpus is establishment of solidarity wherein the FPPP defines an in-group and creates a social bonding. Importantly, Temmerman stresses that editors use the exclusive *we* to place themselves in the power position of an expert through telling the readers what to do in a patronizing way. This use creates distance between themselves and the readers, putting the editorial voice on a higher level. In a very important function that marks a core principle of the current study, Temmerman (2014) reveals that *we* is used to mitigate FTAs and avoid personal responsibility. However, Temmerman finds the latter two

functions to be rare in the corpus. This may be due to the nature of the interaction itself: written texts lack the interactive property that the spoken discourse has among its participants. Temmerman does not elaborate on the last two functions or show how they are used in interaction. The analysis of Clinton's discourse in the present study has provided more varied functions of the FPPP as a mitigator in face-threatening situations. This might be because these functions can be more relevant in political discourse.

In another genre, Van De Mieroop (2014) explores the role of the FPPP in identity construction in the genre of testimonies in British interviews about World Word II narratives. She explores the functions of *we* and its relation to the construction of identity in narratives in British interviews. Van De Mieroop quantitatively and qualitatively analyzes a corpus of deportation narratives and uses a similar methodology to the one used in this study. She reveals that whereas interviewees use the individual perspective or first person singular pronoun to take the identity of a witness, they use the FPPP to stress the collective nature of the events in testimonies. Van De Mieroop finds out that the FPPP is of great importance as a marker of identity. Since the interviewees use the FPPP to construct the identity of a narrator who testifies what happened to him and others, the interviewees implicitly define the exact referents of the collective through *We-They* dichotomies in which *they* refers, in most instances, to the Germans. The interviewees avoid the FPPP only when taboo topics are discussed; in such topics, the interviewees shift to impersonal perspectives.

Importantly, the strategic use of the FPPP does not only apply to ordinary conversations but also to political discourse (Fetzer, 2014) because politicians like to present themselves as multi-faceted in order to appeal to a diverse audience, and a careful pronoun choice is one way of achieving this aim (Allen, 2007). However, while ordinary discourse and political discourse share the form and function of *we*, its actual use in political discourse undergoes "specific context-specific particularization" (Fetzer, 2014, p. 384). The next section focuses on the functions of the FPPP in political discourse.

2.3 Importance of the First Person Plural Pronoun in Political Discourse

The concepts of identity and identification are central to accomplishing the persuasive aspect of political discourse during an election campaign (Allen, 2007). As Hahn (2003) asserts, candidates present themselves as being able to identify with the needs, wants and interests of the electorate to try to convince voters that it is in their interests to identify with particular candidates. Therefore, the persuasive force of the FPPP is more salient in "its positive possibility of constructing alliances and oppositions, tightening and reinforcing links between people" (Bazzanella, 2014, p. 91). That is, the

politician's choice of the FPPP may also reflect their own personal and political ideologies (Allen, 2007; Proctor & Su, 2011). Using the FPPP, politicians are able to express their identities as someone affiliated with a particular group of people (Bramley, 2001).

The flexibility of reference makes the FPPP a highly popular pronoun for politicians (Bramley, 2001; Proctor & Su, 2011). This referential flexibility has also gained focus in political-discourse research. That is, because of the potential ambiguity, fluidity and political gain afforded by the FPPP, there have been a number of studies looking at the different functions of the FPPP in different genres (e.g., Bello, 2013; Bramley, 2001; Bull & Fetzer, 2006; Fetzer, 2014; Proctor & Su, 2011; Wilson, 1990). In one of the pioneering studies on pronouns in political discourse, Bull and Fetzer (2006) argue that politicians use personal pronouns to achieve political goals; for example, to accept, deny, or distance themselves from responsibility for political actions, to encourage solidarity, or to designate and identify both supporters and enemies. Importantly, Kliju naite and Nause da (2010) suggest that politicians tend to overuse the FPPP in their discourse because the singular form, *I*, can have negative effects; for example, the audience could interpret the speaker to be making an attempt to place themselves above the listeners or readers, and this can somehow break the sense of community acquired through the plural form.

Hence, the FPPP plays an important role in constructing institutional identity (Bello, 2013; Bramley, 2001; Sacks, 1995; Van Dijk, 2000). An institutional identity, in this sense, is achieved when a person speaks on behalf of, or as a representative of, an institution (such as the political institution) (Bramley, 2001; Goffman, 1974). In his study on the ambiguity of pronominal choices in texts, Sacks (1995) argues that politicians tend to overuse the FPPP for their political and rhetorical goals. That is, politicians can alternate between different group memberships to construct multiple *selves* and *others* in a discourse context (Bello, 2013; Bramley, 2001; Proctor & Su, 2011; Wilson, 1990). This institutional identity can be expressed through the exclusive *we*. When a politician belongs to a political party that is in opposition to another party, *we* is used to create an *Us-Them* dichotomy between the two parties (Bello, 2013; Bramley, 2001; Fetzer, 2014; Proctor & Su, 2011; Sacks 1995; Wilson, 1990).

In line with the advantages of vagueness mentioned above, the 'political *we*' could also be ambiguous (Zupnik, 1994) or it can lack referents in "a phenomenon that resembles the *royal* or *nursery we*" (Helmbrecht, cited in Dori-Hacohen, 2014, p. 189). In line with Van De Mieroop's (2014) argument, above, that the referential ambiguity of *we* forms offers this pronoun a great flexibility, which can be used strategically in particular contexts, I argue that these particular situations are more relevant to the political context. Fetzer (2014) also contends that politicians,

strategically, use the FPPP in political interviews to avoid clarity in response to awkward questions or clear-cut positions in political speeches. In a contrasting view, Bull and Fetzer (2006) found no evidence that politicians exploit the ambiguity of the FPPP in their political interviews. Instead, they revealed that politicians exploit *we* to their advantage in political interviews by, for example, avoiding answering personal questions. The results of the present study support both views: they demonstrate how Clinton employs the ambiguity of the FPPP to avoid FTAs and how she is, in most instances, explicit about the referent of the FPPP to achieve other strategic goals.

However, the issue of ambiguity of *we* can also become problematic, rather than strategic, in public discourse. In such settings, as Zupnik (1994) contends, the speaker must be cautious, particularly when giving a speech, which is a type of monologue, since there is no room for questions and explanations. It is from the speaker's perspective or point of view that we would understand best the referents of the personal indexicals which the speaker employs (Zupnik, 1994, p. 340). The speaker is, thus, the deictic center of an utterance; and it is the speaker's intention and attitude to the topic of discussion and the context of discourse that conditions their use of indexicals (Zupnik, 1994, p. 340).

Previous research on the use of *we* in political discourse, as Bramley (2001) asserts, has focused on the referential domain of the FPPP. As previously noted, Wilson (1990), for example, focuses on the range of different group memberships in the political context, in which *we* is considered to have a varied distribution of referents ranging from *we* (self + one other) to *we* (self + humanity) (see also Bramley, 2001). Goffman (1974, 1981) and Sacks (1995), on the other hand, focused on the institutional identity through the use of *we* in political interviews.

In recent research, Hakansson (2012) and Putri and Kurniawan (2015) investigate the referential use of pronouns, including the FPPP. They use a comparable approach to explore pronominal choices, including the FPPP, in the discourse of two men politicians. Hakansson (2012) focuses on determining to whom the two Presidents refer when they use the pronouns *I*, *you*, *we* and *they*, and to compare the differences in pronominal usage by the two Presidents. Hakansson compares the choices of the FPPP made by George W. Bush and Barack Obama in their State of the Union speeches. Four of these speeches are from Bush's presidency, between the years of 2001 and 2004, that is, his first time in Office, and another four speeches from Obama's presidency, that is, his four most recent speeches. The results suggest that the pronominal choices of the two Presidents do not differ significantly. Both Presidents used the pronoun *we* to invoke a sense of collectivity and to share responsibility; *we* in most cases here referring to the President and Congress.

In a similar vein, to investigate the importance of the use of person deixis in political discourse, Putri and Kurniawan (2015) explore the use of person deixis in presidential campaign speeches. They collected data from the transcriptions of six presidential campaign speeches of Barack Obama and Mitt Romney during the campaign rally in 2012. The results of their study reveal that the presidential candidates make the best use of pronouns as a way to promote themselves and to attack their opponents. The results also suggest that the use of pronouns in their speeches enables the candidates to construct positive identities and realities, which are favorable to them and make them appear eligible for the position. With respect to the FPPP, in contrast to Hakansson's (2012) results, Putri and Kurniawan's (2015) study has revealed differences between Obama and Romney: Obama uses the FPPP more frequently than does Romney. In contrast to the slight difference in the frequency of use of pronouns *I* and *we* in Obama's speeches, the frequency of use of pronouns *I* and *we* in Romney's speeches shows a salient difference. Moreover, while Obama affiliates himself with his family, his party, his campaign team, his Administration during his first term as President of the United States of America, the audience, and the whole nation of the United States of America, MR uses *we* to refer to his campaign team, his Administration when he was Governor of Massachusetts, the audience, and the whole nation of the United States of America. Their study also reveals that Obama and Romney use the pronoun *we* with both exclusive and inclusive sense. In terms of the uses of the exclusive *we*, each candidate refers to himself and his Administration either when he was President (Obama) or Governor of Massachusetts (Romney) in order to attribute positive things or qualities to themselves as presidential candidates. Obama and Romney use the pronoun *we* with an inclusive meaning when they intend to refer to themselves, the audience, and the whole nation of America to "indicate that there are many things, problems or challenges that should be done and solved, and that the Americans can do, solve or achieve these things if they work together" (p. 198). Obama also exhibits more uses of *we* in his speeches when stating that the decisions regarding health care and tax were based on a consensus in his Administration to avoid taking the blame in case anything is deemed wrong with these issues "because these issues are the issues that have been the debate between Obama and Romney" (Putri & Kurniawan, 2015, p. 195). Putri and Kurniawan's results will be checked against the results of the current study that compares the frequency of the FPPP in Clinton and Obama's discourse (see Section 6.4).

Recent studies have attested the importance of the FPPP in political discourse (e.g., Allen, 2007; Bramley, 2001; Fetzer, 2014; Proctor & Su, 2011; Van De Mieroop, 2014). Similar to Hakansson (2012), and Putri and Kurniawan's (2015) scope of investigation that involves the FPPP and other pronominals, and within the same genre, Allen (2007) analyzes six speeches by two men

politicians, John Howard and Mark Latham, across the course of the 2004 federal election campaign to look at the ways in which pronominal choice indicates a shifting scope of reference to create pragmatic effects and to serve political functions. With respect to the use of the FPPP, Allen reveals the two candidates to use the FPPP in order to fulfill the same functions, including talking on behalf of their party, deflecting individual responsibility, including or excluding hearers from group membership, and invoking a general collective response or attitude to a matter. Allen's study has also revealed that politicians use the FPPP to co-implicate the general public by establishing the referent as the nation or all Australians (which Wales, 1996 refers to as the 'patriotic *we*'). In the current study I use the term *national we* to refer to this form of *we* because I argue that not all uses of this form of *we* are patriotic, but that it is definitely orientated towards 'flagging' nationalism (see Proctor & Su, 2011, below and Section 9.2).

However, Allen (2007), Hakansson (2012), and Putri and Kurniawan's (2015) results are limited in terms of the versatility of the FPPP functions. This is due to the narrow scope of investigation pertaining to the FPPP and the type of genre. They focused on political speeches that are highly institutionalized in comparison with the interactional genres of talk shows and debates (Ilie, 2001; Zimmerman, 1998) (see Section 1.5). That is, a political speech as a mononlogic genre (Fetzer, 2014) lacks the interactive features of the dialogic genre such as interviews, resulting in the absence of different facets of identity construction. This is evident in Bramley's (2001) study that investigates a more interactive genre, and thus, has revealed more salient functions of the FPPP in politics.

Bramley (2001) investigates the important functions of the FPPP, and other pronouns, in political interviews which are considered more interactive than political speeches (Van Dijk, 2008). She collected a corpus of 32 Australian political interviews recorded from television and public radio news programs. Bramley's (2001) conclusions reveal that politicians actively exploit the flexibility of pronominal reference to construct different identities of themselves and 'other' and use them to create different alignments and boundaries between their multiple selves and others. She reveals that politicians use *we* with other pronouns to construct a favorable image of themselves. In addition to the already-researched functions, such as expressing institutional identity, creating an *Us-Them* dichotomy, Bramley identifies new functions, such as co-implicating the people in the situation; deflecting individual attention on the interviewee; and invoking a general collective response to an issue. Since Bramley's study involves more than one pronoun in the investigation, the current study that focuses exclusively on the FPPP is likely to have provided a more in-depth analysis of the uses of the FPPP in political discourse. As such, the analysis of the current study supports Bramley's

conclusions and also reveals further functions that Bramley's study did not identify, interpreted within the frame of face-work.

Proctor and Su's (2011) work demonstrates the persuasive, political power of pronominal choices. In interactional political discourse, Proctor and Su (2011) analyze self-identifications that particular American politicians develop through their employment of pronominal choice in TV interviews and political debates. Their study is highly relevant to the current study because, first, Clinton is among the politicians whose speech is analyzed in Proctor and Su's study; and, secondly, the researchers examined similar genres to those investigated in this study, particularly political debates. Proctor and Su analyzed the discourse of four men and women American politicians, Sarah Palin, Joe Biden, Clinton and Obama from 2008–2009. Unlike the present study, Clinton's interviews in Proctor and Su's study were collected in 2009, after Clinton was nominated as State Secretory in 2008. They reveal the most frequent categories used by the politicians for self-identification comprise the USA government, the American people, the military, and family. They found that American politicians employ the FPPP to evoke nationalistic emotions and achieve their career goals. Palin and Biden's discourse comprise more categories (USA government, the American people) in common than that of the other politicians. They affiliate themselves with the same categories, although the two politicians emphasize the categories differently. Clinton and Obama, on the other hand, "held to their principles (to get the job done or to succeed in the election, respectively)" (p. 3265). Clinton evokes nationalistic emotions much less than do both Palin and Biden. That is, Clinton and Obama do not use the FPPP to provoke 'banal' nationalism. According to Proctor and Su (2011), banal refers to "the 'everyday' thing that is not noticed easily, hidden in its own simplicity and lack of attractiveness" (p. 3252). Thus, *we* is considered one of these subtle words that does not deliver an obvious message; it serves to create a background for and to 'flag' (Billig's (1995) term) nationalism. The current study, however, highlights contradictory results regarding Clinton's discourse. Clinton has been found to overuse the FPPP for banal nationalism. The reasons behind this discrepancy will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 9. Biden, on the other hand, employs banal nationalism at times by self-identifying with the American people and the State. Although their study revealed similarities between women and men politicians and differences between same-sex politicians, the researchers do not draw conclusions regarding the role of gender in the politicians' pronominal choices. In contrast, the present study does not ignore the role of gender, though it also does not pre-determine it, in Clinton's use of the FPPP. The present study considers the role of gender as the speaker, Clinton, indexes it through her use of the FPPP. However, I employed Proctor and Su's (2011) results to support my analysis of Clinton's construction of political identity through her use of the FPPP.

In line with the approach used for the present study and the arguments proposed in Section 1.1, Fetzer (2014) provides salient functions for the FPPP in mediated political discourse, the scope of this study. Fetzer argues that unlike in ordinary conversation, in political mediated discourse self-reference pronouns are used strategically to negotiate discourse identities and interactional social roles. In this way, "identities and social roles are constructed, reconstructed, deconstructed and negotiated directly by the face-to-face participants, and other ratified participants" (Fetzer, 2014, p. 331). Fetzer focuses on the versatility of the FPPP in political interviews and political speeches, by examining the referential domain, the communicative function and the electoral effect of the FPPP in dialogic and monologic British political interviews. Fetzer uses a qualitative micro-analysis to investigate how collectivity is formed locally, considering the referential domain of the pronoun as well as its local linguistic context. The monologic data comprises 15 political speeches and 20 full recording pre-election interviews for the dialogic date, recorded between 1997 and 2003. Fetzer (2014) reveals that, because of its context-dependence, politicians use *we* to construct and deconstruct collectivity. Politicians construct their collective selves as an expression of solidarity, and alignment with the audience. Political actors may opt for disaligning themselves from a political party by explicitly speaking on behalf of themselves only (Fetzer, 2014). Importantly, Fetzer concludes that political agents do not automatically construct collectivity. Depending on its co-occurrences and on the context imported into the discourse, the FPPP can be used to re- and deconstruct collectivity in both monologic and dialogic political discourse. In the dialogic setting of an interview, the formation of collectivity is more dynamic than in the monologic setting of speech. An important conclusion that corresponds with the results of this study is that the FPPP allows speakers and politicians to keep their referential domains diplomatically vague.

To recap, each of the above studies investigating the use of the FPPP either in ordinary conversations or political discourse conclude that the FPPP is of great importance for identity work. It enables speakers to identify the groups with which and against which they align.

2.4 Summary

In conclusion, the results of previous studies have revealed two major points. Firstly, the studies support the argument put forward in this study that the meaning of the FPPP is not restricted to expressing positive politeness as Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest in their theory. They have shown that politicians overuse the FPPP for strategic uses to construct, deconstruct, reconstruct and negotiate their collective identities. Secondly, the studies have demonstrated that both the referential domain of the FPPP and its function in the local linguistic context are important to understand the

multiple meanings of the FPPP. This view opposes Bramley's (2001) approach that excluded that role of pronominal referentially from the analysis of the FPPP meaning. Finally, each of the previous studies has investigated the functions of the FPPP without anchoring these functions to the notion of face or politeness. The current study, therefore, aims to demonstrate how Clinton's strategic uses of the FPPP to construct, reconstruct, deconstruct and negotiate her identities are anchored to face-work management.

It can be also concluded that research to date has not considered the role of gender in the use of the FPPP, which is particularly evident in the studies that included politicians of different genders (i.e., Bramley, 2001 & Proctor & Su, 2011). Although these studies have examined the FPPP in the discourse of both men and women politicians, none addresses the role of the politicians' gender in their pronominal choices. Therefore, the aim of the present study is to fill the gap in knowledge and contribute to gender studies by focusing of the use of the FPPP in the discourse of a woman politician.

Chapter 3

Discursive Identity of Women in Leadership:
An Overview

3.1 Introduction

This study explores the language through which Hillary Clinton constructs her political identity, examining the extent to which the first person plural pronoun (hereinafter, FPPP) is important in her political discourse. Therefore, the relevant conceptual and empirical framework for the discourse practices of women in leadership should be established and clarified at the very outset. The chapter presents an overview of how women's discursive identity has been conceptualized in the literature since Lakoff's pioneering work of the 1970's, demonstrating how research in the field has focused on the discursive dilemma that constitutes the double bind that women face in positions of power.

Though focused on women's language, this study does not take gender-differences as a platform for analysis. It mainly demonstrates how Clinton, as an independent American woman politician, uses the FPPP. Nonetheless, discussing the role of gender in Clinton's linguistic choices has been inevitable in many instances during this study for two reasons. First, the main genre studied here is debate, which entails the inclusion of male speakers into the analysis due to the patriarchal nature of the American politics. Secondly, Clinton's unique status as the wife of a former president (Bill Clinton) has, as I will show, conspicuously influenced her use of language, particularly, when the situational context relates to her marital status. Her language in such situations is oriented towards being inclusive of the husband and expressions that center around the role of the wife (e.g., *my husband*). Nevertheless, such comparisons are not drawn on the basis that men's use of the language is the norm, as has been suggested by many studies from different approaches (as will be discussed in this chapter), but rather on the premise that all strategic uses of FPPP are available to all gendered candidates. Thus, the present study hopes to add to women's language research for both perspective and methodology.

The introductory overview in Section 3.2 outlines the different approaches that conceptualize women's language and the theoretical argument of the double bind in the literature. The introduction is followed by two major sections, both of which focus on how research has investigated the discourse of women in leadership (Section 3.3), whether in institutional (non-political) (Section 3.3.1) or political contexts (Section 3.3.2). The rationale behind examining the discourse of women in leadership in two different settings is to explore if political status has any influence on the way the

woman politician's linguistic behavior is approached in the literature, especially with relevance to the dilemma of the double bind.

3.2 Gender and Discourse: An Introductory Overview

In this section I will review the different frameworks for conceptualizing the relationship between gender and discourse, with an emphasis on the theories and methodologies of the constructionist approach. I will also discuss how the dilemma of 'the double bind' (see Section 1.1.2) is conceptualized in different traditional and constructionist approaches. Importantly, since the present study employs conversation analysis (CA) in data analysis, particular attention is paid in this section to the value of CA in investigating the role of gender in constructionist studies.

3.2.1 From Essentialism to Poststructuralism

Studies of language and gender in past decades have looked at many different dimensions of language use and offered a rich variety of hypotheses regarding the interaction between gender and language, in particular the connection of power to that interaction (Eckert, 1992). It is worth noting that the differing theories regarding the relationship between gender and discourse throughout the decades have been a consequence of the differing conceptualization of the words 'sex' and 'gender', per se.

The words 'sex' and 'gender' have traditionally referred to biological and linguistic classifications, respectively. 'Sex' is a biological construction, distinguishing females and males depending on biological features such as chromosomes, sex organs, hormones and other physical features; 'gender', on the other hand, is a social construction, denoting women and men depending on *social* factors, that is, social role, position, behavior or identity (Mikkola, 2011). Societies across the globe have constructed expectations for behavior *based on biology* – men are associated with masculinity, and women are associated with femininity; these expectations can be called 'sex roles' or 'gender roles' (Kanter, 1977; Patterson, 2015). Feminist scholars in the 1960s and 1970s pointed out that feminine and masculine behaviors were prescriptively divided into two mutually exclusive sets which do not necessarily correspond to female and male sexes (Speer, 2005). Therefore, this conception of gender implies, as Patterson (2015) argues, that our sex is objective, but our gender is subjective. That is, we are inescapably born into our sex; whereas we are socially boxed into our gender (see Patterson, 2015). As a result of this theorization of sex, theorists borrowed the term gender from linguists to refer to behavior that was socially acquired rather than biologically innate (McConnell-Ginet, 1988).

However, this traditional way of conceptualizing sex and gender has been opposed by constructionists and post-modernists who have pointed out that this binary division fails to predict purportedly sex-based phenomena such as behavior and sexual orientation (see Bing & Bergvall, 1996; Kitzinger, 2000; Speer, 2005; Speer & Stokoe, 2011). That is, although the majority of humans can be unambiguously classified as either female or male (Bing & Bergvall, 1996), there are actually more than two sexes and/or sexualities (Bing & Bergvall, 1996; Kitzinger, 2000; Speer, 2005; Speer & Stokoe, 2011; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008). The terms *female* and *male* insufficiently categorize our experience because, as Bing and Bergvall (1996) state, English also includes tomboy, sissy, bisexual, gay, lesbian, transsexual, transgendered individual, etc. Patterson (2015) argues that it does not make sense to force somebody into a gender role just because they were born as a particular sex. Consequently, as already noted, these differing theorizations of gender and sex have resulted in different approaches or frameworks for conceptualizing women's language and the relationship between gender and language (Speer, 2005). For the purpose of the current study, I will categorize these different approaches into *difference-based* approaches, which consider the binary view of sex or gender, and *poststructuralist* (or *constructionist*) approaches which transcend this binary distinction.

First, difference-based or *essentialist* frameworks adopted the biological binary of sex. These traditional approaches share an *essentialist* understanding of gender identity; that is, that gender is a fixed 'trait' or property that resides in individuals and unproblematic variable that could be correlated with assorted language behaviors (see discussion in Bing & Bergvall, 1996; Speer, 2005; Speer, 2011; Speer & Stokoe, 2011; Stokoe, 2000). As Stokoe (2000) contends, "an essentialist stance assumes that women share the same psychology, such that experiences are a product of their 'woman-ness' rather than of the systems that shape social life" (p. 553). As a result, research into sex differences ignores the complexity "and dynamism" of gendered behavior, which, arguably, "leads to reification of gender dualism, perpetuates stereotypes and results in a culture of exaggeration of sex differences" (Stokoe, 2000, p. 553). The *essentialist* or difference-based frameworks can also be classified into three sub-frameworks: deficit (women's speech is less effective than men's), dominance (men use speech to dominate or control women), and difference (women's and men's speech patterns are different but equal) (Speer, 2005). What these three frameworks have in common is that they state that women speak differently from men and that gender is binary in discourse (e.g., Lakoff, 1975; Maltz & Broker 1982; Tannen, 1990; Zimmerman & West, 1975). As Bing and Bergvall (1996), Cameron (1996) and Speer (2005) state, these essentialist frameworks presuppose one of three possibilities: the language of women is deficient, or unequal gender relations are realized in interaction, or that women and men occupy different (sub)cultures (Maltz & Broker, 1982; Tannen,

1992). Some influential studies (e.g., Lakoff, 1975) have inadvertently contributed to spreading and reinforcing these negative views about women's identity. However, the picture complex: on the one hand, language has been considered to support male dominance; on the other hand, it has been seen as a resource for women resisting oppression or pursuing their own projects and interests (Eckert, 1992).

The deficit approach started systematically with Lakoff's theories (1973, 1975) which were part of a movement against cultural, social, and political gender inequalities, known as Second-Wave Feminism (this is distinguished from the First-Wave that started during the late 1800s and early 1900s). Lakoff's theories (1973, 1975) have been the start of a wave of studies that viewed women as powerless speakers exhibiting certain features that negatively distinguish their language from that of men, thus establishing the double bind. Lakoff claims that women's language reflects a power imbalance between men and women. She asserts that women speak in a different language compared to men, using different vocabulary and emphasizing different grammatical elements, and that women's inferior status was exacerbated by this language they were socialized to use. Lakoff (1973, 1975) lists a number of linguistic features that were the characteristic of feminine speech. These features include hedges, adjectives of color, empty adjectives, (super) polite forms, tag questions, and other speech practices, such as speaking less frequently than men, using declarative sentences in question-intonation, lacking a sense of humor in their speech, and so forth. Such features, according to Lakoff, express hesitancy, indirectness, and lack of confidence; which, as a result, indicate powerlessness. Lakoff claims that these differences in the way men and women use language reveals certain insecurities, which is both a result of their unequal status in society and a factor that exacerbates it. In her comment about these differences, Lakoff (1975) points to the effect of these differences on the societal perception of the women's status "[t]he ultimate effect of these discrepancies is that women are systematically denied access to power, on the grounds that they are not capable of holding it as demonstrated by their linguistic behavior along with other aspects of their behavior" (p. 42). Consequently, as aforementioned, women face a double bind, that is, if they use feminine language, their speech style will be used to ridicule them and justify their oppression. On the other hand, if they refuse to speak like a lady, then they will be criticized for being unfeminine.

Lakoff's work (1975) was instrumental in generating what became known as the dominance/difference debate. Lakoff's view on the imbalance of power between the two sexes provided an initial theoretical foundation for what is known as the 'dominance' approach, which also suggests that the powerless speech feature used by women contributes to maintaining their subordinate position in society, while men's dominance is preserved through their linguistic behavior

(see White (2003) for critique). The 'dominance' approach views women's language as powerless and weak because they are seen as victims, oppressed by men and the social system (Lakoff, 1975; Zimmerman & West, 1975). In this approach, power in discourse is viewed as the domination of privileged groups over disadvantaged groups during discourse (Van Dijk, 2008). In this way, discursive power comes from pre-established power relations or power differentials among interactants.

Some studies have opposed Lakoff's (1973, 1975) suggestion of ascribing powerless language to female language use, and Lakoff's characterization of powerless language itself. One of the first studies to criticize Lakoff's theory is by O'Barr and Atkins (1980, 1998), who argue that Lakoff's theory is in need of modification. They suggest that powerless language is inaccurately called female language, as it is the characteristic of people in powerless positions, whether they are men or women. That is, this type of language is indexical of women's language, because they are usually associated with submissive roles and are given subordinate positions, particularly in American society (O'Barr & Atkins, 1980, 1998). Another major study that criticized Lakoff's theory (1973, 1975) laid the path for new theories to emerge: Maltz and Broker (1982) introduced the principle of sub- or different cultures, which is seen as the foundation for what has emerged later as the 'difference' approach. Maltz and Broker argue for male and female sub-cultures, where women and men are socialized, and where they use language in single-sex peer groups.

In the 1990s, the '(cultural) difference' approach has been further developed by Tannen (1990, 1991), who suggests that women and men develop different styles of talking. In this 'difference' approach, it is argued that the feminine style results from a gendered culture and education, because women are segregated during significant parts of their lives (Tannen, 1990; 1991). Tannen draws up a list of language behaviors that describe men and women's language styles in pair terms, such as: status vs support, competition vs cooperation, advice vs understanding, independence vs intimacy, and information vs feelings. However, many linguists have extensively attempted to challenge this enculturalized view of differences in behavior (e.g., Cameron, 1992; Walsh, 2001).

There are several points of criticism against these sex-difference-based approaches to women's language, pertaining to the theory and methodology itself. Many feminists problematize essentialism on the grounds that "it sustains and reproduces binary thinking" (Speer, 2005, p. 12). Essentialist studies are also criticized for always supporting arguments that men and women are fundamentally different, because they draw on the assumption that "the sex of the speaker both causes and accounts for male-female linguistic differences" (Speer, 2005, p.12). Importantly, Morgan (2007) blames Lakoff's theory of creating a 'multiple' double bind against other ethnic groups of

women (see the discussion on "Intersectionality" below). That is, accounts of women's language based solely on the speech of middle-class white women establish "a normative basis against which black and working-class women's speech is judged anomalous, with resultant negative stereotypes" (Kendall & Tannen, 2015, p. 647). Tannen (1991) has also been criticized for stereotypically associating the notions of gossip and small talk to women, which means these stereotypes have been fixed and could not be challenged. Bing and Bergvall (1996) argue that although Tannen (1991) emphasizes ethnic variation and functional or social variation in some of her research, in other work she seems to imply that women share a common language different from the common language of men. That is, Tannen's inconsistent ideology is revealed: for example, in posing the question why women use more prestige forms, Tannen presupposes that women do use more prestige forms, despite studies showing that not all and not only women use such forms. Methodologically, Tannen's (1991) 'difference' paradigm has been criticized because the contrast of the language used by men and women is "based on assumptions made by the analyst, imposed on what occurs in language in a top-down approach, i.e. starting from the sex of the person and attributing the language he or she used to" (Formato, 2014, p. 65).

Consequently, as noted above, in the 1990s many feminist psychologists and gender and language scholars influenced by postmodern thinking began to challenge the binary thinking associated with research into sex-differences (Bing & Bergvall, 1996). Social constructionist feminists began to reject the idea that gender exists in individuals and instead located it in interactions. Within this approach, feminist discourse analysts investigate speech communities without presupposing differences between women and men, and show how traditional ideas about sex and gender have influenced questions asked about language (Bing & Bergvall, 1996). In the mid-1990s, there was "a notable shift from the search for correlations between linguistic units and social categories of speakers to analysis of the gendered significance of ongoing talk" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

Many researchers have abandoned a 'gender differences' agenda in pursuit of constructionist and ethnomethodological analyses of gender's production, performance and occasioning in discourse (Stokoe, 2011). As Bing and Bergvall (1996) argue, although language is essentially categorical, "in the world of experience all boundaries show some degree of vagueness, and any formal system which is useful for semantic description must allow us to record, or even measure, this property" (p. 2). Eckert (1992) also criticizes the oversimplification of the relationship between sex and gender and language in these studies. Eckert posits that exploring any aspect of the "language-gender interface requires addressing the complexities of its construction within and across different communities" (p.

93). Eckert argues that in the course of engaging with others in social activity, people "collaboratively" construct a sense of themselves and of others as certain kinds of persons, "as members of various communities with various forms of membership, authority, and privilege in those communities" (p. 93). In all of these activities, language interacts with these symbolic systems, and the selves constructed are not simply gendered selves; "they are unemployed, Asian-American, lesbian, college-educated, post-menopausal selves in a variety of relations to other people" (Eckert, 1992, p. 92). Thus, the language of 'difference' began to be replaced with the language of 'construction' and 'performance' (Speer & Stokoe, 2011).

The constructionist approach has its root in poststructuralism and multicultural feminism, and to some degree ethnomethodology (Speer & Stokoe, 2011). The works of the new approach adopted performative notions of gender as something one 'does': "an enactment, discursive construction or product of social interaction" (Speer, 2005, p. 12). This approach examines how people construct their multiple identities which they perform every day, including ethnicity, occupational role and gender (Formato, 2014). The constructionist approach is most strongly associated with the works of Butler (1990). In her book, *Gender Trouble*, Butler argues that sex, gender, and sexuality are constructed through repetitive performances, that is, through a "stylized repetition of acts" which "founds and consolidates the subject" (Butler, 1990, p.140). Gender is performed by individuals on a daily basis, and this everyday performance constructs gender within social and cultural discourse. Gender ought not to be conceived merely as the culture that is inscribed anatomically onto our bodies, but rather is discursively constructed and sustained (Butler, 1990). In a similar vein, Coates (1998) states that the social concept of gender has changed through time; being a woman now is much different from being one decades ago. As Coates argues, these changing identities are constructed through different discourses that constitute the identities of femininity in different ways. She contends that "there is no single unified way of doing femininity, of being a woman" (p. 318). Different femininities are available through different discourses. In this vein, Walsh (2001) also suggests that "gender does not simply reflect a pre-existing identity, but helps to constitute, maintain and transform that identity in everyday situations via talk and the paralinguistic behavior that accompanies it" (p. 15).

An important contribution of this theory is to establish that there is no universal single category of 'woman' or 'man' and to identify the intersectionality of sex, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, nationality (Bing & Bergvall, 1996; Speer & Stokoe, 2011). From this perspective, masculinity and femininity are not binary opposites but flexible and "mutually dependent constructs in a dialectical relationship" (Johnson & Meinhof, 1997, p. 2). Gender as a social category intersects

with other categories of social identity, including sexuality, ethnicity, age, (dis)ability, social class and position, and geographical location (see, for example, Lazar, 2005a; Lazar, 2005b; Speer, 2005; Speer & Stokoe, 2011; Wilkinson, 2011). As Lazar (2005a) contends, poststructuralist theorization offers "a critically useful view of discourse as a site of struggle, where forces of social (re)production and contestation are played out." (p. 144) This critique of unequal social orders characterizes much feminist research in poststructuralism, "motivated by goals of social emancipation and transformation" (Lazar, 2005b, p. 141).

Because issues of gender, power, and ideology have become increasingly more complex and subtle in poststructuralist approaches (Crosby, 2016; Kendall & Tannen, 2015; Kitzinger, 2000; Speer, 2005; Speer & Stokoe, 2011), gender theorists have increasingly incorporated sexuality into discussions of gender and discourse, recognizing that gender and sexuality are intertwined in complex ways (Kendall & Tannen, 2015). In this respect, the emphasis on sexualities and multiple identities has influenced other theories (Crosby, 2016; Kendall & Tannen, 2015). Butler's (1990) performative paradigm, for example, is relevant to research on the intersectionality of identities — the interrelationship among race, class, sexuality, and gender (Carastathis, 2014, p.1). The term intersectionality has now entered gender and development literature and practice in order to take into account the 'intersections' of gender with other social categories and identities such as race, age, class, and caste (Crosby, 2016). The concept of intersectionality allows us to analyze how racism, patriarchy, class oppression, ability and other systems of discrimination create inequalities and structure relative gender positions (Crosby, 2016; Kendall & Tannen, 2015). Thus, it has become commonplace within feminist theory to claim that women's lives are "constructed by multiple, intersecting systems of oppression" (Carastathis, 2014, p.1). The next section presents a brief account of the concept of intersectionality of race, class, sexuality, and gender, and its influence on feminist research.

The concept of intersectionality was coined by Crenshaw (1989) in his work on anti-discrimination law. Originally, intersectionality referred to the discrimination faced by black women (Carastathis, 2014; Crenshaw, 1989; Lutz, Vivar & Supkic, 2011). It is a feminist sociological theory that centers around analyzing and discussing how oppression often intersects, creating unique and varied experiences of discrimination (Kendall & Tannen, 2015; Lutz et al., 2011). Intersectionality has since been expanded to include the analysis of discrimination faced by anyone who identifies with the multiple social, biological, and cultural groups that are not favored in a patriarchal, capitalist, white supremacist society (Carastathis, 2014). Intersectionality is offered as a theoretical and political solution to the problem of multiple identities and sexualities that are faced by modern feminists for

the insight of this theory, as Carastathis (2014) contends, is that oppression is not a singular process or a binary political relation, but is better understood as a process, constituted by multiple, converging, or interwoven systems, and originates in anti-racist feminist critiques of the claim that women's oppression could be captured through an analysis of gender alone.

Carastathis (2014) argues that in contrast to unitary approaches to theorizing oppression, which reduce the complex experiences of multiple and simultaneous oppressions to simplistic unitary categories, intersectionality emphasizes that "multiple, co-constituting analytic categories are operative and equally salient in constructing institutionalized practices and lived experiences" (Carastathis, 2014, p. 304). Race and ethnicity "are co-constructed in discourse with other aspects of social identities such as class, gender, and/or sexuality" (Carastathis, 2014, p. 306). The goal of theories of intersectionality is to develop a single framework for analyzing power that encompasses "sexism, racism, class oppression, heterosexism, and other aspects of oppression in their complex interrelations (Allen, 2016). Crenshaw (1991) argues that "the experiences of women of color are frequently the product of intersecting patterns of racism and sexism" (p. 1243) and therefore, intersectional identities such as women of color (Crenshaw (1991) are necessary for understanding 'male' violence against women (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

In another dimension, intersectionality may be seen as similar to Lakoff's double bind (Crosby, 2016; Kendall & Tannen, 2015; Morgan, 2007). For example, black women find themselves in a position similar to Lakoff's double bind: that is, a black woman cannot be both a "good black person" and a "good woman" (Kendall & Tannen, 2015, p. 640). However, some analysts conceptualize intersectionality not only as similar to Lakoff's double bind, but as a 'developed version' that accounts for the complexity of the interrelationships between gender and other categories (Crosby, 2016) such as race, color and religion.

Proposing intersectionality as a wider term for Lakoff's (1973, 1975) double bind, Crosby (2016) employs an intersectional approach in her critical analysis of the discourse of sports media. Crosby builds on feminist communication studies of the double bind to account for its significant role in sports media discourse, "which disciplines women through hidden forms of normalizing that manifest in the language and tone of media coverage." (p. 241) Crosby explores the sexist traps or binds that women athletes face by showing how the discourse of sports media is more consistently a source of hegemonic masculinity. She uses a critique of Longman's (2012, August 4) article, titled *For Lolo Jones, Everything Is Image*, to show how its language effectively exposes the sexist, racist, and classist ideologies that manifest in his (Longman's) disciplining of a top-level "female athlete of color." (p.241). More importantly, Crosby has shown the importance of the intersectional double bind

for the study of communication and its salient role in bridging research areas of critical sports study and feminist rhetorical criticism. Crosby argues that through gendered media coverage, it is important to understand how double binds function 'intersectionally' in relation to women of color specifically, "especially in the burgeoning area of critical sport study" (243). Thus, Crosby argues that due to Jones's gender, race, class, and sexuality — growing up on the margins as a poor woman of color — the traditional notion of a gendered double bind does not offer an adequate framework for understanding her interlocking oppressions, which are inseparable. Employing an intersectional approach that counters a tendency (as in Lakoff's double bind) to highlight the experiences of privileged white women, Crosby articulates the binds of feminine/athlete, poor/hustler, and virginal/exotic to complicate the notion of feminist communication scholars regarding the double bind and address interlocking, inseparable oppressions. According to Crosby (2016), Jones faces a powerful double bind that intersects along the power lines of sexuality and race, that is, being deemed by Longman as an "exotic beauty" and "vixen" who is suspiciously a "virgin" (p. 233). Crosby (2016) argues that by complicating the traditional notion of the gendered double bind, "communication scholars can articulate more fully how hegemonic ideology limits a necessary range of identity and disciplines of those who transgress White, male domains" (p. 229).

Notwithstanding the increasing importance of intersectional analysis of social divisions in both sociological and political discourses (Yuval-Davis, 2006), I found only a few studies that analyzed intersectionality within discourse. This goes in line with Yuval-Davis' (2006) argument that there is an inadequacy in analyzing various social divisions, especially race and gender, "as separate, internally homogeneous, social categories resulting in the marginalization of the specific effects of these, especially on women of color" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 206). However, as Yuval-Davis (2006) asserts, the analysis and the methodology of intersectionality in interaction is just emerging and often suffers from analytical confusions that have already been tackled by feminist scholars. Most of the studies of discourse that I surveyed focus on the interrelation between gender, power, and religion (e.g., Greenebaum (1999) for Jewish women and Jahan (2016) for Muslim Indian women) where researchers emphasize the oppression that women of these multiple identities face in different communities when participating in particular interactions.

Thus, methodologically, as mentioned above, these complex interrelated issues of gender, sexuality and multiple identity or intersectionality have posed a challenge for poststructuralist feminists to use methods of discursive analyses that could help researchers achieve their goals, particularly in the field of gender and discourse. As explained above, in constructionist-informed analyses, the focus of inquiry shifts away from correlating linguistic variables with demographic

variables, and away from claims that 'men talk like this' and 'women talk like that' (Speer & Stokoe, 2011), towards a "focus on the process of gendering, the on-going accomplishment of gender, as well as the dynamism and fluidity of the process" (Holmes, 2007, p. 55). In this respect, feminist constructionist researchers have used a variety of methodological perspectives aiming to generate a more nuanced understanding of the complex interrelations between gender and other intersecting factors, making valuable contributions to the study of language and gender; in particular, feminist methodologies emerging out of the traditions of CA and critical discourse analysis (CDA), namely feminist critical discourse analysis (Lazar, 2005a, 2005b) and feminist CA (e.g., Weatherall et al., 2008). Other approaches such as Feminist Post Structural Discourse Analysis (Baxter, 2008) have also gained popularity in investigations.

In her article, Lazar (2005a, 2005b) brings critical discourse analysis (CDA) and feminist studies together in proposing a feminist critical discourse analysis, which, as she contends, aims to advance a rich and nuanced understanding of the complex workings of power and ideology in discourse in sustaining (hierarchically) gendered social arrangements — "a critical perspective on unequal power relations" (Lazar, 2005b, p. 7). However, although her article may be expected to provide a practical guide for (post-structural) feminists to conduct a feminist CDA, or 'praxis' as she calls it, the article is more theoretical and descriptive rather than empirical. Lazar (2005a; 2005b) criticizes the discourse of post-feminism for the absence of critique which "lulls one into thinking that struggles over the social transformation of the gender order have become defunct" (Lazar, 200b, p. 17). Lazar's (2005a; 2005b) aim of proposing feminist CDA is to emphasize the effect of globalization on the way gender relations are represented and lived in different parts of the world; particularly, the interaction between 'global' and 'local' influences, which is displayed in some of the discourse data presented in her book (see Cameron's (2007) critique of the book). Lazar argues that both the ethnomethodologically-based concept of 'doing gender' and the postmodernist idea of 'gender performativity' have not been discussed within wider CDA research. Therefore, as Lazar (2005a) posits, feminist CDA aims to 'correct' some issues that remain problematic from the feminist critical perspective, "such as the celebration of individual freedoms to perform transgressive acts like cross-dressing or cross-talking" (p. 151).

Lazar (2005a) contends that the interest of feminist CDA lies in how gender ideology and gendered relations of power get (re)produced, negotiated, and contested in representations of social practices, in social relationships between people, and in people's social and personal identities in texts and talk. Therefore, Lazar proposes a version of CDA that is more compatible with the political agenda of gender, power and equality and more capable of carrying out the complexity of gender

issues, focusing on social justice and transformation of gender, and can produce a rich and powerful political critique for action. That is, feminist discourse scholars can learn much about the interconnections between discursive strategies employed in various forms of social inequality and oppression that "can feed back into critical feminist analysis and strategies for social change" (Lazar, 2005a, p. 144).

Importantly, Lazar (2005a, 2005b) argues that feminist CDA is more interdisciplinary than other methodologies in terms of the kinds of social and political questions it seeks to address, and the theoretical and empirical insights from a broad range of disciplines from which it draws upon and with which it enters into dialogue. She, further, argues that while feminist CDA includes overtly expressed meanings in communication, it is also attentive to less obvious, nuanced, implicit meanings to get at the subtle and complex renderings of ideological assumptions and power relations in contemporary modern societies. Lazar offers her study of a government advertising campaign in Singapore as an example on how feminist CDA is undertaken. She analyzed the presence of negotiations between two seemingly competing discourses of gender relations, based on traditionalism and modernism. The "double-voicedness" in the texts, as Lazar (2005a) explains, "indexes social and cultural changes within contemporary Singapore and recognizes the complexity of audience positions with regard to views of gender relations; it also contributes to the formulation of complex, hybrid gender identities" (p. 152).

Cameron (2007) argues that the goal of Lazar's book (2005a) is not to develop a distinctively feminist variant of CDA, or to engage in dialogue with its leading theorist; rather, contributors to Lazar's book (2005a) use established CDA methods to address questions about gender as one case of "unequal social relations sustained through language use" (Lazar, 2005b, p. 7). Importantly, despite Lazar's aim to correct some problems that used to face poststructuralist feminists, she falls in the trap of common problems that characterize methods of analysis; that is, polarization of the issue. It is a common criticism leveled at traditional CDA in which identities are examined in discourse according to two distinct poles: the powerless (usually the women) and powerful (the men) (see Baxter, 2008 below). Baxter (2008) claims that her new feminist approach to discourse analysis avoids this problem of polarization which characterizes all CDA studies.

However, whereas Lazar (2005a, 2005b) asserts that feminist CDA is more compatible with political agendas of gender and power, Baxter (2008) proposes another feminist approach that also seems to emerge from traditional CDA, but which does not pursue any political agenda. Baxter calls it feminist poststructural discourse analysis (hereinafter, FPDA). Baxter (2008) proposes her approach to contest the authority of the more established theoretical and methodological approaches

which currently dominate the field of discourse analysis (particularly CDA, which of all the leading approaches to discourse analysis in the field, as Baxter argues, has the most in common with her approach, that is, FPDA). Baxter argues that one of the key values of FPDA is that it offers itself as a "supplementary approach, simultaneously complementing and undermining other methods, particularly CDA and CA" (p. 243). However, although Baxter admits a resemblance between the two approaches (i.e., FPDA and CDA), she emphasizes essential differences between FPDA and CDA, pertaining to theoretical and epistemological orientations. While the two approaches share commonalities in theory and methodology, they arguably seek differing outcomes due to "their contrasting outlooks on the world" (Baxter, 2008, p. 244). That is, CDA follows a tradition from post-Marxism through cultural materialism to critical linguistics, critical theory, literary theory, and other branches, such as genre studies and discursive psychology. FPDA, on the other hand, has its theoretical roots deep in postmodernism rather than post-Marxism, and "its quest is epistemological rather than ideological" (Baxter, 2008, p. 244). This distinction has three key implications which, according to Baxter, makes FPDA fundamentally different from CDA. These implications reside mainly in ideology and agenda.

While CDA has an ideological agenda committed to focusing on social problems and working on behalf of the oppressed, Baxter (2008) argues that FPDA does not have an emancipatory agenda, but, what she refers to as a "transformative quest" (Baxter, 2008, p. 245). In other words, FPDA cannot support any "theoretical mission," such as a political agenda that "may become 'a will to truth' and therefore 'a will to power'" (Baxter, 2008, p. 243). On the contrary, Baxter asserts that according to poststructuralist principles, FPDA can support small-scale, bottom-up, social transformations that are vital in its larger quest to challenge dominant discourses (e.g., gender differentiation). This helps FPDA to avoid the drawback of CDA which, due to its emancipatory agenda, as aforementioned, tends to polarize subjects of study into two power categories (Baxter 2008). Therefore, CDA's critique is often "a binary one in that it is directed *against* those institutional discourses that tend to serve hegemonic interests, and it is working *for* the various social groups whose interests are peripheralised by such dominant discourses" (Baxter, 2008, p. 245). In this way, according to Baxter (2008), rather than polarizing "males" as villains and "females" as victims in any oppositional sense, or even presuming that women as a category are necessarily powerless, disadvantaged or oppressed by 'the other', FPDA argues that female subject positions are "complex, shifting and multiply located" (p. 246).

Baxter (2008) offers a micro-level analysis which can help analysts to pinpoint an exact moment in discourse when a speaker shifts between states of relative powerfulness and

powerlessness. The approach also, as Baxter contends, helps to explain the complex pattern of discursive relations that produce such sudden and dramatic shifts of power. However, despite Baxter's (2008) elaborative description of the theoretical aspects of FPDA and its distinctive features, like the case of many other approaches (e.g., Lazar, 2005a), she does not provide sufficient illustration on how it can be applied in data analysis. She only provides examples of some researchers who followed her approach, without explaining how the approach is applied. However, feminist CDA and FPDA are not the only approaches used by constructionists to investigate the complex issues of gender and power in discourse; CA has also been supported widely by constructionists to investigate the relationship between gender and discourse. As already noted in Section 1.6, the present study takes an approach that looks into what Clinton does with the language and how she constructs her identity through interactions, without pre-supposing the role of her gender in her linguistic choices, which abides by the principles of CA. Thus, the next section discusses the debate on the value of CA in gender and discourse studies among feminist constructionists/poststructuralists.

3.2.2 Conversation Analysis and Gender

In analyzing talk-in-interaction, it is a tendency in discourse studies now, according to Wooffitt (2005), to use Conversation Analysis (CA) as the key methodological approach to the study of verbal interaction. CA examines how participants cooperate to understand each other during an interaction (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Goffman, 1974; Schiffrin, 1994). CA is primarily concerned with describing the methods and procedures speakers use to coordinate their talk to produce orderly and meaningful conversational actions (Bhatia, Flowerdew, & Jones, 2008; Speer & Stokoe, 2011; Stokoe, 2000). The uniqueness of CA is in its concern with "the sequential organization of actions" (Bhatia et al., 2008, p. 4); utterances are considered paired actions, dependent on what preceded and what will follow (Bhatia et al., 2008). In this way, CA focuses on words, sequences, sounds, adjacency pairs, repairs, spaces, silences, overlapping speech, and so forth. It is interdisciplinary in nature, spanning, in particular, the disciplines of psychology, sociology, linguistics and communication studies (see Wilkinson and Kitzinger [2008]).

CA analysts regard discourse as a kind of social action, "applying Austin and Steel's view of doing things with words" (Bhatia et al., 2008, p.4); and the action is structurally organized (Speer & Stokoe, 2011; Stokoe, 2000; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008). Understanding talk as a form of action mandates a focus on what people do with talk, rather than simply on what they say (Stokoe, 2000) as in everyday conversational actions (such as complaining, complimenting, disagreeing, inviting, telling) and in actions that constitute particular institutional contexts (such as second-language

teaching, medical diagnosis, or police interrogation (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008).

In line with the purpose for selecting CA as the methodology for the present study, Speer (2005) introduces CA as an empirically grounded constructionist approach. CA constitutes an "analytic mentality" (Speer & Stokoe, 2011, p. 261) that requires researchers to consider their data without pre-selecting concepts and theories to test or explore (Speer, 2005; Stokoe, 2000). This means that rather than seeking to impose categories on the analysis of discursive data (such as 'gender' or 'power'), the focus is upon what participants, or members, orient to in their discussions. As explained above, gender is thus "endogenous "to the interaction rather than being imposed upon it by the analyst (Speer & Stokoe, 2011, p. 20). These arguments rest on Schegloff's (1992) view that analysts should not assume in advance that demographic features of social context such as gender, will be relevant to what is going on within it, or that such things will automatically influence what gets said. Instead, they should look at what they have in front of them in the transcript, "exploring what the interaction is 'demonstrably about' for the parties within it" (Speer & Stokoe, 2011, p. 20). In this vein, the current study, which employs the principles of CA for analysis, aims to demonstrate how a participant (in this case Hillary Clinton) can, through their interaction, construct their gender without pre-supposing the relevance of this category to the speaker's linguistic choices.

Due to its underpinning assumption that gender is something speakers 'do', rather than something they 'have', Stokoe and Wheatherall (2002) argue that "the CA position obliges researchers to move away from a 'difference' trajectory" (p. 708). In contrast to other methodological models, for CA, the fact that speakers are either men or women is not sufficient warrant for analyzing what they say as 'gendered' (Schegloff, 1997). More than other approaches, CA has an insistent methodological focus on grounding analyses in the observed orientations of participants to what matters to them in interaction (Wheatherall et al., 2008).

However, this focus on the participants' orientation towards interaction without pre-selection of gender category poses a key criticism of the compatibility of CA with feminism. Kitzinger (2000) summarizes this criticism under two main premises: first, the difficulty of reconciling the emphasis of CA on participants' orientations with the analyst's own preoccupations with gender, class, sexuality and power even when these are not apparently attended to by participants themselves; and secondly, the apparent obsession of CA with the minute details of everyday talk in the sense that it focuses on the mundane and trivial aspects of social life, at the expense of an analysis of the more politically consequential aspects. Interestingly, Kitzinger (2000) argues that it is, ironically, those features of CA that are critiqued as anti-feminist which, indeed, offer the most exciting potential for feminist-informed conversation analysis work. In this regard, many feminist researchers have defended the

value of this approach for feminist work in different ways.

First, Speer (2005) argues that although CA is not explicitly feminist in orientation, there is a long tradition of feminist work utilizing ideas to study a variety of topics relevant to feminist concerns. For example, the 'dominance' studies of sex difference broadly used a CA approach to identify the micro-interactional techniques by which men dominate and control talk (e.g., Zimmerman & West, 1975), others have used CA to highlight a range of gendered interactional patterns: for example, women's conversational competence and men and women's use of directives (e.g., West, 1995).

Secondly, for CA analysts, any analysis of social categories is based on what participants do and say, rather than on "what analysts take to be relevant as a function of their hypotheses, research questions, politics or theory" (Speer, 2005, p. 108). Speer (2005) demonstrates how CA, which adopts an analysis of participants' orientations, can be used to trace the constitution of masculinity and heterosexism in discourse, exploring how participants construct masculinity and situate themselves and others in relation to those constructions. She demonstrates a number of 'context-sensitive' ways in which the same men may construct masculinity and align with, or differentiate themselves from, those constructions, in the course of one stretch of talk, thus showing "how it is not simply the degree of alignment with (what is constructed as) masculinity which changes, but it is also participants' definitions of masculinity which change" (Speer, 2005, p. 125). To explore the claim that gender is *always* relevant to interaction, Weatherall and colleagues (2008) used CA to show how gender can remain relevant over an extended series of utterances. They analyzed extracts recorded from a New Zealand radio program between the host and callers on different topics (the extracts relate to a topic on sexual diseases), showing how participants can construct their sexuality and gender over a stretch of talk.

Speer's (2005) work also has tried to take Schegloff's (1994) challenge seriously; that is, to avoid presupposing that a focus on participants' orientations will necessarily be limited, or apolitical, exploring how far an approach which begins with an analysis of what is relevant to the participants, can take us in advancing our understanding of gender talk. She combines insights from feminism, CA, and the closely related perspective of discursive psychology (DP) to develop a feminist analytic method which would allow analysts to explore and rethink 'what counts' as gender talk; that is, to rethink the relationship between the 'macro-social' structural realm of gender norm, and other feminist issues and concepts, on the one hand, and "the cognitive-psychological realm of thoughts, feelings, identity, and prejudicial attitudes and beliefs, on the other" (Speer, 2005, p. 169).

Thirdly, and more importantly, Wilkinson and Kitzinger (2008), and other feminists with a critical agenda, argue that key empirical discoveries of CA (e.g., turn-taking and turn design, sequence organization and preference structure) are increasingly used in research with political and transformative agendas, including feminist research on gender categories, LGBT issues, women's work, and research ethics. Wilkinson and Kitzinger propose that the tools of CA, in particular, facilitate analysis of the 'micro-inequalities' of everyday social life offering a powerful and rigorous method for examining how mundane, routine, forms of oppression (e.g., sexism, heterosexism, racism, ageism) are woven into the fabric of social interaction. In this vein, Kitzinger (2000) offers evidence on the value of CA within a lesbian feminist perspective in two ways. First, she uses CA to develop a feminist approach to date rape and sexual refusal; the second the data is drawn from an ongoing conversation analysis study of talk in which "people 'come out' as lesbian, gay, bisexual or as having (had) same-sex sexual experiences" (p. 163).

In conclusion, therefore, as Kitzinger (2000) puts it, CA does not commit us to a "non-critical" view of the social world, but it does commit us to a broadly ethnomethodological one in which people are understood not simply as "victims of an all-powerful social order" but also "as agents actively engaged in methodical and sanctioned procedures for producing or resisting, colluding with or transgressing, the taken-for-granted social world" (p. 167). Kitzinger contends that any approach which requires the explicit mention of a gender category for it to be deemed relevant to interaction is "unbearably limiting" because only a few features of language directly and exclusively index gender (p.171). Therefore, Kitzinger (2000) suggests that the solution is to interrogate the category of gender as it appears in people's talk, using ethnomethodological principles and the related methodology of CA. Interestingly, as Talbot (1998) argues, the social constructionist view of gender can also be perceived as a critical approach per se. That is, "the perception of gender as a performative social construct, developed as critiques of the earlier deficit, power/dominance and culture/ difference approaches to language and gender studies" (p. 150). Therefore, it can be argued that employing CA within constructionist approach is critical in itself, and thus, this analytical method is appropriate for achieving the goals of the current study.

Importantly, the current study subscribes to the Schegloffian (1997) position that argues for two levels of analysis for any study: the political and the technical. Schegloff (1997) argues that political levels of analysis must come after technical analyses of data. At the technical level, analysts can investigate whether and how participants treat a prior turn at talk, for example, as offensive, acceptable and so on; whereas at the political level, analysts may argue about the wider ideological meaning of the interactions under examination (Schegloff, 1997; Speer & Stokoe, 2011). Therefore,

as Speer and Stokoe (2011) argue, "seeking to understand both the mechanics of social action and the socio-political consequences" is "a hallmark of an adequate feminist CA" (p. 16). The present study applies these two levels of CA by investigating the discursive features of specific utterances, particularly those in which participants use the first person plural pronoun (FPPP), and interpreting these uses within the socio-political context (see Chapters 7-9).

In conclusion, while the study claims no generality of the results, the analysis of Hillary Clinton's discourse is hoped to demonstrate how identities can be constructed through the use of language, particularly through her use of the FPPP within context. Clinton's language style, is assessed, as Wilson and Irwin (2015) maintain, on its own terms, reflecting what she does with language, and not assessing her language against male linguistic norms. However, as discussed above, the use of debate as the investigated genre makes the role of gender an inevitable and a salient factor that could help an individual to speculate upon Clinton's use of the FPPP in particular situations, where Clinton and her male opponent are faced with the same question. Gendered comparisons are drawn only in certain situations, where gender role is deemed significant. The comparisons are not based on the premise that a man politician's choices should be assessed as the norm, but on how the speakers present themselves within their gender. Whenever Clinton's use of the FPPP reveals a feminine style, the implications of her linguistic choices are discussed and compared with the conclusions of the previous research. Importantly, notwithstanding that these comparisons have revealed some differences between Clinton and her male opponents in the use of the FPPP, these results cannot be generalized, since many other contexts of use in the study are left without comparisons. Section 3.3 discusses how research has investigated the discourse of powerful women in both political and nonpolitical settings.

3.3 Discourse of Women in Positions of Power
3.3.1 In an Institutional (Non-political) Setting

Although the focus of the present study is political discourse, it is worthwhile to first provide a general account of how the discursive identity of women in leadership is explored in the literature. The account will focus on the places such as institutions, workplaces, or professions "which historically excluded women and where women continued to be outnumbered and outranked by men" (Cameron & Shaw, 2016, p. 11). This section discusses how the language of women in leadership, in non-political contexts, has been investigated in the literature. However, although the present study takes an exclusively American context, the review will also discuss some studies that have made important

contributions to the analysis of the language of women in leadership positions in institutions and workplaces in non-American contexts (e.g., Rojo & Esteban, 2005).

Leadership is a (dynamic) complex concept which has been studied from "a myriad of perspectives across diverse disciplines" (Holmes, 2005a, p. 1780). Leadership has been defined as "the ability to influence others" (Dwyer, 1993, p. 552), whereby this influence, as Holmes (2005a) posits, is typically defined with respect to a common goal. Baxter (2012) defines the term 'leader' not as a formal role, but as "socially situated sets of linguistic practices that are collaboratively enacted on occasions by leaders in team contexts, and which may index differently gendered features" (p. 84).

However, notwithstanding the paramount importance of language when considering the enactment of verbal behaviors in 'doing' leadership (Mullany, 2007), as Baxter (2012), Holmes, (2005a), and Mullany (2007) posit, there has been a tendency to neglect or overlook the language of leadership and the discourse strategies used to perform leadership. Traditionally, the focus has been on the "attributes of leaders such as personality, motives, values and skills" (Holmes, Marra & Vine, 2011, p. 43). In this respect, Fairhurst (2007) makes a distinction between two perspectives of investigating leadership: leadership psychology and leadership discourse or 'discursive leadership.' Fairhurst refers to traditional leadership as "leadership psychology," in which the primary emphasis is upon "the individual and the focus is almost exclusively within the cognitive realm of human endeavor" (Holmes et al., 2011, p. 44). "Discursive leadership" — which is the focus of the review and the current study — is oriented toward discourse and communication (Holmes, 2005a). The focus in feminine-discourse research has shifted toward this type of leadership; that is, toward analyzing the speech patterns of women leaders, due to the dramatically increasing number of women occupying powerful positions, in different institutions (Walsh, 2001). From another perspective, the increasing interest in the language of powerful women stems from the premise that women have brought into the public sphere "interpersonally orientated discursive practices" (Walsh, 2001, p. 6).

The studies that have discussed the relationship between gender and discursive leadership center around two salient points. Firstly, it has been said that women leaders have struggled to construct a gendered (usually masculine) discursive identity in order to express powerfulness, which results in a double bind as a common dilemma for these women, and forces them at times to adopt adversarial styles. Secondly, and conversely, it has been argued that, despite gender stereotypes, the style of women's speech has become characteristic of 'effective leadership' (Holmes, 2005a). These issues have become interrelated to the extent that they are almost inseparable in any study conducted on women's discursive leadership. The account below will elaborate on the two points.

Walsh (2001) emphasizes that the "influx" of women occupying different positions has put powerful women in a dilemma, by confronting the stereotypical view of femininity as powerless and less competent in positions of authority. As Lakoff (1990) argues, a professional woman faces a no-win situation: "she can be a good woman but a bad executive or professional; or vice versa. To do both is impossible" (p. 206). In line with Lakoff's (1975, 1990) double bind, Walsh (2001) believes that there is a social struggle "that centers on the production, maintenance, and transformation of gendered identities and relations" (p. 28). This double bind is more typically observed in institutional contexts because, as Walsh (2001) argues, women's entry into public spheres has heightened men's sense of masculine identities in the places where "masculinist" practices have become, owing to their habitual use, "neutral professional norms" (Walsh, 2001, p. 1). Thus, the criteria used to measure the competence in leadership continue to be associated with "male" stereotypes (Rojo & Esteban, 2005).

Cameron (2003), Holmes (2005a) and Mullany (2007), emphasize the double bind by arguing that, when men use 'feminine' communicative styles such as 'emotional expressiveness', they are 'applauded' for it, whereas women are subject to the double bind because they are evaluated as being too emotional for the workplace. In this vein, Holmes (2005b) posits that women only face this pressure to conceal their discursive femininity by adopting a masculinized style, whereas their male counterparts find using feminine style in certain contexts appropriate and effective. This is evident in some men's discursive practices, such as during negotiating and discussing decisions, engaging in small talk and gossip, and so forth (Holmes, 2005b). Tannen (2008) provides the explanation for such differing evaluation. Tannen contends that the characteristics that society associates with authority are also the ones that society associates with men. Therefore, again, if a woman in authority speaks and acts like a woman, she will be liked but may be underestimated; but, if she speaks or acts as a person in authority, she will be respected but may also be viewed as too aggressive (Tannen, 2008). Mullany (2007) argues that women are placed in "a doubly" difficult situation in the workplace and other public spheres: if they interact in a stereotypically feminine manner, they will be negatively evaluated as being "an incompetent professional, whereas if they interact in a stereotypically masculine manner, using 'marked' linguistic forms, they will be negatively evaluated for being overly aggressive" (p. 32). Walsh (2001) argues that women must "manage their femininity carefully" because if they do not "display the acceptable feminine style in these incredibly gendered environments, they risk being labeled as somewhat strange and grotesque" (p. 6). Baxter (2017) points out that where there is a global lack of women at senior level of management, women leaders have to carry out "intricate identity work" in order to negotiate leadership practices that must be approved by both their colleagues and higher management (p. 35).

Walsh (2001) blames feminists for the struggle of identity that women leaders face. She argues that the value placed upon cooperative discourse strategies by some feminists may "have contributed to the creation of a gendered split within the public sphere, by reinforcing the prevailing view, including among women themselves that they are naturally suited to relatively low-status roles" (Walsh, 2001, p. 6). Women leaders are put in a position of struggle in a bid to adopt adversarial speech styles (Shaw, 2002). Walsh (2001) argues that women in these public institutions undergo constraints that lead them to employ "hybrid speech styles, marked by mixed, often contradictory, modality choices" (p. 51). That is, women individuals adopt both gender politics and their own gendered identities (Shaw, 2002; Walsh, 2001). Angouri (2011) also argues that employees (men and women) use both masculine and feminine interactional styles according to the context of the interaction and the co-constructed norms of their community. Cameron and Shaw (2016) contend that the findings of the research on women's discourse practices in these settings suggest that what influences speech style most is not the gender of the speaker, as much as the culture of the institution; that is, "women entering male-dominance occupations and institutions most often adopt the style of speaking which is already established at the institutional norm" (p. 11). Mills (2003) also challenges the stereotypes of the discourse of women in power. She suggests that femininity should not be associated with women's gender, but with powerless speech that can be used by both men and women in certain situations

Many studies have recently attempted to investigate the construction of identity among women leaders in workplaces. However, although communication is one area in which any effective leader must excel (Holmes, 2005a; Holmes et al., 2011; Mullany, 2007; Shaw, 2011). Baxter (2012) argues that sociolinguistics and pragmatics have not been among the disciplines that have taken an interest in the communicative aspects (i.e., discursive) of leadership. Surveys and interviews, as Baxter points out, constitute the favored research tools for investigating these issues to date, with little attention, as Baxter (2012), Holmes (2005a) and Mullany (2007) posit, paid to the ways in which leaders behave, and even less to how they interact and communicate with others at work.

In this vein, Holmes (2005a) asserts that "effective leadership" takes into account a person's communication skills, as a crucial component in "advancing desired organizational outcomes" (p. 1780). So, it is important for discourse analysts to explore aspects of leadership talk, or the ways in which effective leaders discursively 'do leadership' (Holmes et al., 2011). Baxter (2017) argues that it is the social constructionist perspective that best theorizes the multiple, intricate ways in which women business leaders struggle to assert their identities "in times of corporate change" (p. 24). That is, identity construction is seen as an on-going process — a dynamic and flexible concept, shaped by

contextual factors and constantly negotiated and renegotiated in workplace discourse (Richards, 2006). Thus, in this framework, people are regarded as constantly 'doing' gender, professionalism, ethnicity, power, friendship, etc., and "workplace settings are believed to contribute to the construction of their members' identities" (Ladegaard, 2011, p. 86).

This difference in analytical methods is evident in a number of recent studies on women leaders' discourse. Some studies draw on data collected, not from natural interactions in the workplace, but through surveys and interviews (e.g., Bean & Johnstone, 2004; Rojo & Esteban, 2005) whereas others, such as Angouri (2011), Baxter (2012), Holmes (2005a) and Mullany (2007), investigate the language use of women leaders from a social constructionist perspective in which linguistic (and paralinguistic) interactions are "perceived as principal means by which leadership is enacted and achieved" (Baxter, 2014, p. 430).

Bean and Johnstone (2004) and Rojo and Esteban (2005) have revealed that women's struggle for acceptance as professionals and as women has created a complex orientation towards dominant gender and gendered speech, which has been expressed through such women's talk. Using a term similar to Lakoff's (1975) double bind, Rojo and Esteban (2005) identified a 'double discourse'. In the interviews they have held with women leaders, they have found that women in interviews often mix business with talks about their private life and personal relationships, but men do not. Women are seen to make more effort to adapt to predominantly masculine topics during informal communication (Rojo & Esteban, 2005). Bean and Johnstone (2004) have also revealed that women's discursive strategies in Spanish organizations are judged negatively, forcing some women to act masculine in their discourse. For example, Spanish women in leadership roles may find profanity and other forms of strong language (such as the emphatic, assertive style of speech that is represented via parallelism, repetition, vocal stress, and intonation) an effective way to represent themselves in discourse (Bean & Johnstone, 2004). Bean and Johnstone (2004) and Rojo and Esteban (2005) conclude that male styles and values are deeply rooted in the Spanish Organizational culture. They suggest that women can change their discursive style to reinforce their position within the organization; they can also adopt an informative style, and be "more direct when giving orders, stressing more the independence of the speaker when making decision…." (Rojo & Esteban, 2005, p. 72).

Among the studies that drew on naturally-occurring data, Mullany's (2007) *Gendered Discourse in the Professional Workplace* is a valuable contribution to the contemporary study of language, gender, and sexuality. The work combines both theory and practice, presenting a comprehensive overview of research in the field of language and gender (Pawelczyk, 2009). Mullany

(2007) demonstrates how managers, both men and women, break from stereotypical gendered speech styles during meetings. Mullany collected data in two companies, consisting of 70 recorded examples of workplace talk, and supplemented with excerpts from staff interviews with managers, both men and women. The objective is to "assess how gender ideologies and stereotypes affect how managers are assessed and evaluated in relation to the enactment of their identities in the workplace" (p. 168). In line with Lakoff's (1975) theory of the double bind (see Section 3.1), Mullany (2007) argues that overarching gendered discourses continue to govern corporate life, "seeping into interactional and linguistic practices through the construction of gender stereotypes" (Baxter, 2012, p. 103). Mullany (2007) demonstrates how women managers are subject to the double bind in both companies. The analysis has revealed that both women and men managers draw on stereotypically feminine speech strategies to covertly, rather than overtly, enact their power and authority, which, as Mullany contends, indicates that managers have become more inclined towards utilizing a more stereotypically feminine style. However, Mullany contends that there is evidence that women and men are still evaluated very differently. Women are negatively evaluated if they use stereotypically masculine speech styles unlike men who are applauded if they use feminine strategies. Women are perceived as less suited for leadership roles as a result of the view of "biological essentialism" (Mullany, 2007, p. 207). Mullany argues that women are systematically disempowered by gendered discourses in the workplace, such as 'emotionality/irrationality,' 'motherhood and family,' and 'image and sexuality.' Mullany's conclusions align with the results of this study about the negative consequences of women leaders' focus on their gendered (feminine) identities when presenting themselves as potential Presidents in patriarchal societies (see Sections 10.2 & 10.3).

Importantly, Baxter (2012) extensively shows how women leaders are trapped by the social roles they are forced to play. In line with the methodology used for the current study, and in one of the most influential studies on the discursive identity of women leaders, Baxter (2012) draws on Kanter's (1977) sex-roles or 'role traps' to investigate how the double bind affects women in positions of leadership. Kanter (1977) claims that there are four approved 'role traps' for women leaders in men-dominated organizations, based on familiar historical archetypes of women in power: Mother, Pet, Seductress and Iron Maiden. Kanter argues that while, on one hand these role traps offer women a range of acceptable, professionally-approved leadership positions in men-dominated corporations, on the other hand, they serve to subordinate women's professional identities to their 'gender category'. Kanter claims that role traps significantly constrain the way in which senior women's individual expertise and experiences are perceived and valued, which could have a

detrimental effect on their career progression. That is, women are judged on the basis of their gender rather than on the basis of their achievements as leaders (Kanter, 1977).

Baxter (2012) argues that Kanter (1977) made essentialist assumptions about the roles of women as they were characterized by others, but did not explore how these were enacted through linguistic practices. Therefore, Baxter (2012) adopts a social constructionist, linguistic perspective to reinterpret Kanter's (1977) construct of role traps, defining these roles as "gendered, discursive resources that senior women utilize proactively to interact with their predominantly male colleagues" (p. 81). Baxter draws on conversation analysis where gender is not presupposed or imposed on the analysis of 14 senior leaders (7 men and 7 women), each conducting at least one senior management meeting in the U.K. Aligning with Kanter's conclusions, Baxter asserts that these roles do exist in the workplace. However, Baxter finds that individual speakers can transform these stereotyped subject positions (role traps) into powerful discursive resources to accomplish the goals of leadership, "albeit marked by gender" (p. 81). Aligning with Holmes' (2006) suggestions and the results of the present study, Baxter concludes that these and any other discursive resources available to senior women will continue to be defined and constrained by the category of gender as long as women must work according to 'masculinist' practices, which "may indeed be one barrier to women's progress to the top" (Baxter, 2012, p. 102).

Holmes (2005a) presents a more positive evaluation of the struggle. She argues that the process of constructing one's identity as an effective leader "becomes increasingly compatible for women with that of constructing a socially coherent gender identity" (p. 1779). She suggests that successful women leaders effectively contest or 'trouble' established gender boundaries to become leaders by using a wide range of discursive strategies including typical feminine strategies. This wider range of verbal behaviors has gradually become "incorporated into the concept of what it means to communicate like a good leader" (p. 1779). Holmes (2005a) uses the metaphor "breaking the glass ceiling," which is commonly used to refer to women's struggle in the workplace, against the double bind, to explore the way people 'do mentoring' in the workplace. Although mentoring has traditionally been associated with men, Holmes demonstrates that women leaders do mentoring, too. Using examples from extensive data of recorded interactions in a number of New Zealand workplaces, Holmes identifies a variety of discourse strategies used by mentors in positions of responsibility, ranging from "those which focus on procedural aspects of career advising, through corrective and appreciative comments, to supportive advising, and indirect coaching" (p. 1779). Holmes' conclusions seem to support Mills' (2003) argument that femininity should not be associated with women's gender, but with powerless speech that can be used by both men and women in certain

situations. Mills' analyses have revealed that men managers also displayed features of powerless language, such as hesitation and deference, while the women secretaries displayed interactive power, including interruption and face-threatening acts. The present study aims to contribute to this debate about language style and add to it by investigating how women in political leaderships use pronouns to construct their multiple identities.

In summary, the preceding review has demonstrated how research has explored the linguistic behavior of women in leadership at different non-political institutions. The review has further revealed that most studies have focused on the struggle of identity experienced by professional women in positions of authority when they talk. The results of all these studies suggest that powerful women in different cultures are aware of the stereotypes of their style, deemed as powerless, which exerts a pressure on them to guise their feminine identity under a masculine identity. Most studies (e.g., Bean & Johnstone, 2004; Holmes, 2005a; Walsh, 2001) show that women in leadership adopt a mixed-speech style through which they seek a powerful identity. However, in a more positive perspective of the dilemma, the review here shows that although women leaders are still subject to the double bind in workplaces, they display a discursive dexterity in doing leadership. In this sense, women's cooperative discursive style is increasingly promoted in a number of public sphere domains (Walsh, 2001), and their speech style is becoming not only the norm but even the favored discursive style for a 'good' leader (Holmes, 2005a).

In conclusion, the common principle of these studies seems to be raising awareness of the gender stereotypes that managers hold, and presenting evidence which challenges these gender stereotypes (Mullany, 2007). As Shaw (2011) contends, the analysis of language and gender in the workplace can contribute to an understanding of how gender inequalities in institutional settings are created and maintained. As Mullany (2007) contends, the researcher's job is "to challenge generalizations which constitute the inevitable stereotypes that develop in a community" (p. 210). Researchers should show what people are achieving through discourse, using different analytical approaches, and should give detailed evidence to "unravel and complexify the stereotypes themselves, moving a stereotype in the direction of a more accurate 'social type'" (Mullany, 2007, p. 210). One way of raising awareness that the expectations and norms of gendered behavior are just stereotypes — "which *prescribe* appropriate gendered behavior and are not biologically determined programs for how men and women behave" — "is to demonstrate that current stereotypes are just one version of what is currently deemed to be 'appropriate' behavior" (Mullany, 2007, p. 211). Although the present study does not pursue gender stereotypes, it is also hoped to contribute to raising

awareness of how women leaders can strengthen their discursive leadership through their linguistic choices, and thus how they can avoid such stereotypes.

However, there are two major points rising from the review above. Firstly, although these researchers assert that they investigate gender stereotypes from a social constructionist perspective which takes into account the interrelations between gender and other categories such as age, race, and class (e.g., Mullany, 2007), I argue that their methods do not inform much about how these interrelations are investigated or how they affect the results. These studies, as Crosby (2016) argues, do not show clearly how they accounted for the 'intersections' of gender with other social categories and identities such as race, age, sexuality, class, and caste. Consequently, the double bind in the reviewed studies is investigated from the traditional perspective (see Crosby, 2016 in Section 3.2.1). That is, these studies, arguably, could not discuss the double bind without falling into the trap of essentialism (Crosby, 2016). Gender is still divided into only two sexes, which is also evidenced in using the terms 'male' and 'female' throughout these works. That is, there is one double bind that is based on gender only, which oversimplifies the dilemma itself (Crosby, 2016). Crosby (2016) argues that poststructuralist works still neglect the factors that intersect with gender (such as race, class, age, color, marital status, etc.) in analyzing the dilemma of the double bind. Instead of Lakoff's (1975) traditional framework, Crosby suggests an 'intersectional' double bind, in which all factors integrate in the analysis of discourse, to find out about the strategies used by each individual leader in the workplace, such as if those managers were women of color and/or different cultural backgrounds, etc. For example, although Baxter conceptualizes Kanter's (1977) 'role traps' using the term 'discursive resources' and theorizing these roles, she could have investigated the double bind of these roles in terms of women's intersecting identities (e.g., age, sexuality, marital status, etc.) rather than relying fully on Kanter's labeling of roles as 'mother', 'seductress', 'maiden', and so forth.

Secondly and importantly, the reviewed works here still mostly rely on the 'essentialist' classification of certain linguistic features into feminine-and-masculine, and, accordingly, into powerless–powerful, despite the evidence that refuted the 'gendering' of these features (e.g., O' Barr & Atkinson, 1982, see Section 3.2.1). For example, in the reviewed studies above, directness is still associated with men's speech style, or with masculinity, and indirectness with women and feminine talk, even though such strategies have been empirically proved (by multiple researchers) to be frequently used by all gendered categories. Therefore, there is a need to investigate women leaders' discursive identity without presupposing such associations or imposing them on the analysis (Kitzinger, 2000). As will be discussed throughout the current study, powerful or powerless discursive leadership should not be discussed according to gender but according to the

pragmalinguistic effect of the linguistic strategy in the context of use. For example, the judgment that the strategies in which the FPPP is employed in Hillary Clinton's and her opponents' discourse reflect powerfulness is based on the pragmatic implications of the strategy in the political context, rather than on the gender of the speaker who is using the strategy.

3.3.2 Women's Discursive Identity in the Political Context

When Hillary Clinton referred to the "highest, hardest glass ceiling" in her speech after losing the Democratic primaries to Barack Obama in the 2008 presidential election, she was metaphorically conceptualizing the dilemma of a double bind that women seeking positions of power face. Her speech indicates towards the woman politician's struggle to run against the cultural stereotypes:

> When I was asked what it means to be running as a woman for president, I always gave the same answer, that I was proud to be running as a woman but I was running because I thought I'd be the best president [..]. Although we couldn't shatter the highest, hardest glass ceiling, this time, thanks to you, it's got about 18 million cracks in it.
> [Hillary Clinton: Concession Speech, 7th June, 2008]

In her paradox, damn-if-you do-it, damn-if-you-don't, Tannen (2008) interestingly refers to Clinton's struggle with the double bind. This section explores how the language of women in political leadership has been evaluated in research and if the double bind poses a challenge for these women as it does for women in non-political leadership (see Section 3.3.1).

The interest in investigating the language of women in political leaderships arose from an increasing numerical representation of women in politics, and particularly, their increasing visibility as the holders of senior political positions, such as Prime Minister in UK, President in South America, and Secretary of State in USA (Wilson & Boxer, 2015). In assessing the growth of work on gender and politics, Childs and Krook (2006) suggest three stages of development, which Wilson and Boxer (2015) summarize as follows. In the first stage, these approaches were critical for the biases of mainstream political science and the "exclusion of women from the category of political actor" (p. 5). The second stage sought to just 'add' women to the political scene, by undertaking the first systematic analyses of women's underrepresentation. In the third and current stage, on the other hand, feminist political research is extensive, diverse, and rich. It raises more fundamental questions about the methods/approaches, and the gendered nature of political institutions and processes. However, despite its logical development, I argue that their classification is highly systematized, in the sense that it adopts a linear fixed pattern of development, and does not define the period of each stage of

development. It also ignores the early approaches and orientations that explored the gender differences in politics (e.g., Beattie [1982]), and the overlap that occurs between the stages. A review of the major works that have investigated the language of women in political leadership in this section show the different orientations that belong to the three stages and others that do not seem to be included in Childs and Krook's clarification. Therefore, the review in this section shows the way a shift in research can also be seen congruent with a shift in the approaches to women's language that have been outlined in Section 3.2, as will be illustrated below.

As in the case of professional women above, a focus of the research on the language of women politicians has been centered around two points of discussion. First, it focuses on the double bind — the conflict that a woman politician undergoes between constructing an identity, which, at times, may reflect her gender, and thus, be evaluated socially as powerless, on the one hand, and show powerful political identity that is usually assessed as masculine, on the other. For example, when a woman politician refers to her husband and motherhood (as in the case of Clinton), her political rivals exploit this discourse practice against her, viewing such practice as a feature of weak leadership (see Section 4.3). Secondly, most research has also focused on the biased representation of women politicians in the media. In general, these studies, as Fracchiolla (2011) asserts, have revealed that gender stereotypes have had a salient impact on the progress and reception of women in politics, "and have been shown to exert a powerful influence on voting patterns and political success" (Fracchiolla, 2011, p. 2480). In this vein, a considerable amount of recent research has also revealed that the media is oriented towards using and reinforcing gender stereotypes; that is, whereas men are often portrayed as forceful, women politicians are often represented as passive and less competent (Fracchiolla, 2011). However, since this study explores how Hillary Clinton constructs her discursive political identity, the review will focus only on the first point of discussion, that is, how research has approached women politicians' discursive identity.

As already noted, there has been a shift of focus in the research about the conflict of identity among powerful women politicians, which is best demonstrated through two comparable works that have investigated the discourse of the same woman politician in two different periods of time. Beattie (1982) and Wilson and Irwin (2015) have explored the discursive identity of Margaret Thatcher, one of the most influential women politicians in the 20th century, from two different perspectives. Whereas Beattie's concern, like most of the earlier studies, has been on the issue of dominance and interruptions as illustrated above (see Section 3.1), Wilson and Irwin's (2015) focus was on the conflict that the woman politician has between talking like a woman, which is negatively judged by the community as a powerless identity, and the strategic masculinity that reflects the powerful image

of a leader. However, despite their different approaches, both studies have revealed some gendered stereotypes in Margaret Thatcher's linguistic behavior.

Beattie (1982) conducted a study to compare the turn-taking and interruption in Margaret Thatcher's and James Callaghan's speech to explore any gender differences. Beattie found no significant differences in the frequency of interrupting the interviewer between Thatcher and Callaghan. However, Thatcher has been distinctive in using silent interruption. Some significant differences have been found in the interviewer' interruption of Margaret Thatcher and James Callaghan. Thatcher has been more interrupted by the interviewer when compared to Callaghan. Beattie provides interpretations for this "being-interrupted" difference between the two. First, Beattie attributes this difference to the role of gender, aligning himself with Zimmerman and West (1975), who argued that men interrupt women more frequently, due to the traditional view of male dominance. Secondly, Beattie interprets this difference by arguing that Thatcher "unintentionally sends out a set of paralinguistic of no-verbal turn-yielding cues that motivate a speaker-switch," such as eye contact, hand movement, and falling pitch (Beattie, 1982, p. 109). He found out that Thatcher only used 4 filled pauses in all her turns, while the interviewer used 10. Thatcher often used a hand gesture, but only after the interruption was made.

Beattie's (1982) study has offered a perspective on how men and women politicians use interruptions when they interact with someone from a different institutional role, that is, interviewers, or the same sex. That is, the institutional role of the interviewer (as illustrated thoroughly in Section 1.5 and 9.2.2) as the controller of the show poses a challenge to the politician's power during their interaction, making the politician under the institutional power of the interviewer. Thus, this redefinition of power relations during the conversation may have influenced Thatcher's use of interruption against the interviewer, or allowed the interviewer to interrupt her. Gender has not also been examined in terms of female same-sex interaction, that is, with a woman interviewer, for example. It is not known, therefore, if the study would reveal the same results when the interaction would be between Thatcher and another (male) politician, on the one hand, and Thatcher and a woman interviewer, on the other.

Wilson and Irwin (2015), contrarily, have considered the linguistic consequences of Margaret Thatcher's adopting a position of a Prime Minster. Their focus has been more towards the double bind. They have investigated Thatcher's statements about her identity as a politician and a woman and reviewed some of Thatcher's responses in Prime Minister's Question Time (PQT), with focus on interventions. They argue that Thatcher used specific discourse structures that were conducive to the adversarial style of the British parliament. Given that this style is equated with the male speech-style

(Baxter, 2003, 2010), some researchers, as Wilson and Irwin maintain, argue that Thatcher adopted certain male linguistic norms. As they contend that these adversarial styles "are not inherently male," Wilson and Irwin (2015) wanted to examine if "Thatcher was speaking like a man or just merely as a politician" (p. 21).

In this vein, Wilson and Irwin assert that Thatcher, at the beginning of her political career, did not make as many interventions as her male counterparts did, because she was the first woman to have that position in the parliament, which may have made her feel unequal to her male colleagues, and thus, less able to express her political identity. Consequently, later, Thatcher adopted a male discourse style. When she did so, she was subject to the double bind, that is, she was criticized for using aggressive style against men parliamentarians because of her gender. However, in contrast to Beattie (1982), in their investigation of the interventions (interruptions) in Thatcher's discourse, Wilson and Irwin (2015) have found no indication of any gender specific orientations; Thatcher used "standard political tactics" in her response and interruption (p. 38). Wilson and Irwin conclude that Margaret Thatcher constructed herself as a woman and a powerful politician separately, that is, displayed her feminine identity, which is perhaps most popularly symbolised through the thatcher handbag, to prove to the media that being a woman did not "impinge on her being an excellent politician in the chamber and in the public sphere" (p. 38). Interestingly, Wilson and Irwin point at the dilemma of the double bind in their conclusion. They maintain that notwithstanding Thatcher's political experience and powerful identity, she could not tackle the problem of the identity struggle of women politicians. They suggest that no woman would be able to do so, but it is the political system that should take that responsibility. However, despite their important conclusions, Wilson and Irwin have not specified their data, as they assert they have only reviewed some of the examples. The current research is another case study of an influential woman politicians, that is, Clinton. The study goes beyond the dominance/interruption issue to focus on the language use itself, particularly, pronouns, hoping to explore how Clinton constructs her political and feminine identity in her campaign discourse.

Some studies have demonstrated how women candidates face a double bind during their presidential bids. Fracchiolla (2011), for example, shows how Segolene Royal was caught in a double bind due to her male opponent's criticism of her use of direct strategies of politeness, recognized as a masculine speech style. Royal's competency was undermined and emphasised through Sarkosy's more acceptable fluidity. She examines if the presence of a woman candidate for the first time in French history has an impact on the debate, and examines how the two French presidential candidates address each other during the debate. Fracchiolla's (2011) study has yielded results that contradict

what had prevailed in gender research, pertaining to the politeness strategies that are thought to be the characteristic of women's language. She analyzes the televised debate between Segolene Royal and Nicholas Sarkosy in terms of their domination and politeness. The results have revealed the differences that have been atypical of the two sexes in literature. The woman politician uses strategies associated with powerful and male discourse, and are considered unfeminine. In the light of Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness, which Fracchiolla employs in her analysis, Sarkosy has been 'more polite' than Royal. That is, Royal has been more direct, competitive, and formal than Sarkosy. Royal attacks her male opponent using direct strategies "trying to call him out" (p. 2487). Her male adversary, Sarkosy, on the other hand, attacks her indirectly, through deferential strategies.

However, I argue that despite the interesting and unique results, Fracchiolla's interpretations of the results make her conclusions go to the similar lines as Lakoff's (1973,1975), as well as that of Zimmerman and West's studies (1975, 1983). She interprets her results within the double bind theory, as an attempt of Royal to index a masculine identity, and cover her powerlessness, which aligns with Lakoff (1975) and Tannen's (2008) principle of damn-if-you-do, damn-if-you-don't, in the sense that Royal is negatively judged because of her 'unfeminine' linguistic choices. Fracchiolla's interpretation is that Royal adopts masculine discursive strategies to gain power. According to Fracchiolla, Royal uses power overtly in a stereotypical masculine way to cover her femininity. In this way, the conflict present here is when Royal chooses the strategies that show her as a woman capable of being the president. According to Fracchiolla, Royal's style might seem 'unfeminine' in terms of traditional representations, and thus, may work against her and seem shocking, whereas Sarkosy's feminine style makes his attack on a woman more acceptable for the audience, indicating how he, as a gentleman, knows how to deal with a woman, where he tries to suggest her incapability of being the president.

Emphasizing the intra-gender differences over the cross-sex differences, Cameron and Shaw (2016) compare the linguistic behavior of a group of British men and women in political leadership. Unlike the previous studies that drew a one-to-one comparison of the gendered linguistic behavior between a men and woman politicians, Cameron and Shaw analyze the linguistic behavior of seven British men and women politicians during the British general elections in 2015: Leanne Wood, Natalie Bennett, and Nicola Sturgeon from the women's group, and David Cameron, Ed Miliband, Nick Clegg, and Nigel Farage from the men's. Cameron and Shaw focus on the distribution of speaking turns, the time for speaking among the participants, and the way participants make adversarial or cooperative strategies. The analysis reveals that all participants have employed a variety of strategies, though the range and balance have been different for each individual. These

individual differences are seen within as well, like between gender groups. However, Cameron and Shaw (2016) have found some gendered patterns, such as the overall tendency for men to take more speaking time, which, as mentioned above, indicated towards 'dominance'. Nonetheless, they find the intra-gender differences more striking than cross-sex differences. Cameron and Farage (within the male group) and Bennett and Sturgeon (within the women group) show different linguistic norms in their debates. Therefore, Cameron and Shaw contend that these patterns should not be related to gender, that is, not a result of men's dominance, but other variables, such as the status of a leader. The researchers attribute the difference between the two women to Sturgeon's long political experience. They conclude that both male adversarial style and female consensus-based style have important functions in democratic political discourse, and even in the genre of debate, both men and women politicians use both of these styles.

A powerful view against stereotyping feminine style in politics is proposed by Blankenship and Robson (2009). They oppose the stereotypes of associating a feminine style with women politicians' speech only. They argue that a 'feminine style' does exist, and "is gaining legitimacy through its use by both women and men in positions of power" (p. 1). The authors analyze the use of feminine style by President Bill Clinton and Senator Dianne Feinstein. They have found that men politicians also use feminine style as do their female counterparts. In this regard, Blankenship and Robson identifies a number of characteristics of the feminine style, including:

> [p]olitical judgments on concrete, lived experience; valuing inclusivity and the relational nature of being; conceptualizing the power of public office as a capacity to "get things done;" and to empower others; approaching policy formation holistically; and, moving women's issues to the forefront of the public arena. (Blankenship & Robson, 2009, p. 1)

What they find significant in their study is that when asked about their political views, overall, women in the Departments of States and Defense have been more conservative than men. They argued that this finding is in contrast with the public opinion polls, which found that men were more conservative than women in their political views.

In line with Blankenship and Robson's (2009), Millar (2015) also argues that a feminine speech-style, which emphasizes cooperation, inclusion, and consensus, and is oriented towards inductive reasoning, is not necessarily an expression of female identity, but rather, a rhetorical tool that can be used by both men and women, and the same applied to the 'masculine' rhetoric, which emphasizes a competitive and conflictive style, personal agency, and deductive reasoning.

New approaches in investigating women politicians' discourse have been developed recently. A number of studies have shifted their focus from the male-female binary relation, in order to

examine the woman politician's discourse independently. For example, in a recent study, Davies (2015) demonstrates how women politicians draw on the stereotypes of gendered language in order to craft their persona in Twitter. Davies considers how Sarah Palin, the first woman Republican vice-presidential candidate in American politics, combines her traditional female gender role of being a wife and mother "with a style of speaking that generally indexes blue collar male speech" (p. 115). Davies examines 1000 tweets by Sarah Palin and particularly looks at how Palin's style of speaking is translated into her written comminutions on Twitter. The analysis suggests that Palin's "use of a more informal and vernacular style associated her symbolically not only with a populist message but also with the covert prestige linked to working class male speech" (Davies, 2015, p. 115). Despite these important conclusions, Davies' study is conducted on the written communication, and not spoken interaction. Therefore, these results can be reinforced through some studies on verbal communication, such as the present study, which supports the results of Davies' study. The analysis of the current study has revealed that Clinton also uses the FPPP to gender her identity, particularly in the situations that relate to her marital life.

In one of the most relevant studies to the current one, Millar (2015) argues that some gendered aspects of leadership in women's performance may not be an influence of gender, but are more relevant to the issues of authenticity and legitimacy. Using a similar approach to the present study, Millar studies the first woman Danish Prime Minister's, Thorning-Schmidt, use of the first personal pronominals in two news interviews, given in English and Danish, or, as Millar classifies them, in national and international contexts. Thorning-Schmidt's use of the FPPP shows a preference for the collective perspective, when she is confronted with issues on political achievement, support, and identity in both interviews, particularly in the Danish interview or at a national context. Millar interprets Thorning-Schmidt's use of the collective perspective on leadership in terms of responsibility. Millar (2015) asserts that Thorning-Schmidt's preference for the collective perspective, more than self-reference, is an indication a feminine style for political leadership. That is, Thorning-Schmidt espouses a less person-centered approach towards leadership and distributes responsibility. She presents herself more as a member of a team rather than a team leader, and seek citizen management. Millar finds that this shift from the individual perspective to the collective is accompanied with a shift to expressions of political action which involve decision-making. In this vein, aligning with the results of the current study, Millar finds out that Thorning-Schmidt uses the first person singular pronoun (FPSP) in Danish, with stative verbs more than with actions verbs. When she uses the FPSP with actions verbs, the pronominal collocates more frequently with verbal verbs, such as *speak* and *say*, or verbs such as *choose*. Millar concludes that Thorning-Schmidt's use

of the first person pronouns in Danish and English shows a difference in the construction of her identity for the two audiences. Millar concludes that Thorning-Schmidt shows feminine style or gendered identity in the national context, but not in the international (i.e., English interview). The analysis of Clinton's discourse in this study has revealed similar aspects of leadership, which will be discussed thoroughly in Chapters 6-9.

However, Millar's (2015) judgment of Thorning-Schmidt's discourse as gendered is based only on the criteria of political leadership, and not on any real gendered comparisons between Thorning-Schmidt and other men politicians; and therefore, it is not clear if other men would use the same strategies or not. Significantly, although this current study aligns with Millar's in terms of topic and methodology, my study is distinguished, by factoring gender, when necessary, into the analysis of Clinton's discourse, which is hoped to provide a richer perspective into Clinton's discursive identity, and fairer understanding of her linguistic choices. Most significantly, whereas Millar's study, like other studies (e.g., Proctor & Su, 2011), focus on the speech of the politician when they are already in the position of leadership, my study, however, investigates Clinton's and her opponents' discourse during candidacy, which, I argue, shows a different context with regard to the focus on the persuasive and self-enhancing linguistic strategies, which would saliently affect the candidate's use of the FPPP. For example, in such context, affiliating with the people (voters) is expected to be more frequent than in the discourse of a politician who already occupies a position in the government.

3.3 Summary

From the brief account of how women politicians' (discursive) identity is noted in literature, it can be concluded that despite the dramatic rise in the number of women elected to occupy high positions in institutions and governments, the analysis of such a discursive identity of these women in research is mainly handled from the perspective of the women's "continual proof of worthiness" (Eckert, 1998, p.73). What I find striking is that in the political context, too, women's use of powerful, discursive strategies is often interpreted as their attempt to 'do power' by adopting masculine linguistic norms (e.g., Fracchiolla, 2011). Few recent studies, however, have proposed that feminine strategies can be used by men too, refuting the stereotypical views that prevailed in the literature (e.g., Cameron & Shaw, 2016). Therefore, the current study hopes to explore the discourse of an influential woman politician from a more neutral perspective that does not take gender-based differences as a platform for analysis, nor does it target the dilemma of identity in Clinton's discourse. Although many influential women politicians, such as Margaret Thatcher, have been found

to experience a struggle between their political and feminine identities, this study does not hypothesize that about Clinton. However, if exploring Clinton's identity through her use of the FPPP reveals any aspect of struggle about her feminine identity, these aspects will be pointed out in the analyses (Chapters 7-9) and through a conclusion in Chapter 10. The next chapter (Chapter 4) discusses the relevant works on Clinton's discursive identity.

Chapter Four
Background to Hillary Clinton's
Life and Discourse Patterns

4.1 Introduction

This study investigates how Hillary Clinton constructs her political identity through the use of the first person plural pronoun (hereinafter, the FPPP). Therefore, it is essential to initially set out the key social and political facets that are deemed relevant to the investigation of Clinton's use of the FPPP. Setting the study in the context of its socio-political background facilitates the interpretation of the meaning and functions of the FPPP, particularly when used during discussions of topics that address the setbacks Clinton has experienced in her life. This chapter therefore outlines the prominent events in Clinton's life that are expected to have influenced her discursive identities. Importantly, this chapter also demonstrates how Clinton has been a subject of the double bind during her political career, particularly when she began to establish herself as an independent politician following her tenure as the First Lady of USA in 2000.

This chapter commences with a timeline of the major events in Clinton's life in the public eye. For the purpose of this chapter, Clinton's life will be divided into three major stages: the pre-First Lady, during her tenure as the First Lady, and post-First Lady. The rationale for using Clinton's tenure as First Lady as the central point of classifying these life stages stems from the fact that Clinton's position as *First Lady* marks a turning point in her political and social life, as well as in that of her husband. Clinton came to be well known to the political arena, the media and the world through holding this position. The position therefore has had a salient impact on her professional life; it is contended by politicians, critics and analysts alike, that without her husband being the 42nd President of the USA, Clinton would never had accomplished any of her subsequent achievements (e.g., Mollick, 2015; Williams, 2015). Section 4.2 illustrates these three life stages in a biographical outline, focusing on the crucial events marking each stage. Section 4.3, on the other hand, is a review of previous studies that have investigated Clinton's linguistic and social identities in different periods of her life, with a focus in particular on the two latter stages.

4.2 Timeline of the Major Events in the Three Stages of Hillary Clinton's life

Clinton has been constructing her political identity over a period of years through the different experiences she has undergone at the personal and/or professional level. As previously noted, the most influential events in Clinton's life are classified into three stages: pre-First Lady, First-Lady

tenure, and post-First Lady. Classified according to the stage, and based on Barkham's (1998) and Wheeler's (2016) timelines, the following tables illustrate the major social and political events in Clinton's life. The information in these tables has also been checked against Clinton (2004), Kelley (2001), Bernstein (2007), and many others.

Table 4.1 *Timeline of Hillary Clinton's Life from 1947–Present*

Pre-First Lady Stage
1947, 26th October: Hillary Diane Rodham was born in Edgewater hospital, Chicago to Hugh and Dorothy Rodham.
1960: Hillary started her first job when she was thirteen years old.
1974: Hillary took a job as a law professor at the university of Arkansas.
1975, 11th October: Hillary Diane Rodham married Bill Clinton.
1980, 27th October: A daughter, Chelsea, was born to Hillary and Bill Clinton.
First-Lady Stage
1993, 20th January: Hillary became the First Lady of the USA when her husband took up Office as the 42nd USA President.
1993: Bill Clinton appointed Hillary Chair of the Task Force on National Health Reform designed to try to improve healthcare for people by forcing employers to provide healthcare for their employees.
1994, January: The Clintons, and their business partners, are implicated in financial irregularities in the dealings of the Whitewater property company.
1994, July: Hillary's campaign for health reform met with huge and sometimes violent disapproval.
1994, September: The Clinton Administration's bid to reform Healthcare had to be abandoned due to lack of support in the White House. Hillary's approval rating as First Lady had also fallen dramatically.
1998, 17th January: President Clinton, testifying under oath to lawyers in the Jones harassment case, denies having had an affair with intern Monica Lewinsky. He reportedly acknowledges having had an affair with Gennifer Flowers.
1998, 19th January: The Clintons became the focus of the media when it was revealed that Bill Clinton had had an affair with Monica Lewinsky.
1998: The Clintons were impeached on the Whitewater affair but were cleared of all charges in 2000.
2000, 7th January: Hillary was elected Senator for New York, defeating the Republican candidate, Rick Lazio.
2000, 20th January: Hillary walked out of the White House, finishing her tenure as the First Lady.

Note. Based on Barkham's (1998) and Wheeler's (2016) timelines.
Gray-shaded rows: event outside the scope of this study.

Table 4.1 (*Continued*)

Post-First Lady Stage
2001, 3rd January: Hillary took up her position as Senator for New York.
2006, 7th November: Hillary was re-elected as Senator for New York, defeating the Republican nominee, John Spacer.
2007, 20th January: Hillary announced that she would seek the Democratic Presidential nomination.
2008, 7th June: Hillary withdrew from the Presidential nomination race and gave her support to fellow Democrat Barack Obama.
2009, 1st January: Hillary took up her appointment as Secretary of State.
2015, 15th March: Hillary was involved in controversy when it was revealed that she had used a private email server to send emails during her time as Secretary of State.
2016, 6th June: Hillary Clinton had secured enough delegates to be given the Democratic nomination for the 2016 Presidential election.
2016, 8th November: Despite being ahead in the polls, Hillary lost the 2016 Presidential election to Donald Trump.

Note. Based on Barkham's (1998) and Wheeler's (2016) timelines
Gray-shaded rows: events outside the scope of this study.

Table 4.1 illustrates the social and political events in Clinton's life that have been found to have the most crucial influence on her political and social identities. Two major events in particular have been extensively discussed in this thesis pertaining to their relevance to Clinton's use of the FPPP in constructing her political identity: the Monica Lewinsky scandal and the failure of her healthcare plan. These two topics have been a source of criticism against Clinton which have arisen in her discursive contributions in different senatorial and presidential bids. The analysis in this study will demonstrate how Clinton exploits the FPPP and the sequential context to express her stance on these two issues.

4.3 Hillary Clinton's Identity as First Lady and Presidential Candidate

Clinton's political identity in discourse has been explored in research with regards to the media's evaluation of Clinton and the aspects of her rhetoric as a First Lady and a (Presidential) candidate. These studies have proposed differing views regarding Clinton's political identity: some have pointed out the positive influence of the First Lady experience on Clinton's political identity and some have argued that it had a negative influence. Most significantly, the majority of studies have focused on the double bind to which Clinton has been subject, more noticeably, in her post-First Lady stage.

A number of analysts believe that holding the position of First Lady gave Clinton a strong sense of identity as a woman, especially as her life was under focus because of her husband's scandals (Bernstein, 2007; Kelley, 2001; Lockhart, 2015; Mollick & Lockhart, 2015; Mueller, 2008).

As illustrated in Table 4.1, throughout the eight years Clinton served as First Lady, she weathered crises due to her husband's sexual scandals that put him under the threat of being the first American President in history to be removed from office (Kelley, 2001). Clinton faced impeachments over her husband's scandals and her own involvement in the Whitewater scandal. Through all the investigations, as many analysts have posited, Clinton displayed a high rhetorical stamina in evading these charges, making use of her lawyerly discursive skills that she mastered through her career as a lawyer (Bernstein, 2007; Kelley, 2001; Lockhart, 2015; Mueller, 2008).

The position of First Lady became a political tool for Clinton, not only serving to advance her personal agenda but also enabling her to "manipulate the electorate's perceptions of her persona and of her husband's, as well" (Kelley, 2001, p. 277). Before her public appearance to run for Senate and Presidency elections, Clinton had suffered a tense relationship with the media as First Lady (Gutgold, 2008; Mueller, 2008), being under close scrutiny in the media as a result of her struggle to support her husband and clear his image during their two terms in the White House (Kelley, 2001). However, despite the tension between Clinton and the media at the beginning of her tenure as First Lady, many analysts believe that Clinton subsequently demonstrated a toughness and adaptability enabling her to effectively handle the media system (Gutgold, 2008; Kelley, 2001; Mueller, 2008).

Hines (personal communication with *Houston Chronicle's* columnist, cited in Mueller, 2008) believes that Clinton is an example of a politician who is good at controlling the message and the media. She is believed to be the most media-experienced Presidential candidate that the American people have seen since Franklin Roosevelt (Kelley, 2001; Mueller, 2008).

In line with this positive evaluation of Clinton's speech style, Gutgold (2008) favors Clinton's discursive style as a debater rather than her style as a public speaker. That is because, as Gutgold asserts, Clinton adopts a feminine political rhetoric in public speeches; and in order to use such a feminine political rhetoric, Gutgold contends, politicians must do three things: they must use personal experience to back up their claims; they must politicize the personal; and they must exhibit the ethic of care. That is, through using a feminine political style, politicians "bring their private experiences to the public sphere and they cite their personal experiences as evidence of leadership" (p. 23). In line with this, Gutgold argues that Clinton's style as a debater is markedly different from her style as a public speaker, contending that unlike her public speaking in 2008 when she utilized a feminine political rhetoric, in her debates she exhibited a lawyerly and precise discursive style, one which was less reliant on the narrative storytelling that was evident in her public speaking (Gutgold, 2008). Gutgold (2008) argues that the debates "showcased Clinton's political and intellectual confidence and strengths, which include her poise, knowledge and experience" (p. 55). In his interpretation of

Clinton's different styles in these two genres, Gutgold hints at the double bind that Clinton experiences as a result of her gender. He contends that as a woman candidate seeking public votes, Clinton was required to humanize and feminize herself in a bid to engage women voters, who would prove to form the largest category of her voters. At the same time, as Gutgold contends, Clinton was required to appear tough, as is typical of many women politicians. That is, she had to fight on different fronts to find her way through to the White House, an effort that her male opponent, Barack Obama, did not have to make (Gutgold, 2008).

However, although Clinton lost in the Presidential elections of 2008, analysts believe that she gained more than she lost in her bid for Presidency (Gutgold, 2008; Mueller, 2008). She gained a high-profile status as a fierce and skillful competitor who surpassed many experienced men politicians in the race to the White House (Gutgold, 2008). As Gutgold argues, in politics terms, she still succeeded to win an important position in the new Administration, USA Secretary of State, in which she displayed more discursive skills at both the national and international levels. Gutgold (2008) concludes his study of Clinton with an interesting observation: that Clinton lost the Presidential election, but won the rhetorical campaign to be a front-runner Presidential candidate, exhibiting her ability to exercise a full range of rhetorical actions, "both a feminine style, and a more deductive style, less emotive use of delivery" (Gutgold, 2008, p. 104).

Clinton's extraordinary ability to manipulate the public poll has been facilitated by her use of certain discursive strategies to achieve various goals (Kelley, 2001). Kelley (2001) analyzed Clinton's rhetorical management of crises in her husband's Administration, including a number of the salient crises mentioned in Table 4.1 such as healthcare, the Whitewater affair, and allegations of sexual misconduct. Clinton's discourse is marked by her use of performatives (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969) through which she employed discursive crisis management strategies. Kelley (2001) classifies these discursive strategies in dealing with the media as First Lady into blaming, apologizing, attacking, claiming privacy, claiming common ground, and displaying strength and humility in different crises. Importantly, most of these strategies are centered around her feminine identity. They are used in topics that relate to Clinton's personal life. A few strategies are related to Clinton's tactics to establish intimacy with the public: these include blaming, apology, privacy, being a martyr, and strength-through-adversity strategies, which appeared in many of Clinton's defending statements regarding her husband's scandals. In blaming strategies, Kelley (2001) attributes these scandals, not to her husband's misconduct, but to the press and to foes that would like to invade the privacy of the First Couple's life (Kelley, 2001). Her tactic regarding a strategy to apologize was to "apologize-but-not-admit guilt" (Kelly, 2001). Kelly contends that Clinton's discursive strategy for managing the

Flowers Scandal (related to her husband's affairs), for example, cast doubt upon whether the issue had even occurred. Clinton turned the issue and portrayed it as the opposition's dirty tricks. This discursive strategy aided her to "effectively remove herself from the limelight," and to simultaneously defend her husband and attack anti-politicians (Kelley, 2001, p. 269).

To evade the charges that concern her husband's controversial relationships, the privacy strategy is another tactic that Clinton uses to divert the media from her personal life. She succeeded in convincing the nation that what the media discusses concerns her personal life and that the people should instead focus on the political future of the country (Kelley, 2001). Marton (cited in Kelley, 2001) believes that Clinton succeeded to encourage the nation to abide by the rules she had set out, which Marton considers to be an unprecedented way of convincing the nation in American history.

Clinton has employed the martyr strategy in many interviews dealing with her life crises. She described herself as a victim of the press and of her political enemies. As Kelley puts it, "she relied on her persona as the "spouse under fire" to bolster her ethos as a woman of character and stamina" (p. 272). Through this strategy, Clinton gained sympathy and admiration from the public for her role in facing these setbacks, and thus, Kelley believes, has encouraged the public to believe that the media abused the couple. Kelley argues that this strategy might have also encouraged leniency by the jury during the later impeachment procedures, including the Whitewater scandal (see Table 4.1) in which Clinton was directly involved.

Another important strategy is the strategy of strength-through-adversity in Clinton's scandal-management role, which has strengthened her image before the public. She has spoken about these setbacks as sources of power and strength in her marital life and for the political administration. The analysis of Clinton's discourse in the present study has revealed the use of this strategy through her configuration of the FPPP and other pronominals in the sequential context, particularly when talking about the effect of these setbacks on her marital relationship (see Section 7.2.2).

Another important strategy that is also revealed in the analysis of Clinton's discourse in the current study is described by Kelley (2001) as Clinton's aiming for common ground with the nation. According to Kelley, this is one of the most effective strategies enabling Clinton to influence the poll regarding her husband's scandals. In her interviews, when asked about any of the scandals, Clinton always identifies herself with the people when commenting on her marriage or motherhood or any personal crisis. For example, she mentions that her marriage is "like anyone else's; it is full of love, but faces challenges" (Kelley, 2001, p. 263). In her speeches, she always chooses to talk about what she shares with the people, thus assuming the role of a parent, a wife, a professional, a service provider, and so forth.

The honest-and-humble strategy was effectively used by Clinton in times of rising media crises (Kelley, 2001). Clinton employed this strategy to equate herself and establish intimacy with the public. On different occasions, she made some open comments revealing a down-to-earth character. This strategy has discursively transformed her image before the public into "humble but fair," and contributed to the humanization of her character (Kelley, 2001). Kelley asserts that such an image played well for the rhetorical management of the later scandals in which she was involved as First Lady, such as the Whitewater affairs. Notwithstanding her meticulous description of these strategies in Clinton's discourse, Kelley does not provide linguistic evidence for how Clinton uses these strategies. In the current study, I demonstrate through an analysis of the linguistic context how the last two strategies appear to be major functions of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse (see Chapter 9).

However, despite Kelley's (2001) positive evaluation of Clinton's political identity as the First Lady, other politicians (see, for example, Obama's comments in Section 10.2) and political analysts believe that Clinton has expanded the range of what is expected of the wife of a President through presenting herself as co-President, co-dependent in her husband's administration during her tenure as First Lady (Gutgold, 2008). That is, as Obama puts it in his debate against Clinton in Ohio 2008, Clinton "casts herself as co-President during the Clinton years. Every good thing that happened she says she was a part of" (see Section 10.2).

As aforementioned, and in line with Lakoff's (2016) and Tannen's (2008) views, although Clinton has achieved more than her male rivals, she has also been subject to the double bind more than any other woman politician. The dilemma of the double bind has become more salient in Clinton's post-First Lady life stage, simply because during her tenure as First Lady, she was recognized as a wife and a mother; thus, conforming to the traditional roles of a woman in a patriarchal society. Thus, Clinton's subsequent independent identity as a politician may have heightened the sense of masculinity in the media and political sphere. In line with Baxter (2012) and Kanter's (1977) 'role traps', the public seems to confine Clinton to her roles as a mother and wife; the public seems not able or willing to accept the two contrasting images of Clinton as a loving family person and a leader (see Section 3.3.1 for Kanter's [1977] 'role traps'). Many works have analyzed this dilemma in Clinton's post-First-Lady political career. Clinton's awareness of this dilemma is evident in her constant use of the highest-and-hardest-glass-ceiling metaphor in her presidential-campaign (concession) speeches in 2008 and 2016 (see Sections 3.3.2 & 10.3.1).

However, this does not suggest that Clinton never faced a double bind during her First Lady tenure, though it may have been to a limited extent. For example, in a comparison in the discursive personality between Hillary Clinton, as First Lady, and her husband, Bill Clinton, Mueller (2008)

proposes an argument for how this most powerful political couple in America learned to handle the media. Mueller presents an account of the evaluation of the press relations of Bill Clinton and Hillary Clinton. Hillary Clinton is seen as an individual who does not speak or act instinctively (unlike her husband) but instead with careful calculation (Slater, quoted in Mueller, 2008). In contrast to Hines' (cited in Mueller, 2008) and Kelley's (2001) positive evaluation of Hillary Clinton's speech style, Mueller (2008) finds Hillary Clinton's speech style less persuasive than that of her husband. He contends that, unlike Bill Clinton, Hillary is not an exuberant speaker but instead she exercises extreme care in her speeches and interviews. From Mueller's point of view, Hillary Clinton analyzes what they are going to say before they say it; she is one of those speakers "who stick rigidly to a written script" (p. 175). Mueller argues that this type of politician tends to get nervous and "garble their sentences" when confronted with situations that require spontaneous answers (p. 175). However, in this case, she is seen not to make outrageous word slips when shifting to spontaneous speech, as did President Bush (Mueller, 2008). Yet she is seen sometimes to make inappropriate, unfunny jokes (Mueller, 2008). This study shows that Hillary Clinton can also make funny and clever jokes, thus employing the inclusiveness of the FPPP to save her face as well as that of her colleagues (see Section 8.2.3.1).

To describe the dilemma of the double bind that Clinton faces because of her gender, despite her vast expertise in politics, Tannen (2008) uses the paradox of 'damned-if-you-do, damned-if you-don't'. Tannen illustrates different situations which saliently demonstrate the double bind in Clinton's life. One of the most interesting of Tannen's observations of the double bind is that in the Democratic primaries, all Clinton's male opponents were introduced and addressed by their last names (Biden, Kucinich, Edwards, Obama, etc.); a strategy which provides, according to Tannen, a powerful introduction. Clinton, on the other hand, was introduced by her first name 'Hillary' to avoid the confusion with the former President, Bill Clinton, that using her last name 'Clinton' would evoke. As a result, by introducing Hillary Clinton using her first name, the host may have inadvertently exhibited less respect towards her than to her male opponents (Tannen, 2008).

Most studies concerning Hillary Clinton's presidential bids in 2008 and 2016 have focused on the conflict between femininity and masculinity whether in her linguistic or non-linguistic behavior. Francis and Gregory (2015) focus on Clinton's conflict of femininity and masculinity as expressed by her appearance through fashion. They argue that Clinton changed her style of fashion to achieve a more masculine image and to challenge the ideologies of how women should appear. This change in fashion reflects the struggle of "constructing political personae" (p. 164). Clinton's struggle between her feminine and political identities is not only evident in Clinton's choice of fashion, but is also

reflected in her discourse (Hillin, 2015). Hillin points to the gender-biased judgement of Clinton's discourse in the mass media, arguing that when Clinton takes on a motherly stance regarding family issues or children's healthcare, she may be judged negatively. In other words, a maternal, caring style may signal a lack of strength necessary to handle crises. Conversely, when Clinton uses directness and assertiveness regarding some issues, such as those pertaining to the military, she is not judged in the same way as her male opponent because voters may perceive her as cold and frigid under the expectation for women to display more compassion. Hillin (2015) concludes that Clinton's identity is continuously judged differently as a result of her feminine identity.

However, Clinton's struggle to win the election in 2008 and her subsequent failure to do so cannot be seen only as a consequence of the double bind and also of her own character. According to analysts, Clinton's failure in 2008 results from a number of problems; notably her attachment to her husband's legacy (Blair, 2015; Mollick, 2015; Williams, 2015). In 2008, Clinton could not fully extricate herself from her husband's tenure in office (Mollick, 2015); she was not able to separate her actions and policies from those of her husband. Critics therefore suggest that Clinton needs to transform her image for a chance to be seen as a public face, and to run as a more established candidate (Mollick, 2015). The results of this study support this criticism and reveal that Clinton's use of the FPPP, in particular in different situations in 2008, contributes saliently to the construction of her political identity as "a former First Lady" rather than as an established, independent and authoritative candidate in her own right (see Section 7.2.1).

After losing the primary elections in 2008, Clinton has remained a focus of media attention as the third woman Secretary of State (Mollick, 2015). Since then, she began to establish herself as a viable political candidate for the presidential bid in 2016, and has gone some way to achieving this, as Mollick (2015) posits in the "fledging campaign language she is beginning to craft in her public discourse" (p. 43). Mollick's observations of Clinton's increased use of persuasive language in 2016 support Gutgold's (2008) criticism, discussed above, regarding Clinton's feminine discourse style in public speeches in 2008.

However, despite her effort to establish a more powerful political identity, the double bind has remained a challenge for Clinton in the lead up to her new presidential bid in 2016 as she has also in this time assumed a new social role; that is, of being a grandmother. Her grandparenting has become a focus of the media's attention ahead of the 2016 elections. Parallel with Margret Thatcher's famous statement "we have become a grandmother," Williams (2015) and Lockhart (2015) independently point out the positive effect of this new role on Clinton's image. Williams suggests out that Clinton's grandparenting appeals to the public, particularly to young adults who tend to exhibit positive

attitudes towards their grandparents (Williams, 2015); Clinton's title of "grandmother" is therefore a powerful attractant for young voters (Lockhart, 2015). Williams (2015) discusses the focus of the mass media on Clinton's grandparenting, referring to Haley Edwards' article (2014) in *Washington Monthly*, "Nana for President," in which Edwards discusses the positive effects of Clinton's new role as a grandmother on her public image. Edwards posits that being a grandmother will soften and humanize Clinton's previous image as a mother that was negativity judged (she has been accused of paying insufficient attention to her child, Chelsea).

From the above brief account of Clinton's social background and political discursive identity, it is evident that most studies addressed in this review have focused on her life as the First Lady from biographical and rhetorical perspectives. In a recent study investigating Clinton's discourse, Sheldon (2015) analyzes Clinton's language use within a linguistic frame. Sheldon focuses on how Clinton deals effectively with a heckling incident without defaulting to using what has been called "women's language" (p. 209). Sheldon demonstrates how Clinton has established a powerful identity in her public speeches as a result of her long and impactful experiences in the political sphere.

Sheldon (2015) investigates Clinton's responses to hecklers who attacked her with biased signs during her presidential campaign in 2008. The study offers a genuine chance to investigate Clinton's spontaneous responses to unexpected events, thus providing evidence contradicting the views of other analysts, such as Mueller (2008), who considers Clinton as one of those practiced, rehearsed politicians "who stick rigidly to a written script" (Mueller, 2008, p. 175), as discussed above. Sheldon investigates Clinton's discursive performance in four situations where she was heckled by men in the audience, who raised signs emblazoned with a sexist, hostile message: "Iron my shirt," which invokes "the anachronistic frame of hegemonic male privilege in a cult of a family domesticity" (p. 208). Sheldon demonstrates how Clinton's experience and verbal skills have come into play in these situations. One of her skills is to avoid directly addressing the hecklers so as to not "upgrade them" to ratified addressees but to maintain them at an outsider-status and treat them only as over-hearers (Sheldon, 2015, p. 208). Thus, Clinton utilizes the hecklers' offensive comments in her speech by establishing communal relationships with the hecklers through addressing them as her audience. Furthermore, she employs humor, which Gutgold (2008) characterizes as a feature of persuasive political discourse, in response to the heckler's abusive signs by offering to iron anybody's shirt in the audience. In this way, Clinton employs irony to criticize men who cannot iron their own shirts, showing dexterity in using the strategies that enable her to take control of the situation.

Thus, according to Sheldon, Clinton "communicates these social moves and assessments with

a light touch and an ironic twist that the audience heartily enjoys" (p. 209). Clinton has reframed the hecklers' challenge to her advantage by maintaining interpretive control and amplifying it. Sheldon concludes that whether it is feminized "enough" or not, Clinton's rhetorical style continues to achieve political power (p. 212), and the study provides an interesting justification for this judgement. Sheldon argues that Clinton's discursive power arises from her emphasis on her authentic identity as a woman and her resistance to reverting to a masculine style. Sheldon believes that Clinton's response to heckling is a reflection of her long experience and her political competence. Clinton appeals to the electorate with "a lived understanding of the pervasiveness of sexism and gender inequality depth and extent of experience, whose acceptance of the greater diversity of gender arrangements [..] has been one of the political successes in the 21st century" (Sheldon, 2015, p. 212). Sheldon's positive evaluation of Clinton's language style in this incident indicates how the analyst's interpretation of the speaker's linguistic behavior affects the results. Sheldon argues Clinton's emphasis on her identity as a woman to be a source of power in her discourse, which opposes the view of a number of other analysts who interpret Clinton's emphasis on feminine identity as detracting from her political power (see Blair, 2015; Mueller, 2008; Williams, 2015). The current study demonstrates that Clinton's emphasis of her feminine identity may not be a successful strategy in all contexts, particularly, in presidential-campaign discourse.

4.4 Summary

From the review above, it can be concluded that the focus of recent research into Hillary Clinton's discourse identities has encompassed the double bind that Clinton has faced throughout her career as a result of her gender. Most studies, whether concerned with her tenure as the First Lady or the period when she was running for different bids, have focused on the rhetoric and/or discursive strategies that Clinton employs in response to specific situations (e.g., Kelley, 2001; Mueller, 2008). Very few studies have analyzed Clinton's language style from a linguistic perspective; and, even in those that do (e.g., Sheldon, 2015), the focus is on Clinton's rhetorical style rather than the linguistic behavior. Thus, Clinton's linguistic behavior in terms of using pronominals to construct her political identity has not been afforded much attention in research to date. As abovementioned, Proctor and Su's (2011) study is the only to have addressed Clinton's use of the FPPP. However, their study investigates other politicians' choices of the FPPP; hence, much of Clinton's identity in using the pronominal remains uninvestigated, notably, from a gendered view. Consequently, the aim of the current study is to fill this knowledge gap and conduct a study that presents a comprehensive linguistic account of Clinton's construction of her political identity through the use of the FPPP.

Chapter 5

Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This study investigates the language through which Hillary Clinton constructs her political identity by examining the extent to which the First Person Plural Pronoun (hereinafter, FPPP) is important in the political discourse of an American woman politician. The study aims to answer a number of research questions that address the distribution and context of use of the FPPP in Clinton's campaign discourse. To this end, I gathered a corpus of debates and talk-shows. The research questions, as discussed in Section 1.8, address different issues that can be explored quantitatively, qualitatively, or both. A mixed-methodological approach in which quantitative and qualitative methods are combined is used to answer these questions. Quantitatively, the study investigates the distribution of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse from her senatorial and presidential bids in the years between 2000-2008. The frequency of occurrence of the FPPP is compared to that of other pronominals that affect Clinton's tactics of self-presentation, such as the singular self-reference pronoun, *I*, and other pronouns that construct the *other* such as *he* (referring to the opponent in the studio, or husband) and *they*. The gender perspective is also examined quantitatively through comparing the frequency of the FPPP in Clinton's and her opponents' discourse. A qualitative approach, on the other hand, is used to explore the context within which Clinton uses the FPPP to affiliate with groups of different degrees of power, and to enhance her self-image and save her negative face from FTAs. As noted in Section 1.1, the qualitative analysis draws upon the principles of Conversation Analysis (CA), Brown and Levinson' s (1987) politeness and face theory, Goffman's notion of *face* (1974), Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975). In addition, as aforementioned in Section 1.1, Halliday's model (1985) for classifying verb-processes is employed in the qualitative analysis to explore the types of verbs that co-occur more frequently with the FPPP in Clinton's discourse.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. After this introduction, Section 5.2 provides a description of the collected data. Section 5.3 describes the procedures for transcribing and decoding the data. Finally, Section 5.4 reports on the methods used for the analyses.

5.2 Data Collection

The data for this study comprise Hillary Clinton's discursive contributions to five debates and three talk-shows during her senatorial and presidential bids between 2000 and 2008. The focus on Clinton's discourse within this period of time stems from the importance of this period in terms of the breadth of Clinton's career (See Sections 4.2 & 4.3). The period marks Clinton's first position as a Senator and achievements as a presidential candidate. Thus, Clinton's discourse over this period of time presents a rich material through which her construction of identity can be explored.

The selection of these two specific genres rests upon two premises: their proximity to everyday conversation (Cameron & Shaw, 2016; Ilie, 2001) and their contrastive discursive features, which allows for more nuanced analysis of Clinton's discursive identity.

Firstly, since political discourse is a form of institutionalized discourse (Van Dijk, 1997), few political genres provide contexts whereby politician-speakers engage in semi-spontaneous conversation (Ilie, 2001). Political debates and talk-shows are among the few genres that exhibit discursive features of a casual conversation and are arguably the closest to everyday natural conversations (Ilie, 2001), in contrast to, for example, speeches, which are more institutionalized (Fetzer, 2014; Ilie, 2001). As Ilie (2001) argues, talk-shows and debates (debates being a form of talk-show, according to Ilie) exhibit a mixture of characteristics of both casual conversation and institutional discourse in terms of "discursive configuration and goal, participant role assignment and role switching, talk and topic control" (p. 1). In this way, debates and talk-shows display a mixture of spontaneous and purposeful talk, which provides a chance for the researcher to study the speaker's discourse in a semi-spontaneous discourse, and offers situations that can elicit a wide range of uses of the FPPP in discourse.

Secondly, each genre complements the other in terms of the different discursive features exhibited in debates and talk-shows; this, in turn, offers a wider range of information regarding Clinton's use of the FPPP in two different settings. There are two major points to consider here: confrontation and formality. Debates are argumentative, challenging and confrontational in nature (Fracchiolla, 2011); whereas talk-shows are more oriented towards enhancing the positive face of the politician (Ilie, 2001). In a similar vein, the two genres offer two types of discursive modes: formal (i.e., debates) and informal (i.e., talk-shows). In this regard, these differences also offer a wide range of situations whereby Clinton uses the FPPP in FTAs and formal settings as in debates or in less face-threatening acts and informal settings such as talk-shows. Moreover, comparing and contrasting Clinton's uses of the FPPP in two different settings allows an examination of the impact of certain

factors on her use of language, such as topic, and type and purpose of the genre, particularly when the two genres address the same topic (see Section 9.2.1.2).

However, it is worthwhile to point out that using more debates than talk-shows is helpful in terms of achieving the objectives of the study. I argue that debates are more spontaneous than talk-shows. In a debate, Clinton inherently engages in face-to-face confrontation with her opponent; a feature that is lacking in talk-shows. As Livingstone and Lunt (1994) contend, talk-shows or entertaining programs are staged, carried out and finally rated. Although, at one level, interactions in talk-shows are all spontaneous and unique but the conversations are highly rule governed; they are carefully researched, produced and to some extent pre-scripted (Tolson, 2008). Debates, on the other hand, have several electoral benefits (Denton & Kuypers, 2008). One of these benefits is that they provide an opportunity to "compare personalities and issue positions of the candidates in somewhat spontaneous setting" (Denton & Kuypers, 2008, p. 220). Importantly, as Van Dijk (1997) points out, political debates are spontaneous in moments of direct interaction such as interruptions, catcalls, or other reactions from their colleagues. These discursive feature characteristics of debates helps to elicit spontaneous language, which can engender different linguistic environments for the FPPP in Clinton's discourse. Aligning with this view, Cameron and Shaw (2016) assert, debates can be formally described as "the most extreme transformation of conversation — most extreme in fully fixing the most important of all the parameters that conversation allows to vary" (p. 28). Most significantly, Cameron and Shaw (2016) describe debates as political dispute genres, which "have often been associated with masculine speech styles" (p. 29). That is, as they posit, direct competition and argument are considered to be at odds with women's speech styles, which are supposedly characterized by cooperation and collaboration (see Section 3.2). Therefore, debates are particularly pertinent evets in which to examine the relationship between gender and political speech (Cameron and Shaw, 2016). The current study supports this view of the value of political debates. The analysis of Clinton's discourse in debates has provided insight into the similarities and/or differences between Clinton and her male opponents in the FPPP use in different FTAs.

I refer to the collected data for this study as *corpus of Hillary Clinton's Debates and Talk-Shows* and the data will be given the acronym, CHCDT. As noted above, the data consist of five debates and three talks-shows. Selecting eight events for this case study, I argue, is sufficient to achieve the goals, notably when the study is limited by time and the space in the thesis. This amount of data offers adequate breadth and depth of analysis; supported by Phillips and Hardy's (2002) view that the appropriate amount of data depends on the specific research questions and the depth of the analysis conducted. Wood and Kroger (2000) also contend that the researcher judges whether the data

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are sufficient to make and justify an interesting argument. This claim aligns with Cameron and Shaw's (2016) view which states that the primary goal of case studies is not to produce large-scale generalizations, but "to understand the specific under study as fully as possible" (p. 21). More importantly, although Cameron and Shaw's (2016) study targeted three women politicians (see Section 3.3.2), the researchers chose only two debates to investigate the linguistic behavior of these three women. In their justification for the narrow scope of their data, they explain that the complexity of debate discourse forced them to choose between depth and breadth. Therefore, they sacrificed breadth to achieve optimal depth. In view of this, I consider that my analysis of five debates and three talk-shows for one case study offers both breadth and depth. Likewise, in investigating the Danish Prime Minister's use of the first personal pronoun, Millar (2015) analyzed only two interviews: one in English and one in Danish. In view of this, since mine is a case-study of only one participant, the volume of data from each genre (i.e., five debates and three talk-shows), by comparison, is sufficient to achieve the goals of the study.

The initial plan for the study intended to collect an equal number of debates and talk-shows in which Clinton participated since running for her first position in Office in 2000 until her presidential bid in 2008. However, I was confronted with two difficulties: the availability of material, and the amount of time required to prepare each text for analysis; consequently, the choice of talk-shows is limited to three. First, only three of the five talk-shows in which Clinton appeared as a guest during that period were retrievable in full video format. The full recording of Clinton's fourth talk-show with Ellen DeGeneres that was included in the initial plan was not retrievable from any website, including Ellen's own website. In view of these limitations, I opted to use only the three fully-available talk-show episodes. Despite this difficulty, the limited amount of data, as argued above, has not sacrificed the ability to meet the objectives of the study. Most significantly, this difference in favor of debates is also informed by my argument above that debates offer a better perspective into Clinton's construction of identity in interactional contexts than do talk-shows. Therefore, I argue that this difference in volume of data between the two genres does not have an effect on the study in terms of realizing the objectives.

5.2.1 Debate Data

Pertaining to debates, Clinton has appeared in more than 57 different debates since running for her first position in Office in 2000 till her final debate in 2016. In the period between 2000 and 2008, the focus of this study, Clinton participated in more than 30 debates: two debates when running for New York Senator, and 26 when running for USA president (Clinton, 2004; Beirnstein, 2007;

Gutgold, 2008). Clinton's first debate for senatorial election was against Rick Lazio, who was a non-partisan opponent in 2000; this was followed by a debate against John Spencer the Republican, when running for a second term as New-York Senator in 2006 (See Sections 4.2 & 4.3). For the presidential elections of 2008, Clinton's presidential debates started with the primary Democratic elections in 2007 and ended with the final primary debate of 16th April 2008, against Barack Obama. The focus here is on the most "competitive" of the presidential debates, that is, when Clinton goes up against the eventual winner, and future president. These debates were all against Obama in January, February and April. It is noteworthy that the debate in January included a third candidate. Therefore, only a part of this debate is used here, as will be discussed below. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 describe the data used for this study, including the opponent, the interviewer, the location of the debate, and the reference to the debate in the thesis. Identifying the location of the debate is important for the purpose of this study for it has implications in terms of the meaning of the FPPP.

Table 5.1 *Length of Time of Hillary Clinton's Debates in Hours*

Debate	Length (hours)
Clinton-Lazio/2000	0:56:15
Clinton-Spencer/2006	1:00:00
Clinton-Obama/Jan2008	00:40:26 (part from 1:49:40)
Clinton-Obama /Feb2008	1:32:55
Clinton-Obama /Apr2008	1:29:09

Table 5.2 *Description of Debates according to Interviewer, Place, Purpose and Opponent*

Debate	Interviewer	Place of event	Purpose of Election	Opponent's Political relation to Clinton	Reference in the thesis
Clinton & Lazio	Tim Russert	New York	Senatorial	Non-partisan (Republican later)	Clinton-Lazio/2000
Clinton & Spencer	Dominic Carter	New York	Senatorial	Opposite-party (Republican)	Clinton-Spencer/2006
Clinton & Obama	Wolf Blitzer	South Carolina	Presidential	Partisan	Clinton-Obama/Jan2008
Clinton & Obama	Brien Williams & Tim Russert	Cleveland, Ohio	Presidential	Partisan	Clinton-Obama/Feb2008
Clinton & Obama	George Stephanopoulos & Charles Gibson	Pennsylvania, Philadelphia	Presidential	Partisan	Clinton-Obama/Apr 2008

As mentioned above, the Clinton-Obama /Jan2008 debate is extracted from the full debate that also included another Democratic candidate, John Edwards. The extract included in the corpus is a dialogue between Clinton and Obama. The reason for using this part of this particular debate is threefold. First, the extracted part is the most confrontational dialogue in which Clinton has participated in all her debates, as was reported in the media (e.g., MacAskill, 2008, January). In this dialogue, Clinton and Obama engage in face-to-face interaction against each without the interviewer's control, which offers a salient opportunity to study Clinton's construction of identity in highly spontaneous speech when directly confronting her opponent. This seems an exceptional exchange in Clinton's debates between 2000 and 2008. Secondly, selecting the excerpt of Clinton's discourse in which she interacts with only one opponent maintains consistency with other debates which also comprise only one opponent. Thirdly, Obama's participation against Clinton from the first debate until the end of the primaries increases the intimacy or familiarity of interaction between Clinton and Obama, which can yield a wide range of acts in which the FPPP is used (much more than with other opponents who debated only once against her such as Rick Lazio). The diachronic method of investigation also helps to examine Clinton's identity construction over 8 years. Table 3.2 illustrates the word count in Clinton's and her opponents' discourses in each debate.

Table 5.3 Number of Words Uttered by Hillary Clinton & Opponents per Debate

Debate	Speaker	No. of words
Clinton-Lazio/2000	Hillary Clinton	3963
	Rick Lazio	4079
Clinton-Spencer/2006	Hillary Clinton	3901
	John Spencer	3626
Clinton-Obama /Jan2008	Hillary Clinton	2390
	Barack Obama	2384
Clinton-Obama /Feb2008	Hillary Clinton	4820
	Barack Obama	6557
Clinton-Obama /Apr2008	Hillary Clinton	4479
	Barack Obama	5306

5.2.2. Talk-Show Data

The talk-show data comprise three interviews with Clinton between 2000 and 2008. Two of the interviews were conducted by David Letterman in *Letterman Late Night Show* in 2000, and 2003. The other is with Ellen DeGeneres in *Ellen Show* in 2008. Clinton's first interview with Letterman

took place in 2000, a couple of months before the end of Bill Clinton's presidency, and thus, the end of her tenure as the First Lady. The second interview with Letterman took place in 2003 during Clinton's third year as New York Senator. This breadth of political experience allows to examine any differences between Clinton's discourse as a first lady and as a senator, particularly pertaining to the use of the FPPP. The interview with DeGeneres took place in 2008 during Clinton's presidential campaign for the 2008 elections. This suggests that Clinton's appearance on this talk-show formed part of her campaign for election, thus providing a similar context to that of the debates, but within informal settings. This supported by Potter's (2012) view that even entertainment programs, such as *David Letterman Show*, are being used by candidates to get more exposure "to get particular messages out to particular niches of the electorate" (Potter, 2012, p. 264). Tables 5.4 and 5.5 demonstrate the length of each talk-show and the word count of Clinton's discourse in these interviews.

Table 5.4 *Length of Time of Hillary Clinton's Talk-Shows*

Talk-Show	Length (hours)
Letterman (2000)	0:21:50
Letterman (2003)	0:17:59
DeGeneres (2008)	0:15:17

Table 5.5 *Number of Words Uttered by Hillary Clinton in Talk-Shows*

Talk-Show	No. of words
Letterman (2000)	1459
Letterman (2003)	2079
DeGeneres (2008)	1666
Total	5204

Table 5.6 *Total No. of Words Uttered by Hillary Clinton in Each Genre*

Genre	Total No. of Words
Debates	19553
Talk-Shows	5204
Total	24757

These basic statistics will be employed to explore the distribution of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse in Chapter 6. The next section discusses the process of collecting and transcribing the data.

5.3 Process

The debates and talk-shows were first retrieved from video recordings, available on www.youtube.com, and other news websites. The full recordings for /2008 and Clinton-Obama/Feb2008 debates are available only on news channels; they were retrieved from NBC News at http://www.c-span.org/.

Choosing audio-visual materials rather than audio recordings or printed texts (transcripts) for this study is deliberate. Videos are a dynamic technique for analyzing audio-visual discourses (Erikson, 2006); they offer an invaluable opportunity to observe and investigate linguistic and paralinguistic features of Clinton's discourse as well as that of the other participants. Attempts are made to account for and incorporate the paralinguistic features into analysis when they co-occur with the FPPP. To identify and interpret the meaning of the FPPP and other pronominal categories, the selected videos were transcribed and analyzed, as explained in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2.

5.3.1 Transcription & Interpretation

The debates and talk-shows were transcribed through a four-step process. Firstly, I converted the complete videos into written texts, excluding non-linguistic features, such as hesitation markers, and paralinguistic features, such as pauses, stress, intonation, kinesics, etc. (These features were included in the fourth step: the transcription and interpretation of the selected examples). Secondly, weighing the advantages and disadvantages of the programs available for transcribing the data, I decided to use a method of transcription that enabled me to achieve the goals of the study within the time allocated and, arguably, with the same efficacy. I decided to use conventional software, such as Microsoft Word, to analyze the FPPP categories, instead of software designed specifically for corpus linguistics. Proctor and Su (2011) used software designed for corpus linguistics to analyze the categories for the FPPP because their data are more extensive than the data collected for this study in terms of the number of participants and/or the size of the corpus itself (see Section 2.3).

Following the initial transcription, came the analysis process by which all occurrences of the FPPP were highlighted in all transcribed texts, using Word. Highlighting facilitates the manual calculation of the FPPPs in the discourse of Clinton and her opponents required for the quantitative analysis (see Section 5.4). Since the FPPP is deictic and anaphoric, the selected examples are shown in speech-turns, not single utterances. The extracts (examples) include the entire speech-turn of Clinton in which the FPPP occurs. The effect of the "sequential context" (Malone, 1997, p. 59), or the micro-linguistic context (see Section 1.1.1), on Clinton's choice of the FPPP is also investigated.

To make the most valid and reliable interpretation of Clinton's use of the FPPP, the selected speech-turns of Clinton are mostly extracted along with the interviewer's questions and when relevant, the opponent's turns are included in the extract.

Thirdly, the pronoun *we*, and its grammatical variants, *us* and *our,* were highlighted in all the transcribed texts to facilitate categorization of the referent of the FPPP. The referential meaning of the FPPP was ascertained from the context in order to assign the category for the FPPP. Aligning with Proctor and Su's (2011) method in using participating readers to apply the category to context, this study also makes use of participating readers to check on highly ambiguous uses of the FPPP. Two PhD students participated as readers to assign the category of the FPPP, particularly for cases when the pronoun was deemed highly ambiguous or multiple. Further, the examples that best illustrate the proposed argument were selected.

Fourthly, the selected examples were transcribed, using Jefferson's transcription system (1984) to account for the linguistic as well as the non-linguistic, or paralinguistic aspects in the turns in which the FPPP occurred, including intonation, stress on words, breaths, pauses, overlaps, intonation, interruptions, and kinesics (such as smile, eye contact, etc.), which supports the interpretation of the meaning of the FPPP. I adopted a version of Jefferson's system similar to the one used by Cameron and Shaw (2016) since their scope and method of analysis are highly congruous with mine (see Transcription Key on page 12).

As already noted in Section 1.1, the analysis of context in this study draws on the principles of Conversation Analysis (CA) (see Section 3.2.2 for CA). It was deemed necessary to include these features in this study because of their pragmatic value. Firstly, markers such as pauses, hesitations, and kinesics, may be indicators of the imposition of the FTA on the speaker (Brown & Levinson, 1987), which, I argue, helps to understand the strategic goal of Clinton's choice of the FPPP if the pronominal is preceded or succeeded by any of these markers in the same utterance or sequential context. Brown and Levinson (1987) classify *uh*, *um* and other hesitations under prosodic and kinesic hedging, and these markers represent the most salient clue for the presence of an FTA. In this vein, I will argue that these non-linguistic or paralinguistic markers indicate a shift of thought, functioning as a preparatory strategy for Clinton to choose the appropriate pronominal when confronted with an FTA. This indicates that the choice of the pronominal that follows these markers is, most probably, a negative face-saving strategy.

After transcribing all videos, the meaning of the FPPP was analyzed based on its macro- and micro-linguistic context. Section 5.3.2 demonstrates the process for interpreting the referential meaning of FPPP in Clinton's discourse.

5.3.2 Interpreting the Meaning of the First Person Plural Pronoun

As thoroughly discussed in Chapter 2, the issue of ambiguity of the FPPP referent is expected in discourse studies (Bateman, 2014; Biber et al., 1999; Bramley, 2001; Duszak, 2014; Floyd, 2014; Pavlidou, 2014; Proctor & Su, 2011; Wales, 1996). Therefore, because of its status as a context-dependent indexical expression, the FPPP requires a linguistic and social context for referent assignment and possible disambiguation (Fetzer, 2014). Wales (1996) points out that the referents of the FPPP are seemingly limitless: "the precise interpretation of the pronominal is dependent on the particular context of use and the inferences to be drawn based on the mutual knowledge of the speaker and interpreter" (Wales, 1996, p. 63). The interpretation of the meaning of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse is based on the deictic usage of the FPPP and contextual clues. Roy (2000) maintains that, in a sense, interpreters are discourse analysts. The discourse analyst, I argue, is a hearer, but equipped with the tools of time and access to material to investigate the speaker's meaning and intention. Unlike the interpreter, a typical hearer may not have the opportunity to speculate on the speaker's choice of language during the interaction. Thus, the discourse interpreter, I argue, is a critic who analyzes context and examines the discursive relationships. Brown and Levinson (1987) acknowledge the difficulty of interpreting the speaker's intentions. They suggest that "understanding is a matter of reconstructing speakers' communicative intentions, and this is done by running a logic of practical reasoning backwards as it were" (1987, p. 8). They build their view of intention on Grice's (1971) account of "the nature of communication as a special kind of intention designed to be recognized by the recipient" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 7). Grice proposes that "what agents do is related systematically to their own intents, and thus intentions of actors are re-constructable by observers or recipients of actions. The systematic relation is presumed to be given by some rational means-ends reasoning" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 7). According to Roy (2000), an interpreter's primary concern while interpreting is to make sense of what a person means and to covey that same sense to another person. Roy contends that:

> How something is said and meant is guided by a discourse that analysts use when determining what speakers mean, such as speaker intentions, conventionalized strategies for making intentions recognizable, the meaning and function of linguistic forms, the sequential context of utterances, discourse genre, the social context, and a cultural framework of beliefs and actions. These relationships are the foundation of the complex process of discourse and interpreting. (Roy, 2000, p. 101)

To interpret the meaning of the FPPP in Clinton's speech and code the referent of the FPPP, the

context is considered a salient indicator of the meaning of the FPPP (Wales, 1996). Context provides not only the referential and deictic information needed to interpret the meaning of the FPPP, but more importantly other contextual clues indicate the function of the FPPP. The difficulty of determining the exact referent of the FPPP is also applicable to the current study. Therefore, the sequential linguistic context that precedes and/or succeeds the FPPP is examined in order to determine the affiliated group, and the interpreter's knowledge offers the basis for interpreting the referents of the FPPP.

However, despite the key role of the linguistic and social contexts in understanding the meaning of the FPPP, the process of categorization remains subjective in essence due to the inherent ambiguity of the FPPP, which appreciably leads to differences in interpretation. For example, in my study, I categorize Clinton's use of the possessive in *our troops* as signaling Clinton's affiliation with the nation in a bid to co-implicate the nation in a sort of ownership as explained in (EX.9.3) below. This categorization contradicts Proctor and Su's (2011) interpretation, in which they categorize *our*, in *our troops*, as an act of self-identification with the military. Thus, in Proctor and Su's interpretation, Clinton in *our troops* would be affiliating herself with the military (i.e., a higher-power group [an HPG]), speaking as the commander-in-chief, which would thus entail a distancing of the people. This discrepancy of interpretation between the two studies is evident of the inherent fluidity of the FPPP, which can, in this case, be resolved through the different contextual factors that play a crucial role in the interpretation that any individual researcher might make, such as political background.

The political background of the speech event is fundamental in interpreting the meaning of the FPPP in the candidate's discourse. For example, in the context of the presidential elections, as in the present study, it is evident that Clinton is participating in debates to address the people and to persuade them. In this case, her target for affiliation in *our troops* would be the American nation. The context of Proctor and Su's study (2011), on the other, as illustrated in Section 2.3, is news interviews which were conducted following Clinton's appointment as Secretary-of-State; that is, it is not a campaign discourse. Thus, persuading the people to win their votes through a show of solidarity and intimacy with them would not be Clinton's priority as much as demonstrating her credentials as Secretary-of-State, and thus, *our troops* can be interpreted as affiliating with the government. Similarly, if the context of the speech event was within parliament or a hearing session held by and addressed to the government, then it would be logical to assign the affiliation in *our troops* as indexical of the government or military. In addition to the political context, other micro-linguistic cues in the sequential context also support my interpretation, as will be discussed further.

Bramley (2001) claims that she avoided the problem of ambiguity by considering "what 'we' is

doing, rather than trying to work out which group is being referred to, because a particular group may also be a subset of another group" (p. 24). In the current study, both what *we* does and to whom it refers are important in inferring the (socio-)pragmatic function of the pronoun. The two ideas, I argue, are interdependent: working out the referential meaning of the FPPP is fundamental in understanding the (socio-) pragmatic functions of the pronoun. In this vein, since the current study examines the effect of the power-status of the affiliated group on the meaning of the FPPP in Clinton's speech (as a candidate), working out the referent of the FPPP is essential. Therefore, the referents of the pronominal were first identified and then categorized for further analysis. As previously noted, despite the difficulty regarding ambiguity that is inherent in the referent of the FPPP, I categorized the pronominal in Clinton's speech according to the contextual meaning of the FPPP.

Ambiguity is not the only problem: the referential range is another difficulty in the interpretation of the FPPP. As Liddicoat et al. (1999) state: "more than one membership may be salient at any point in the talk and speakers may construct their talk in such ways as to combine or differentiate such memberships" (p. 5). Wales (1996) suggests multiple referents of the FPPP: that is, politicians may affiliate themselves with more than one group or use a greater than one group membership in one instance of using the FPPP. Therefore, in this analysis, I make the distinction between multiple and ambiguous FPPPs. In a multiple-referent FPPP, Clinton assumes more than one membership when the referents are x, y, and z. An ambiguous FPPP, on the other hand, is when the referent is not known to the recipient, be it x or y, and the pragmatic function of the FPPP differs according to each one (i.e., x or y). Table 5.5 illustrates the categories for typological clarity of the FPPP referents in Clinton's discourse.

Table 5.7 *Categories for Typological Clarity of the First Person Plural Pronoun in Hillary Clinton's Discourse*

Clarity Category	Meaning	Example	Referent
Single	Only Clinton and a single referent.	Addressing the interviewer: Maybe *we* should Ask all New Yorkers (see EX. 9.17).	The interviewer
Multiple	Might refer to more than one referent.	I hope, as *we* speak	Interviewer, opponent, audience
Ambiguous	Not clear who is intended by affiliation.	*We* will get that done in public.	Clinton's campaigners or husband

It is noteworthy, however, that this ambiguity (and to some extent multiplicity) is not frequent; in many utterances, the affiliated group in Clinton's speech is either explicitly stated or can be easily interpreted based on contextual clues and/or the interpreter's knowledge. Therefore, when the referent of *we* is explicit, it is listed under its category (e.g., government, opponent, husband/family, etc.) whereas when the pronoun has multiple referents, it is listed under the "Multiple" category. Any ambiguity of the referent is solved through investigating the sequential micro-linguistic context, or the macro-linguistic context (see definition of macro- and micro-linguistics in Section 1.1).

The categorization of the FPPP, as mentioned above, is performed based on contextual factors. Below are examples of how this categorization has been attempted in the current study. As previously noted, the referent of the FPPP is sometimes explicitly stated in Clinton's discourse through the combination of possessive pronoun + nominal reference or pronoun + prepositional phrase, as in the following examples (note: the examples in this chapter are not transcribed, as the extracts in the analysis chapters (see Chapters [7-9]); they are written in conventional punctuation.):

EX.5.1:

Clinton: Thankfully, what happened to my opponent and others when they came back home from Vietnam has not happened **we've been** *as a nation* behind **our troops**.

EX.5.2:

Clinton: *In the senate* **we have we run** the page program differently and that changes are made because it's a wonderful program.

In EX.5.1 and EX.5.2, Clinton explicitly identifies herself with the referent of the FPPP. In the prepositional phrase *as a nation*, Clinton switches from the first person singular complementizer to an implied plural group reference. The explicit statement of the reference in *we as a nation* followed by the use of *our troops* in the same utterance, indicates that *our* refers explicitly to the nation. This supports my argument above that in *our troops*, Clinton co-implicates the people in the ownership of and responsibility for the American troops, thus contradicting, as mentioned above, Proctor and Su's (2011) view in which they categorize *our* as Clinton's self-identification with the military. My coding indicates that Clinton identifies with the American people to show solidarity (see Chapter 9). In EX. 5.2, on the other hand, Clinton precedes the FPPP by the prepositional phrase, *in the senate*, which makes the FPPP an *institutional we* or *senatorial we* (see Section 7 for different forms of *we*).

However, this explicit statement of the referent may not help to resolve the ambiguity of the FPPP in all situations; the pre- or post-sequential context can provide clues to inferring the referent, as illustrated in example 5.3.

EX.5.3:

    Clinton: My comments were about your remarks. And I think that's important because it wasn't just me responding to them, it was people who heard them, people who felt as though they were aimed at their values, their quality of life, the decisions that they have made. Now, obviously what **we have to do as Democrats** is make sure **we** get enough votes to win in November. And as George just said, **the Republicans, who are pretty shrewd about what it takes to win**, certainly did jump on the comments.

The use of the phrase *as Democrats* after the FPPP is not a decisive indicator of the referent of the FPPP. The FPPP is ambiguous for it may refer to Obama or the Democrats. The ambiguity results from the previous sequential context whereby Clinton addresses Obama in the second person pronoun before she shifts to the FPPP, which makes the referent in the FPPP 'Clinton and her partisan opponent', and thus, the FPPP may be replaced by *Barack and I*, which, as previously noted, indicates a meaning for the FPPP which is saliently different from that when Clinton refers to the Democrats. However, the other interpretation is that Clinton means the Democratic Party. The sequential context after the FPPP suggests that Clinton is referring to the Democrats as a party. This is inferred from Clinton's comparison between the Democrats and the Republicans as political parties in *the Republicans, who are pretty shrewd about what it takes to win.* Therefore, *we* in this case is *Democratic we* or *institutional we* (see Section 7.2 for different forms of *we*), in which Clinton affiliates with her political party, not the partisan opponent. Hence, choosing the referent in example 5.3 is salient in order to decide the function of the FPPP in the utterance.

    When the referent is not explicitly stated, the micro-and/or macro-linguistic contexts are considered. In some cases of ambiguity, the interpretation of the referent in the FPPP is reinforced by way of the macro-linguistic context. That is, the interpretation of the referent may be supported by Clinton's use of the FPPP in similar situational contexts, in other speech events. In this way, the reoccurring pattern of the FPPP in different settings emphasizes the interpretation of the affiliated group in the targeted context. Clinton's typical discursive behavior in one occasion helps to interpret the FPPP in more ambiguous occasions where the context is similar, as in the following examples. In two similar contexts but on different occasions, Examples 5.4 and.5.5, Clinton identifies herself with the interviewer, which helps the interpreter to decide more accurately the referent of the FPPP in both situations.

EX.5.4:

    Clinton: *you know*, maybe **we** should ask Barack if he's comfortable and needs another pillow.

EX.5.5:

> Clinton: well, maybe *we* **should ask** all the New Yorkers here all these questions.

The FPPP in the two utterances reinforce the interpretation of the referent in the FPPP as the interviewer. Clinton acts in the same way in both situations, which makes interpreting the referent in the FPPP consistent with Clinton's discursive practice (See EX.9.16 & EX.9.17 for further pragmatic analysis). In some highly ambiguous referents, the interpreter's world knowledge, as Roy (2000) states, also assists in assigning the referent of the FPPP and thus, determining the strategic function of the pronominal. For example, the ambiguity between Clinton's husband and her campaigners in (EX.7.22) is resolved in some situations through the possession of world knowledge (see the Example in Chapter 4 for a detailed interpretation). The interviewer questions Clinton's release of her joint taxes with her husband when Clinton responds by identifying with an HPG to assume a collective responsibility for the act of releasing. In her final exchange in example 5.6 below, the FPPP is ambiguous in terms of whether it refers to her husband or her campaign.

EX.5.6:

> **Interviewer:** Why won't you release your tax return so the voters of Ohio, Texas, Vermont, Rhode Island know exactly where you and your husband got your money, who might be in part bankrolling your campaign?
>
> **Clinton**: Well, I can't get it together by then, but I will certainly work to get it together-a ah I'm a little busy right now; I hardly have time to sleep. But I will certainly, you know, work toward releasing, and *we* **will get that done and in the public domain**.

The micro-linguistic clues available are not sufficient to resolve the ambiguity, and to know whether the FPPP refers to her husband or her campaign. This ambiguity may, however, be solved using the information provided from real-world knowledge that is available from other sources as in:

> Hillary and Bill Clinton earned nearly $141 million over the course of eight years and paid $43 million in federal taxes, according to tax returns **her campaign released Friday**. In a lengthy statement and on her campaign website, Clinton detailed that she and her husband, former President Bill Clinton, paid more than $43 million in federal taxes from 2007 to 2014, over $13 million in state. (Merica & Bradner, 2015, August)

Such world knowledge as this, along with other contextual factors, can help in some instances to assign the referent of the FPPP. Without such knowledge, the pragmatic meaning may not be conveyed (see Chapter 2 for details regarding the pragmatic functions of the FPPP). However, it is paramount to emphasize here that the purpose of this study is not to focus on the referential properties

of the FPPP, but to use this property as a means to investigate the pragmatic function of the FPPP.

The generic *we* is also identified, although in comparatively few instances as in Clinton's response to a question about her plans to fight breast cancer. Consider EX.5.7.

> EX.5.7 Clinton: I also really want to figure out what causes it (breast cancer) because **we just don't know** what causes them.

However, although Multiple and Generic uses of *we* are included in the quantitative analysis to investigate the distribution of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse (see Section 6.2), in the qualitative analysis their pragmatic function is only discussed if they occur in the sequential context in which the targeted FPPP occurs. This exclusion is due to the fact that the focus of the qualitative analysis is on the strategic functions of the FPPP in terms of the power-status of the affiliated group, which makes multiple and generic FPPPs, in most cases, less informative than identified referents. More importantly, the occurrence of these forms of *we* (particularly, generic) is not characteristic of Clinton's discourse. It is observable that Clinton seems keen to exploit the FPPP and to identify with targeted power groups, rather than using forms that have no definite referent, which aligns with Bull and Fetzer (2006) and Fetzer (2014) who contend that politicians always exploit the referential meaning of the FPPP diplomatically (see Section 2.3). It is also saliently supported by Bramley's (2001) analysis of the FPPP in political interviews. Bramley found that all the generic forms of other pronouns have been used by politicians, whereas in her analysis of the FPPP, she was able to identify all the referents of *we* (i.e., it was never identified as generic), thus, finding that the speakers always used the FPPP to assume a specific membership. Therefore, it can be concluded that the generic form of the FPPP rarely occurs in politicians' discourse.

After transcribing the data and categorizing each instance of *we* in Clinton's discourse, two types of analysis were applied in order to answer the research questions. Section 5.4 introduces these methods of analysis.

5.4 Methods of Analysis

To answer the questions posed by the study, a mixed-method of quantitative and qualitative analyses was employed. The mixed-method analysis provides a rich, detailed account of Clinton's use of the FPPP compared to the use of quantitative or qualitative approaches alone (Millar, 2015; Wodak, 2009). This mixed-method approach combines the advantages of the two single methods and avoids their shortcomings. As Jimarkon and Todd (2011) contend, the mixed-method analysis allows the interpreter to benefit from the rich descriptive findings of a qualitative analysis, while maintaining

the objectivity offered by the quantitative analysis. Whereas qualitative methods are considered "the bedrock of discourse analysis" (Wodak, 2009, p. 51), the quantitative analysis can help identify "focal issues in discourses strands such as the high frequency of certain words, statements, etc." (Wodak, 2009, p. 52). That is, the quantitative analysis helps to support the qualitative analysis to draw reliable and valid conclusions regarding Clinton's construction of self-identity. Moreover, the main concerns regarding a quantitative analysis are that measurement is reliable, valid, and generalizable in its clear prediction of cause and effect (Cassell & Symon, 1994). However, in a single quantitative-method study, the researcher may not have sufficient information regarding contextual details (Jimarkon &Todd, 2011). Moreover, a quantitative analysis requires a large amount of data to be effective (Jimarkon &Todd, 2011; Wodak, 2009). A qualitative method, on the other hand, is prone to high subjectivity on the part of the researcher and is unlikely to be generalizable (Jimarkon &Todd, 2011). Furthermore, it can only deal with a small volume of data, which makes decision making of the overview and conclusive deduction an ordeal (Jimarkon &Todd, 2011).

In this study, the quantitative analysis is concerned with providing statistical information regarding the distribution of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse, which can, along with the qualitative analyses of the micro-linguistic context, provide a substantial speculative account of Clinton's construction of identities through the use of the FPPP. The FPPP frequencies are also compared and contrasted between the two genres (i.e., debates and talk-shows) to investigate the effect of certain factors, such as topic and purpose of the genre on Clinton's choice of pronominal, and consequently, on identity construction at the macro-discursive level. Importantly, running a quantitative analysis can also contribute to an investigation of the effect of gender on Clinton's self-presentation through the FPPP. In this regard, the frequency of the FPPP is compared between the discourse of Clinton and that of her opponents. The results are interpreted in light of the theories of gender and discourse, and of the results of similar studies.

Pertaining to the qualitative analysis, on the other hand, Clinton's construction of *self* and *other* through use of the FPPP is analyzed in context in order to investigate the contextual factors that affect Clinton's choice of the FPPP. The method helps to analyze discourse within its social context by investigating language as a form of social action (Van Dijk, 1997). In view of this, the qualitative analysis in this thesis provides the most detailed account of Clinton's use of the FPPP in the construction of *self*, multiple *selves* and *other(s).* It draws upon a number of complementary approaches that take into account the relationship between language and the social contexts in which it is used. The qualitative analysis for this study draws upon the principles of Conversation Analysis (see Section 3.2.2), Goffman's notion of *face* (1974), Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975), and

Brown and Levinson' s (1987) politeness and face theory (see Sections 1.3 and 1.4 for an evaluation of Goffman, Grice and Brown and Levinson's theories). These approaches build upon the premise that talk is a dynamically negotiated interactional achievement (e.g., Goffman, 1974; Malone, 1997; Schegloff, 1981). Using a combination of these approaches to analyze the context of use aims to, as Bramley (2001) contends, "cover a broad spectrum of context from micro-linguistic details to socio-cultural knowledge associated with the talk" (p. 21). As mentioned above in Section 5.1, the qualitative analysis also draws on Halliday's model (1985) for classifying verb-processes in Clinton's discourse. The key aspects of CA have been outlined in Section 3.2.2, and Halliday's model will be discussed in Section 5.4.1.

5.4.1 Halliday's Model of Transitivity

Halliday's *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985) is a major source for the classification of verb-processes. There are three components of Halliday's transitivity process: the process itself, participants in the process, and circumstances associated with the process. This study will adopt the framework for the classification of verb-processes.

Halliday (1985) divides the system of transitivity or process-types into six processes: material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential. Material processes comprise doing-and-happening processes and express experiences of the external world. Relational processes, on the other hand, express possession, equivalence, and attributes. Relational processes are concerned with being, possessing, or becoming. They serve to identify and characterize, and are further subdivided into three types: Intensive (processes *of being*), which establish a relationship of sameness between two entities; Possessive (processes of *having*), which indicate that one entity owns another; and Circumstantial processes, which define the entity in terms of location, time, and manner (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

Mental processes refer to verbs of feeling, thinking or seeing, that is, verbs that indicate perception, affection, cognition, and desire and are realized through the use of verbs such as *think*, *know*, *feel*, *smell*, *hear*, *see*, *want*, *like*, *hate*, *please*, *admire, enjoy*, *fear*. Behavioral processes refer to physiological and psychological behavior, such as breathing, dreaming, snoring, smiling, and coughing. Existential processes, on the other hand, represent something that exists or happens, whereby the common verb is be (*is*, *am*, *are, was*, *were*, *has*, *have been*, etc.) and other verbs such as *go, come, exist, remain, arise, occur.* Verbal processes include different modes of saying (asking, commanding, offering, stating), but also semiotic processes that are not necessarily verbal (showing, indicating) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004*)*. Bloor and Bloor (2004) classify some indirect-speech verbs which take to-infinitive when projecting as verbal processes such as *urge,* and *force*, and direct-

speech verbs such as *whispered,* and *sneered*, which can convey illocutionary force (Bloor & Bloor, 2004).

The following chapters, 6–9, present the findings of the analysis. Chapter 6 presents the quantitative analysis of the distribution of the FPPP. Finally, Chapters 7–9 present the qualitative analysis that investigates the context in which Clinton uses the FPPP according to the power-status of the affiliated group.

Chapter 6
Quantitative Analysis

6.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to provide answers to the research questions regarding the distribution of the FPPP in Hillary Clinton's discourse. To achieve this, the chapter shows the frequency of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse and that of her opponents in the CHCDT (corpus of Hillary Clinton's debates and talk-shows). Although this study follows an approach that does not seek gender differences or pre-suppose them, it was inevitable to interpret the differences in frequency of use of the FPPP between Hillary Clinton and her opponents from a gendered perspective which resembles an essentialist approach that divides speakers' gender into 'male' and 'female'. This dilemma results from two issues. Firstly, due to the traditionally misogynistic nature of politics (Fenton, 2016; see Section 3.2), men dominate presidential elections particularly in the American context (see Section 3.2), which forces this male-female binary. This dilemma is also acknowledged by many poststructuralist analysts who found that essentializing is sometimes inevitable in many of their analyses (e.g., Baxter, 2012; Kitzinger, 2000; Speer, 2005, etc. See Sections 3.2.1 & 3.3.1). However, to abide by the principles of poststructuralism and (feminist) CA, gender will not be pre-supposed in the addressed questions but will be discussed when deemed relevant in the results. The questions in this chapter are as follows:

6.1.1 What is the distribution of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse? That is, how frequently does Clinton use the FPPP in the CHCDT compared to other pronominals?

6.1.2 Which categories are the most frequent in Clinton's discourse in the CHCDT?

6.1.3 Does the genre (i.e., debates or talk-shows) influence the distribution of the FPPP and the category frequency in Clinton's discourse? How can this influence be interpreted in terms of goal-orientation, topic and venue of the genre?

6.1.4 Does the power differential between Clinton and the affiliated group influence the frequency of the affiliation category in Clinton's discourse?

6.1.5 Do the statistical comparisons between Clinton and her opponents in terms of their use of the FPPP reveal any differences? What implications might these comparisons indicate in the light of gender and discourse theories?

To answer these questions, a number of statistical analyses of the data will be presented in subsequent sections of this chapter. Only descriptive statistics are employed in this study. Section 6.2 explores the distribution of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse in debates and talk-shows and the factors that influence any differences between the two genres. For this, statistical comparisons of frequency are made between the FPPP and other pronominals in Clinton's debates and talk-shows. Section 6.2 also illustrates the categories of the FPPP that are most frequent in Clinton's discourse (see Section 5.3 for the categorization system). The affiliation categories that are identified in the CHCDT include: the American people (comprising audience and viewers), the American government, Clinton's political party, campaigners, opponents, world governments, interviewers, and Clinton's husband/family (the *Husband/family* category mainly refers to Clinton's husband because, as will be discussed below, in the CHCDT, Clinton only exploits her husband in affiliation to enhance her political power). In Section 6.3, the frequency of these categories will be also explored according to the power-differential between the referent of the category and Clinton in terms of political power and authority. Specifically, the high-power group (HPG) comprises the American government(s), Clinton's political party, her husband/family and campaigners. The equal-power group (EPG), on the other hand, is comprised of Clinton's opponents and world governments (emphasis in this thesis is only on the category of *Opponents*; the category of *World Governments* is not included in the qualitative analysis due to its rare occurrence in Clinton's discourse, on one hand, and because, I argue, it plays a less important role than the other categories in constructing Clinton's political identity). The low-power group (LPG) comprises the American people and their sub-groups in the media (i.e., audience/viewers), and interviewers (see Section 1.5). Section 6.4 discusses the differences in the distribution of the FPPP between Clinton and her male opponents. These comparisons are investigated only in the genre of debate wherein Clinton interacts face-to-face with her male opponents. Finally, Section 6.5 is a summary of the main conclusions drawn in this chapter.

6.2 Distribution of the First Person Plural Pronoun in Clinton's Debates and Talk-shows

To explore the distribution of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse, the frequency of the FPPP is measured against that of the other pronominals in both genres. As aforementioned, only descriptive statistics are used in this thesis. The aim of this comparison is to establish how important, relatively, the FPPP is to Clinton's discourse. The comparison includes the first person singular pronoun (FPSP), *I*, and 'other'-reference pronouns which include the second personal pronoun (SPP) and third personal pronouns (TPPs). TPPs will only include pronouns that refer to entities that represent 'the other' in Clinton's discourse (*it* and *they* referring to inanimate objects or abstract notions are

excluded). First, the frequencies of the pronominals will be compared within the genre debates and will be normalized per 1000 words (see Tables 5.3- 5.6 for the word count of Clinton's discourse in the CHCDT). Consider Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 *Frequency of the First Person Plural Pronoun (FPPP) and Other Pronominals in Hillary Clinton's Debates*

Pronoun	FPSP		FPPP		SPPs		TPPs		Total
Debate	No.	Per 1000 words	No.	Per 1000 words	No.	Per 1000 words	No.	Per 1000 words	No. of Pronouns
Clinton-Lazio	178	44.91	101	25.48	35	8.83	41	10.34	355
Clinton-Spencer	153	39.22	141	36.14	20	5.12	35	8.97	349
Clinton-Obama /Jan2008	56	23.43	32	13.38	32	13.38	18	7.53	138
Clinton-Obama /Feb2008	208	43.15	136	28.21	48	9.95	48	9.95	440
Clinton-Obama /Apr2008	205	45.76	192	42.86	51	11.38	70	15.62	518
Total	800	40.91	602	30.79	186	9.51	212	10.84	1800

Note: FPSP: First person singular pronoun, SPPs: Second person pronouns, TPPs: Third person pronouns

Table 6.1 shows that, in debates, Clinton uses the FPPP considerably more frequently than the other-reference pronouns: SPP and TPPs (30.79 for the FPPP vs. 9.51 and 10.84, for SPP and TPPs, respectively), but less frequently than the singular self-reference, the FPSP (30.79 vs. 40.91, respectively). This difference in frequency between the FPSP and FPPP is expected in political discourse, notably in campaign or debate discourses. In such settings, as Bramley (2001) contends, the FPSP is central to the politician's identity. Therefore, Clinton, as any other candidate, would be expected to use the singular self-reference pronoun, *I*, more frequently than other pronominals as a strategy to foreground their identity as a leader who can take decisions independently, and therefore convince the public of their own qualifications (see Chapters 7-9). However, there are two important points to reflect upon. Firstly, the difference in frequency between the two pronouns (*I* and *we*) is not as pronounced as the difference between the FPPP and the other pronominals. When considering the distribution of the FPPP per debate, in some debates this difference is notably small. For example, in the Clinton-Spencer debate, the FPSP and FPPP are 39.22 and 36.14, respectively, and in the Clinton-Obama/April2008 debate, they are 45.76 and 42.86, respectively. This is in contrast to the greater difference between the FPPP and other pronominals on the one hand, and between the FPSP and

other pronominals on the other hand, both in terms of per debate and overall frequency. This indicates that although the FPSP is central to self-presentation in political discourse because of its strategic values (Bramley, 2001; Millar, 2015), the distinctiveness of the FPSP in debates is also closely matched by the usage of the plural form. Secondly, and more importantly, this difference in frequency should not lead to the conclusion that the FPSP is more central to Clinton's presentation of 'self' than the FPPP. At the micro-linguistic context, that is, per speech-turn, in many instances, as will be illustrated thoroughly in Chapters 7–9, Clinton expresses her collective 'selves' more saliently than her singular self.

Another point to reflect upon from Table 6.1 is the influence of the context of the interaction on Clinton's use of the FPPP. This influence is reflected in the difference in FPPP frequency between two debates in the CHCDT. Table 6.1 shows that the lowest usage of the FPPP is in the Clinton-Obama/Jan2008 debate (i.e., 13.38) whereas the highest usage of the pronominal is in the Clinton-Obama/April2008 debate (i.e., 42.86). Interestingly, the lowest usage of the FPPP in the Clinton-Obama/Jan2008 debate is accompanied by the highest usage of the SPP in the same debate (13.38). In the Clinton-Obama/Jan2008 debate, not only does Clinton use the SPP as frequently as the FPPP, but she also uses the SPP more often than TPPs. This emphasizes the highly interactive context of the debate where Clinton engages in face-to-face interaction with her opponent, Obama, and with less mediation from the interviewer. Therefore, Clinton's confrontational discourse in this debate is mainly addressed at her opponent, and, thus, lacks the intimacy and solidarity that she typically shows in her encounters through the FPPP. For example, the 'people' and 'government' categories with which Clinton affiliates herself most frequently, are expected to occur less frequently or not at all in Clinton's discourse in such interactions compared to less conflictive encounters (see Section 6.3 below). In this debate, Clinton focuses her pronominal choices mainly on *I-You* dichotomies.

 On the contrary, the highest frequency of the FPPP in the final debate, Clinton-Obama/April2008, may be attributed to the fact that the most frequent category in that debate is the American people (see Table 6.4), which indicates that Clinton's focus on winning people's hearts and voices through identifying them (as will be illustrated in the following sections). This discrepancy in frequency within the same genre of debate indicates the functionality of the FPPP and its sensitivity to the context of the interaction, which makes the FPPP of great importance for constructing the political identity as will be illustrated in Chapter 7.

The distribution of the FPPP in Clinton's language of talk-shows differs markedly from that in her debating discourse. In talk-shows, the FPPP occurs less frequently than other pronominals, whether per talk-show or in Clinton's overall discourse of talk-shows. Table 6.2 demonstrates (through

descriptive statistics) the number of occurrences and frequencies of the FPPP in Clinton's talk-shows.

Table 6.2 *Frequency of the First Person Plural Pronoun (FPPP) and Other Pronominals in Hillary Clinton's Talk-Shows*

Pronoun	FPSP		FPPP		SPPs		TPPs	
Show	No.	Per 1000 Words	No.	Per 1000 Words	No	Per 1000 Words	No	Per 1000 Words
Letterman (2000)	84	57.57	15	10.28	49	33.58	44	30.15
Letterman (2003)	114	54.83	34	16.35	120	57.72	100	48.1
Ellen (2008)	109	65.42	41	24.6	52	31.21	55	33.01
Total	307	58.99	90	17.29	221	42.46	199	38.23

Note. FPSP: First person singular pronoun, SPPs: Second person pronouns, TPPs: Third person pronouns

Strikingly, Table 6.2 shows that the FPPP is the least frequent pronominal in Clinton's discourse of talk-show (i.e., 17.29). In the overall frequency, on the other hand, the FPSP, SPP and TPPs are considerably more frequent than the FPPP (58.99, 42.46, 38.23, respectively). The discrepancy in frequency between the FPPP and the SPP in talk-shows and debates supports the argument above regarding the impact of the context of the interaction, and the results of Proctor and Su's (2011) study regarding the impact of genre type on the distribution of this pronominal in Clinton's discourse. The interactive context of talk-shows, wherein Clinton engages in a face-to-face dialogue with the interviewer, allows for a higher usage of pronouns of address than in debates whereby the opponents address the public and rarely address each other or the interviewer directly. However, despite this low usage of the plural self-reference in Clinton's talk-shows, at the macro-level of Clinton's discourse (that is, the overall discourse of Clinton's debates and talk-shows), the FPPP remains the second most frequent pronoun in Clinton's discourse, as Table 6.3 and Figure 6.1 demonstrate.

Table 6.3 *Overall Frequency of the First Person Plural Pronoun (FPPP) and Other Pronouns in Hillary Clinton's Discourse in CHCDT*

Pron.	Overall No.	Per 1000 Words
FPSP	1107	44.71
FPPP	692	27.95
SPP	407	16.43
TPPs	411	16.60

Note. FPSP: First person singular pronoun, SPPs: Second person pronouns, TPPs: Third person pronouns

Figure 6.1 *Frequency of the First Person Plural Pronoun in Hillary Clinton's Discourse in the CHCDT*
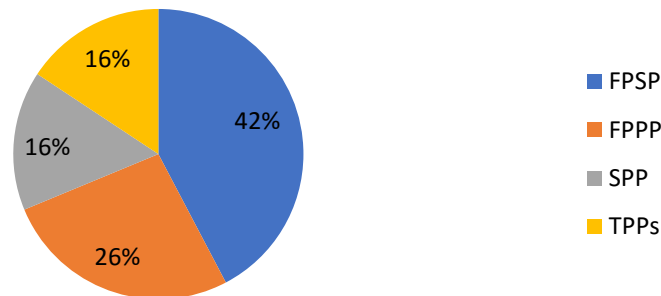
Interestingly, Table 6.3 and Figure 6.1 show that despite the great difference in frequency of the FPPP between debates and talk-shows, at the macro-level of discourse (i.e., overall use of the FPPP in both genres), the FPPP remains more frequent than the 'other'-reference pronouns: the SPP and TPPs (27.95 vs. 16.43 and 16.60, respectively).

From the tables above, it can be concluded that Clinton uses the FPPP much more frequently in debates than in talk-shows (30.79 vs. 17.29). This difference may be a result of the salient differences between the two genres in terms of goal-orientation, topic, and the venue (Proctor & Su, 2011). Since debates are held for electoral purposes to provide voters with the required information to make their decision, the topics addressed in such a genre focus mainly on formal political issues, which allows for varied uses of the FPPP whereby the candidate assumes different group memberships in order to express different ideological views (Bramley, 2001; Bull & Fetzer, 2006). Therefore, Clinton is expected to identify herself with more categories in debates than in talk-shows to express different alignments and oppositions. The analysis below illustrates the most frequent categories of the FPPP (referents) in Clinton's discourse in debates and talk-shows. The analysis will also illuminate on the

influence of external context (Ilie, 2004; Murphy, 1988; Proctor & Su, 2011; Van Dijk, 2002), such as the venue and time, as well as other contextual factors, such as topic and goal of the conversation on Clinton's use of these categories. Table 6.4 compares, in descriptive statistics, the types and rate of occurrence of categories of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse between debates and talk-shows.

Table 6.4 *Percentages of Categories of the First Person Plural Pronoun in Hillary Clinton's Discourse in CHCDT*

Genre	Debates		Talk-shows	
Category	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**
American people	277	46.01	24	26.66
American Government	130	21.59	20	22.22
Political Party	79	13.12	8	8.88
Opponent(s)	52	8.63	9	10
Interviewers	8	1.32	9	10
Husband	6	1	14	15.55
Campaigners	6	1	0	0.00
World governments	3	0.05	0	0.00
Multiple	37	6.14	2	2.22
Generic	4	0.66	4	4.44
Total	**602**	**100 %**	**90**	**100%**

Figure 6.2 *Percentages of the Categories of the First Person Plural Pronoun in Hillary Clinton's Discourse of Debates*

120
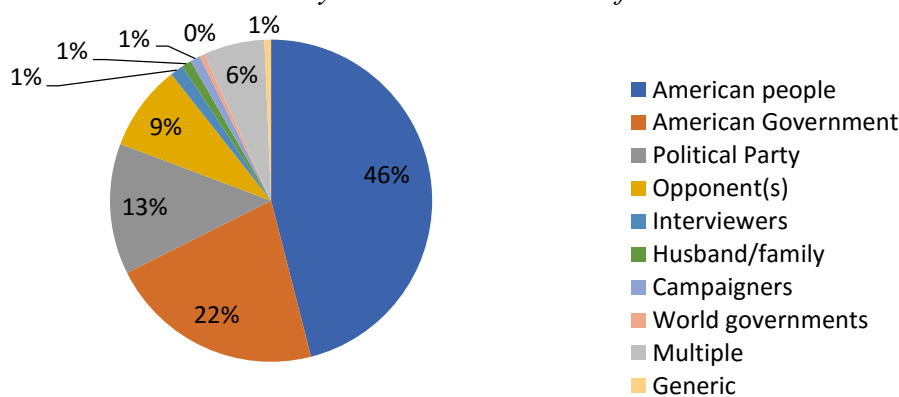
Figure 6.3 *Percentages of the Categories of the First Person Plural Pronoun in Hillary Clinton's Discourse of Talk-Shows*

Pie chart legend:
- American people — 27%
- American Government — 22%
- Political Party — 9%
- Opponent(s) — 10%
- Interviewers — 10%
- Husband/family — 16%
- Multiple — 2%
- Generic — 4%
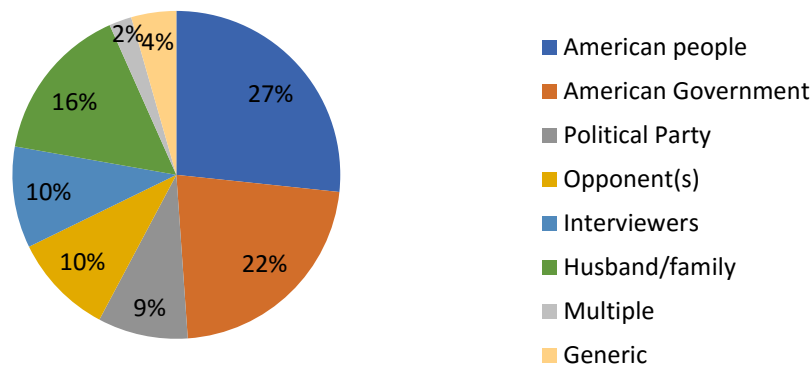
Table 6.4 and Figures 6.2 and 6.3 show that there are six common categories of the FPPP in the two genres of Clinton's discourse and these are also the most frequent categories in both genres; comprising *the American people*, *the American Government*, *Interviewer*, *Political Party*, *Opponents*, and *Husband/family.* However, despite the categories being common to both genres, there are differences between the two genres in terms of the number, type, and frequency of these categories. Firstly, regarding the number of categories, Clinton identifies herself with more categories in debates than in talk-shows. Secondly, the categories of *Campaigners* and *World Governments* are specific to debates. This indicates that the inclusive and associative functions of the FPPP are more relevant to the persuasive interactive goals of debating discourse compared to talk-shows. Finally, some categories occur more frequently in one genre than in the other. For example, whereas *Husband/family* and *Interviewer* occur much more frequently in talk-shows than in debates (*Husband* 15.55% vs. 1% and *Interviewer* 10% vs. 1.32%, respectively), *the American People* occurs considerably more frequently in debates than in talk-shows (46. 01% vs. 26.66%, respectively). These differences, as already noted, result from the distinctive features of the two genres, including the purpose and format of the genre and the topics subsequently addressed within.

A number of important points can be drawn from Table 6.4. Firstly, the table shows that the most frequent category of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse in both genres is *the American People*, albeit occurring at different proportions (46.39% in debates vs. 26.66% in talk-shows), closely followed by the *Government* category (21.59% in debates vs. 22.22% in talk-shows). These results contrast with those of Proctor and Su's (2011) study, which states that Clinton almost never identifies herself with the American people (only 4% of Clinton's self-identification), whereas the most frequent category in Clinton's discourse is the American government. The discrepancy between the results of Proctor and Su's study and the current study may be attributed to the type of political genre and the political

context in which the show takes place. The data analyzed in Proctor and Su's (2011) study are exclusively news interviews, and therefore not a type of campaign discourse (as used in the current study). In such interviews, the politician focuses on their or the government's policies rather than evoking nationalistic emotions to win people's votes (Bull & Fetzer, 2006; Proctor & Su, 2011) (see Section 9.2.1). Regarding the political context, Clinton's interviews in Proctor and Su's study date back to May 2008 and 2009 (that is, after April 2008 when Clinton stopped running for a political position either because she had already lost the elections to Obama, and/or she had become a member in Obama's administration in 2009); therefore, unlike in the current study, Clinton's goal in Proctor and Su's study is not in winning people's support for her presidential bid, but in "demonstrating her qualifications, connections/resources and capability to be the best candidate for the position" (Proctor & Su, 2011, p. 3259).

Interestingly, as already noted, the *Interviewer* and the *Husband/family* categories are more frequent in Clinton's talk-shows than in debates. This great difference between the debates and talk-shows underscores the influence of the type of genre on Clinton's use of the FPPP in terms of topic and discourse configuration. As already mentioned, talk-shows have more informal features associated with spoken language, specifically conversation (Ilie, 2001), than do debates. As a sort of entertainment program, a talk-show is "designed to be funny and easy-going" (Ilie, 2001, p. 211), thus addressing less formal topics compared to political debates, and a non-conflictive dialogue between the guest and the host. Talk-shows also focus on topics that are oriented towards the social/personal life of the candidate, whereas topics during debates intend to confront the candidate over formal issues. The discourse configuration of talk-shows is also distinguished from political debates in terms of the role of the host (interviewer). Debates require the host to act as a chair, keeping order and selecting the speaker; their role is to "provoke confrontation but to control it from developing into a quarrel" (Rama-Martinez, 2000, p. 27). In contrast, talk-show hosts engage with the guest in a more personal and informal dialogue. In addition to the non-conflictive nature of talk-shows, the face-to-face dialogue is configured in a way that emphasizes the social aspects of the interaction between the guest and the host. For example, in the dataset of talk-shows, Clinton draws upon mutual experiences between herself and the interviewer to emphasize the intimacy of their relationship. Thus, this intimacy is invoked by Clinton's use of the FPPP, and consequently, Clinton is expected to identify more frequently with the interviewer in talk-shows (see Section 9.2.2). Furthermore, if a topic in a talk-show addresses a Clinton scandal, as is likely in a debate, the interviewer's question and comments are configured in a non-conflictive way which is supportive of Clinton's stance on the issue (note: 'stance' in this thesis is used in the social or political sense, not

linguistic. Generally, it means the position taken on an issue, the beliefs held about something. In this political context, 'stance' means the attitude adopted in confronting or dealing with a particular situation). (See Clinton's interviews in *The Letterman Late Night Show* (2000) and *Ellen DeGeneres* [2008]). Therefore, identification with the interviewer is more likely to occur in Clinton's discourse of talk-shows rather than in debates.

Similarly, pertaining to the *Husband/family* category, most of the topics in the talk-show dataset for this study revolve around Clinton's family and marriage situations, decisions, problems and crises (see Section 5.3). Thus, Clinton would be expected to identify herself with her husband, Bill Clinton, more frequently in talk-shows than in debates. However, this low frequency of identification with her husband in debates should not suggest a less important role of his in constructing her collective self or political identity. There are marked uses of affiliation in debates whereby Clinton saliently exploits her social status as a former president's wife for reasons of identity. Moreover, due to Bill's political and personal role in Clinton's life, Clinton exploits the referential ambiguity of the FPPP between her husband, Bill, and her campaigners in order to include Bill Clinton indirectly to further strengthen her position. Thus, the category *Campaigners* also includes Clinton's husband. In this chapter the category *Campaigners* is analyzed statistically according to the direct meaning of FPPP; however, in the analysis of context of use in Section 7.2.2, I will show how Clinton implies her husband when referring to her campaigners, and therefore, how the boundary between *Husband* and *Campaigners* is subtle in many instances.

Importantly, the *Opponent* category occurs more frequently in talk-shows than in debates (10% vs. 8.63%, respectively). The conflictive nature of a debate, through the participation of opponents in a face-to-face interaction, may have led to this difference in use of this category between the two genres. That is, given that the core meaning of the FPPP is to show solidarity (Bramley, 2001; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Fetzer, 2014), the confrontational relationship between Clinton and her opponents during a debate is expected to negatively influence Clinton's use of this pronominal. She would be expected to avoid using this pronominal when addressing the opponent so as to avoid enhancing her opponent's face (see Chapter 8). Interestingly, the influence of interpersonal relationships on Clinton's use of the FPPP is also evident at the micro-level of discourse; that is, within the genre itself. Clinton identifies herself with her Democratic fellow-opponent, Obama, more frequently than with her other-party opponents. Table 6.5 demonstrates the differences in Clinton's rate of identification with each opponent during her debates.

Table 6.5 *Percentage of the Category of Face-to-Face Opponent in Hillary Clinton's Debates*

Opponent	No.	%
Barack Obama	43	82.69
Rick Lazio	9	17.31
John Spencer	0	00.00
Total	52	100%

Table 6.5 shows that Clinton's self-identification with her opponent is determined by the opponent's distance from Clinton's own political party. 81% of Clinton's occurrences of identification with the opponent is with Obama, her partisan opponent and colleague. Only 17.31% of Clinton's occurrences of identification with her opponent is made with Lazio, who was an Independent or non-partisan candidate at the time of the debate. With the Republican candidate, Spencer, on the other hand, Clinton completely avoids identifying with him. This salient difference in identification between opponents has a salient pragmatic implication. The political and social (or personal) distance between Clinton and her opponent is an important contextual determinant in Clinton's self-affiliation with her opponent. The greater the distance, the less frequently does Clinton self-identify with her opponent. The political and social/personal distance between Clinton and Spencer, for example, is greater than between her and her other opponents (Obama and Lazio). The assessment of the distance between Clinton and Spencer draws upon a number of observations. First, some topics addressed in the Clinton-Spencer debate illuminate on previous confrontations between Clinton and Spencer on different issues. Secondly, Clinton's comments during the debate indicate that Spencer had previously attacked Clinton on these issues, prior to the debate. Moreover, according to various news reports (e.g., *The Daily News*), Spencer had made derisive comments against Clinton prior to the debate. He had focused on Clinton's feminine style and made remarks about her sexuality, having described her as the ugly woman who spent millions to look pretty (Santora, 2006, October). This confrontation between Clinton and Spencer before their debate, reinforced by the political distance between them, led Clinton to refrain from showing any intimacy with her opponent, and instead, refer to him only in the third-party perspective, to keep him distanced throughout the interaction (see Table 6.1).

From the quantitative analysis above, it can be concluded that Clinton chooses to use the FPPP in her debates and talk-show discussions in order to identify herself with groups of people relevant to her political status and identity as an American politician. The majority of these categories are common to both genres, albeit at different frequencies. The *American people* category is the most

frequently encountered in Clinton's discourse from both genres. The *American government* follows closely behind. Some categories occur in one genre more frequently than the other. The above analysis also showed that different contextual factors, such as the venue, the goal of the conversation, and the topic discussed, may influence Clinton's use of the FPPP. This supports the argument proposed by Ilie (2001), Murphy (1988), Proctor and Su (2011), and Van Dijk (2002), who emphasized the influence of external context on political discourse. The current results also support Proctor and Su's criticism of Murphy's argument, when they posit that his conclusions focused on the role of the venue but did not consider the importance of other factors in pronominal choice, such as the purpose of the interaction and topic being discussed.

It is subsequently important to answer the question regarding the impact of the power differential between Clinton and the affiliated group on her use of the FPPP. The analysis here serves only to provide a statistical background for the subsequent qualitative analysis that focuses on the influence of this power on Clinton's strategic uses of the FPPP. The following section illustrates the frequencies of these categories according to the political power differential between Clinton and the referent in the FPPP, using the model of classification that has been developed in Section 1.5, which classifies the referent of the FPPP, as already mentioned in Section 6.1, into HPG, EPG and LPG.

6.3 Power Group and Clinton's Use of the First Person Plural Pronoun

In line with the previous analyses, but in terms of the power differential between Clinton and the affiliated group, the most frequent categories of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse are ranked according to their power differential from Clinton. The categories *Multiple* and *Generic* are excluded from the classification of power as explained in Section 5.3.2. To recap, the HPG includes the American government, Clinton's political party, Clinton's husband and her campaigners. The EPG comprises Clinton's opponents and world governments; and the LPG includes the American people, the Interviewer and the Audience, as Table 6.6 demonstrates.

Table 6.6 Percentages of the Power Group in Hillary Clinton's Discourse

Debates	No.	Percentage	Talk-shows	No.	Percentage	Total	
PG			**PG**			**No.**	**Percentage**
HPG	221	38.97%	HPG	32	43.83%	253	39.53%
EPG	61	10.75%	EPG	9	12.32%	70	10.93%
LPG	285	50.26%	LPG	32	43.83%	317	49.53%
Total	**567**	**100%**		**73**	**100%**	**640**	**100%**

Note. PG: Power group HPG: Higher-power Group, EPG: Equal power Group, LPG: Lower-power Group

Table 6.6 shows that the LPG, represented by the American people, the Interviewer, and the Audience, is the most frequent power group with whom Clinton affiliates. Considering the results per genre, Clinton's identification with this power group is higher than with the HPG in debates, but sometimes equal to the HPG in talk-shows. This discrepancy emphasizes the effect of the genre on the choice of the FPPP, as discussed above. The candidates' focus in a debate is on how to win the people's hearts and votes by showing alignment, care, and solidarity with the nation through use of the FPPP (see Section 6.2). Hence, candidates' self-identification with the American people is less frequent in talk-shows, which subsequently affects the frequency of the LPG, in general.

As mentioned above, unlike in talk-shows, the discursive features of debates allow for comparing Clinton's pronominal choices to that of her male opponents, which can provide answers to the question regarding the differences in FPPP use between Clinton and her opponents. Section 6.4 explores the differences in FPPP distribution between Clinton and her male opponents in debates.

6.4 Gender in Clinton's Use of the First Person Plural Pronoun

The role of gender in Clinton's use of the FPPP can be examined by comparing the FPPP distribution in Clinton's discourse to that of her male opponents. Particular attention is paid to the comparison with Barack Obama for two reasons. Firstly, Clinton participated in more encounters with Obama than with her other male opponents, thus providing a more precise perspective to assess possible differences. Secondly, Obama is the only candidate who defeated Clinton in the election, and therefore such comparisons may lead to speculation regarding the influence of this pronominal on Clinton's political identity in 2008, and regarding her performance in general. The frequencies will be normalized per 1000 words as demonstrated in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 *Frequency of the First Person Plural Pronoun (FPPP) in the Discourse of Hillary Clinton and her Male Opponents*

Debate	Clinton-Lazio 2000		Clinton-Spencer 2006		Clinton-Obama/Jan 2008		Clinton-Obama/Feb 2008		Clinton-Obama/Apr 2008	
S.	Cl.	Laz.	Cl.	Spn.	Cl	Ob.	Cl.	Ob.	Cl.	Ob.
No. of FPPP	101	72	141	65	32	44	136	165	192	171
Freq.	25.48	17.65	36.14	17.92	13.38	18.45	28.21	25.16	42.86	32.22

Note: S: Speaker Cl.: Clinton, Laz.: Lazio, Ob.: Obama, Spn.: Spencer.

Table 6.8 *Comparison of Overall Frequency of the First Person Plural Pronoun in the Discourse of Hillary Clinton and Her Male Opponents*

Speaker	No.	Per 1000 Words
Clinton	602	30.79
Male Opponents	517	23.55

Tables 6.7 and 6.8 show that Clinton uses the FPPP in her debates more frequently than do her male opponents (30.79 vs. 23.55, respectively). Clinton tends to express her political self collectively more than her male opponents. However, when the comparison is drawn at the individual level, the difference is less consistent. That is, Clinton uses the FPPP considerably more frequently than do Lazio and Spencer (Clinton/Lazio: 25.48 vs. 17.65 and Clinton/Spencer: 36.14 vs. 17.92). With Obama, on the other hand, the differences are inconsistent between debates (Clinton/Obama: 13.38 vs.18.45, 28.21 vs. 25.16, and 42.86 vs. 32.22). The only debate in which Obama uses the FPPP more than Clinton is in the Jan/2008 debate. That debate, as illustrated in Section 5.3, has been described in the media as the most confrontational and least polite debate ever run by the Democrats. In that debate, Clinton uses the FPPP as frequently as the SPP (see Table 6.1). Therefore, this difference supports the argument that Clinton was focused on addressing Obama rather than affiliating with him or with other groups. This again emphasizes the influence of this acrimonious debate on the distribution of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse. However, to compare the overall use of the FPPP in Clinton's and Obama's discourse in the three debates, a comparison between Clinton and Obama is drawn at the macro-level. Table 6.9 compares the overall frequency of the FPPP in Clinton's and Obama's discourse in debates.

Table 6.9 *Frequency of the First Person Plural Pronoun in Hillary Clinton's and Barack Obama's Discourse in Debates*

Speaker	No. of Uttered Words	No. FPPP	Per 1000 Words
Clinton	11689	360	30.79
Obama	14247	380	26.67

Based on the normalized data at 1000 words, the FPPP occurs more frequently in Clinton's discourse than in Obama's (Clinton/Obama: 30.79 vs. 26.67). Therefore, it can be concluded that,

generally, Clinton uses the FPPP in her discourse more than do her male opponents.

Thus, the above statistical analysis regarding the difference in the FPPP distribution between Clinton and her male opponents, drawing on the results of this data only, indicates two points. First, if using Brown and Levinson's (1987) terms, Clinton's discourse, arguably, may be more oriented towards positive politeness than that of her male opponents. That is, Clinton uses the FPPP to show solidarity with and an interest in the addressee(s) by sharing common ground with them, and she does this more than do her male opponents. In this vein, Clinton's style in the analyzed data can be described as feminine; that is, it is characterized by co-cooperative ways of speaking, compared to the men's more competitive style (Holmes, 1995, 2005; Takano, 2005; Tannen, 1991; Thomas, 1995). However, as argued previously in Section 1.3, the use of the FPPP in a political context (or any other context) cannot be limited to cooperation and solidarity, and, thus, Clinton's discursive behavior cannot be described stereotypically as cooperative. The FPPP serves more functions than just positive politeness. The multi-listener context in debates, for example, allows Clinton to use the FPPP towards strategies that function beyond positive politeness; that is, strategies that save her negative face in FTAs. In other situations, Clinton uses the FPPP in the impoliteness sphere to threaten her opponent's face by excluding him from the national or partisan collective. Therefore, this high frequency of use of the FPPP in Clinton's debates should not lead to conclusions that Clinton's style is more positively polite than that of her male opponents, given that the FPPP serves many different strategies beyond positive-politeness.

In addition, despite the difference between Clinton and Obama in terms of the frequency of the FPPP, they share a number of similar discursive features regarding the FPPP in this data. They both use this pronoun very frequently in their discourse, more so than do the other male opponents (see Tables 6.7 & 6.8). However, it may be argued that the data collected pertaining to Lazio and Spencer are not sufficient to draw such conclusions. This argument can be opposed by the fact that the discourse of Obama reveals a higher frequency than Lazio and Spencer if comparing any one of Obama's debates to those of the other opponents (Lazio: 17.65, Spencer: 17.92, Obama: 18.45, 25.16, and 32.22). These findings also align with Putri and Kurniawan's (2015) findings that show Obama to use the FPPP more frequently than his Republican opponent, Mitt Romney, in the presidential election in 2008 (see Section 2.3). Arguably, these results show that Obama's discursive style in using the FPPP lies somewhere between Clinton's style and that of the other male opponents, which may have contributed to making Obama's style more persuasive and appealing to the public in the 2008 elections compared to that of Clinton and the other male opponents. These results are best interpreted in line with the views that contend that Obama's style in the 2008 elections was not feminine; neither

was it too masculine (e.g., Cooper, 2009). Cooper describes Obama as the "unisex president." He argues that Obama did not distance himself from his feminine tendencies; "his masculinity was put in question when he was inclusive rather than exclusive" (p. 657). Importantly, Cooper (2009) posits that Obama has "an unusual blend of traditionally masculine and feminine skills at work in him" (p. 650), which made his discursive identity a key factor in winning the 2008 elections (Cooper, 2009).

In view of this, the analysis in this section has revealed differences in the frequency of use of the FPPP between Clinton and her male opponents. Therefore, these quantitative results will be interpreted within the context of use of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse. In-depth, qualitative analyses of the micro-linguistic context of Clinton's use of the FPPP will be conducted in Chapters 7–9. The chapters will, in particular, draw comparisons regarding the context of use of the FPPP between Clinton and Obama in order to investigate why the public perceived Obama's style as more persuasive than Clinton's.

6.5 Summary

The quantitative analysis above has provided answers to the questions probing the distribution of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse. The results revealed that the FPPP is more frequent than the 'other'-reference pronouns in Clinton's discourse but slightly lower than the first-singular self-reference. The frequency of the FPPP is also higher in Clinton's debates than in her talk-show discourse. In addition, the FPPP is more frequent in Clinton's discourse than in her male opponents' discourses. In contrast to Proctor and Su's (2011) results, the results of the quantitative analysis of this study suggest that the *American people* constitutes the most frequently-occurring category in Clinton's discourse, thus revealing a salient feature of Clinton's political identity in electoral bids. That is, Clinton seems to exploit the FPPP to win American people's votes when she needs their support for elections, as in this study. However, she reduces her rate of affiliation with the American people when the context is not directly configured for electoral purposes, as in talk-shows. In this regard, the LPG is the most frequent power group occurring in Clinton's discourse. This can be interpreted with respect to the influence of the electoral context of the CHCDT, whether the genre is configured directly to win people's votes, as in debates, or indirectly as in talk-shows. Importantly, Clinton shows a higher tendency than her male opponents to express her collective selves in all encounters. The following chapter will illustrate the strategic functions of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse.

Chapter 7

Strategic Goals of Self-Affiliation with the Higher-Power Group (HPG) in Hillary Clinton's Discourse

7.1 Introduction

The general aim of the study is to investigate the language use through which Hillary Clinton constructs her political identity, examining the extent to which the First-Person Plural Pronoun (hereinafter, FPPP) is important in the political discourse of an American woman politician. As demonstrated in Chapter 6, Clinton affiliates with a number of groups that represent different levels of institutional power in the political context. The political power of these groups is relative to the degree of Clinton's political power at the moment of speaking. These groups are classified, as illustrated in Sections 1.5 and 6.2, into a higher-power group (henceforth, HPG), an equal-power group (henceforth, EPG) and a lower-power group (henceforth, LPG). The HPG comprises powerful political institutions and political individuals. The EPG mainly comprises Clinton's opponents. The LPG, on the other hand, comprises the American people, interviewers, and the audience.

This chapter is one of three (7, 8 and 9) that provide an in-depth analysis of the context in which Clinton uses the FPPP in debates and talk-shows. Each chapter discusses the strategic goals that Clinton achieves by affiliating with a particular power group: Chapter 7 for the HPG, Chapter 8 for the EPG, and Chapter 9 for the LPG. The analysis of Clinton's discourse in these chapters shows how Clinton actively exploits the FPPP to construct and negotiate her political identities. The analysis aims to show how Clinton, like other politicians, is not a static self "but embod[ies] many changing selves" (Bramley, 2001, p. 264).

In line with the concept of identity construction, the analyses in Chapters 7, 8, and 9 also explore whether Clinton's use of the FPPP has any role in revealing how Clinton, in the process of self-construction, uses the FPPP for face-work to enhance her positive face, as well as to save her negative face from a face-threatening act (FTA). The qualitative analysis in the three chapters also shows how Clinton utilizes the FPPP to draw boundaries between her multiple selves and the "other," exploiting other pronominals to create different alignments and oppositions. Importantly, the analysis also explores the collocation between the FPPP and particular verb-processes in the corpus of Clinton's Debates and Talk-shows (hereinafter, CHCDT), and the implications of these collocations

for Clinton's self-presentation: notably, as a (presidential) candidate. In particular situations, the analysis also shows how Clinton utilizes the FPPP to mitigate her violation of Grice's Maxims (1975).

Particular attention in these chapters is paid to the comparisons between Clinton and her (male) opponents' choices of the FPPP when these choices are made under similar contextual factors (the emphasis here is on the language of her presidential opponent, Barack Obama). These comparisons aim to examine how Clinton's choices are similar to or different from those of her male opponents and the effect that such differences have on Clinton's self-presentation. However, as asserted in many instances above, the premise upon which these gendered comparisons are made is not that the male opponents' choices are the norm (as suggested by earlier research), or that Clinton's choices are expected to show a powerless identity. The aim here is to explore how Clinton constructs her identity when she is confronted with situations in which her gender is challenged by her male opponents, and the interpretations and implication of Clinton's choices will be concluded as Clinton constructs an identity which is not pre-determined based on her gender.

In the three chapters (7, 8, and 9), the FPPP will be labeled variably as the FPPP, plural self-reference (Fetzer, 2014), (self-) affiliation, *we*, self-identification, collective identity (Bramley, 2001) or the collective perspective (Millar, 2015). The first person singular pronoun (FPSP) is also used interchangeably with *I*, the singular self-reference (Fetzer, 2014), or the personal perspective or individual perspective (Millar, 2015). The pronominals that refer to the *other* are variably labeled either generally as other-reference(s) (Fetzer, 2014), or categorically as the second person pronoun (SPP), or third person pronoun (TPP). Third-party entities such as *president*, *senator,* or *people* are also referred to as third-person nominal references, or in the third-person perspective (Millar, 2015).

In this chapter (and in Chapters 8 & 9), the examples that best illustrate the strategic use of the FPPP, are selected from the CHCDT and titled as EX(tract). The extract comprises Clinton's speech-turn(s); (in most instances) the interviewer's turn(s); and (in some instances) the opponent's turn(s) (for the interviewer's name in these extracts, see Tables 5.2 & 5.4). The inclusion of the other interlocutors' turns in the extract depends on how their contributions influence Clinton's choice of the FPPP. As demonstrated in Section 5.3.1, these extracts are transcribed using Jefferson's (1984) system, the version used by Cameron and Shaw (2016). However, when parts of these extracts are reproduced inside the text for further analysis, quotes are written in sentences (not utterances), using conventional punctuation. Importantly, to investigate the effect of Clinton's choice of the FPPP on her self-construction, I have provided constructed utterances that contain alternative pronominal choices marked with an asterisk (*). The asterisked examples resemble Clinton's utterances in the

original extract but are modified in their pronominal content, for two purposes. The modified utterances help to compare the effect of Clinton's original pronominal choices against the effect of the choices that Clinton could have made on constructing a powerful identity, and as an aid to inferring the possible reasons for Clinton's choice of a particular pronominal. When the point requires an illustration involving two examples from two different genres, the debate examples are listed before those of the talk-shows, regardless of the date of the speech-event. Where necessary, quantitative information is provided in tables to illustrate the frequencies of the FPPP and other pronominals in the targeted extract and verb-processes with which these pronominals collocate.

7.2 Strategic Uses of the First Person Plural Pronoun When the Referent is an HPG

As mentioned above, analysis of the CHCDT shows that the meaning of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse is anchored to the power-status of the referent with whom Clinton affiliates. This chapter focuses on the strategic goals that Clinton achieves through affiliating with an HPG to construct her political identities. As demonstrated in Sections 6.2 and 6.3, the HPG is the second most frequently occurring identification group in Clinton's discourse. It comprises powerful political institutions, and powerful political individuals or associates; namely, Clinton's husband and her campaigners. The strategic uses of the FPPP when the referent is an HPG are discussed in two major sections. While Section 7.2.1 discusses the strategic goals that Clinton achieves through affiliating with political institutions, Section 7.2.2 discusses the goals Clinton achieves through affiliating with political associates (individuals).

7.2.1 HPG as Political Institutions in the CHCDT

Based on the corpus used in this study, there is evidence that Clinton identifies with political institutions in order to manifest her powerful identity in the process of several speech events. In the CHCDT, these political institutions are the American government/administration, the political party to which Clinton belongs, and the Senate. For the purpose of this study, the FPPP that refers to an HPG will be labeled in two ways: the *governmental we*, when the affiliation is made with government /administration, and the *institutional we* when it is made with other political institutions (i.e., the Democratic Party and the Senate). When the political institution is specified in Clinton's discourse, the FPPP is labeled accordingly, that is: the *Democratic we*, or the *Senatorial we*. Clinton identifies herself with political institutions to achieve three major goals through face-saving strategies: augmenting her political self and expanding the boundaries of her institutional identity; co-implicating the political party to minimize responsibility for failure; and manifesting institutional loyalty to distance partisan opponents. Section 7.2.1.1 illustrates how Clinton exploits the FPPP to

achieve the first goal.

7.2.1.1 Political Self-Augmentation and Expanding Boundaries of Institutional Identity

This view of self-augmentation through identifying with an HPG builds on and refines the views of Bramley (2001), Brown and Gilman (1960), Fairclough (1989), Pennycook (1994), Wales (1996), and many others. The argument also draws upon the common properties between the *we* used by candidates to affiliate with powerful institutions (labeled here as the *governmental we* and the *institutional we*), on the one hand, and the *royal we* and the *presidential we*, on the other.

To begin with, my argument that candidates affiliate themselves with an HPG to augment their political self is based on the view of the power semantic of pronominals, proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960), Pennycook (1994) and Wales (1996). Pennycook (1994) emphasizes the relation between pronouns and power. He contends that "pronouns are deeply embedded in naming people and groups, and, thus are always political in the sense that they always imply relations of power" (p. 175). Wales (1996) also contends that speakers use pronouns to express social, political and rhetorical issues of culture and power. In their model of address, Brown and Gilman (1960) argue that pronominal choices are influenced by the power relationship between two or more people. They build their model on the premise that social relationships are bi-dimensional: the power of one over another, and solidarity, where solidarity is "a set of rules which are symmetrical" (Brown and Gilman, 1960, p. 258). They contend that the power semantic of pronouns is derived from personal attributes that convey power among people including strength, sex, age, birth, wealth, and profession, focusing on languages that have a binary (T/V) system for addressing an individual addressee. However, whereas Brown and Gilman's model (1960) applies only to the pronominals that are used in direct address, I argue that, in principle, the effect of the power differential on the meaning of the direct-address pronominal can also be applied to the FPPP. When the speaker identifies themselves with an addressee who has power over the speaker, the speaker exploits this power for their own privilege. That is, while in the T/V system, the speaker maintains this power differential by selecting the appropriate form of pronoun, using the FPPP to identify with a powerful addressee, the speaker challenges the power of the addressee (or affiliated group), subsuming the addressee into a lower-power collective. By using V, the speaker in Brown and Gilman's model realizes the power difference between them and creates distance from the addressee in order to save the addressee's face (Brown & Levinson, 1987); whereas by using the FPPP, the speaker neutralizes the power differential through inclusiveness which, in this case, as I argued in Section 1.3, enhances the speaker's face.

Additionally, four analysts suggest that the identification which institutionally powerful people forge with people of lower institutional power serves to minimize the self (Bramley, 2001;

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Fairclough; 1989, Pennycook; 1994; Wales, 1996). Their view entails the argument of self-augmentation. First, Pennycook (1994) posits that there is more than one institutionalized *we* and they "exist in various forms of discourse where there is clearly marked power differential" (p. 176). Pennycook's example of this institutionalized *we* is the doctor's belittling use of *we* to assimilate with their patients. Therefore, if, as Pennycook (1994) posits, the use of *we* by a more powerful speaker (i.e., the doctor) to identify with a lower-power group (i.e., patients) is belittling the use of *we*, then it is valid to argue that the converse may also be true. That is, analogically speaking, the *we* that is used by the lower-power group (patients) to identify with the higher-power group (the doctor) can be considered the augmentative or powerful use of the *institutional we*. Politically, Fairclough (1989) asserts that when *we* is used by a leader to include the people who are led, the use of the pronominal is a humble tactic which "assimilates the leader to the people" (p. 179). Landert (2014) also posits that politicians affiliate with the people to construct their common identity. In line with these views, Bramley (2001) also suggests that the use of 'we' inevitably subsumes the self into a collective and so is a self-effacing or minimizing act, particularly when the FPPP is used to avoid the negative focus of the FPSP. In view of this, I argue that these views may apply to politicians' self-affiliation with entities who have lower institutional power than the speaker, such as 'the people'. In such affiliation, the candidate's goal is to overcome the power difference between them and the average people to be able speak on behalf of the nation. Hence, I argue that if these views state that the politician's affiliation with the people is a humble strategy that minimizes the politician's political self and portrays them as an average person, then it is also valid to assume the contrasting situation. That is, the candidate identifies themselves with an HPG to augment their political self instead of minimizing it. In this way, they construct a powerful identity in discourse to persuade the public. Thus, the candidate's use of *we* to identify with powerful individuals or political institutions may be a powerful technique in which they challenge the power differential between them and these groups.

In addition to the previous views, my argument that self-affiliation with an HPG augments the candidate's political self also draws upon the common feature of power between the *we* that candidates use to affiliate with political institutions, on the one hand, and the *presidential we* and the *royal we* that Presidents and monarchs use to refer to themselves, on the other hand. The comparison between these forms of *we* resides in the pragmatic message that politicians convey when identifying with powerful political institutions and that monarchs convey when using the *royal we*. In both forms of *we*, the speaker augments themselves to enhance a powerful image. The *royal we* was used first by past monarchs in Europe to refer to themselves as a Queen or King (Landert, 2014; Lee and Urban, 1989; Wales, 1996). The *royal we* is a plausible manifestation of semiotic power (McIntosh

&Williamson, 1963; Wales, 1996); it is the linguistic equivalent of the royal crown or throne (McIntosh &Williamson, 1963). Landert (2014) and Wales (1996) assert that the *royal we* is the plural of majesty, meaning *I* alone. In this sense, the *royal we* is exclusive, and thus, my own view is that the *royal we* is a strategy for political power augmentation. Power augmentation is also a function of the *presidential we*. Wales (1996) posits that the *royal we* is not dying out but is "relabeled as *presidential we* or *premiere we*" (p. 46). Wales contends that the *presidential we* may be ostensibly exclusive as in the speech of powerful figures, such as President Bush and John Major. It may be inclusive but it is also "highly representative or synecdochal, and often hides an egocentric agency" (Wales, 1996, p. 64). In view of this, the *royal,* and *presidential or premiere, we* manifest power. However, although the strategic goal of both forms of *we* is to exhibit power and augment the political self in discourse, in democracies the *presidential we* may differ in some political contexts from the *royal we*. In old monarchs, the King or Queen may be the ultimate power in the country; they may present themselves as the sole decision-makers. However, in a political system, the President is not the ultimate power. They work within an administration; the president can also be removed from Office by other powerful political and judicial institutions, such as Congress (see Bazan, 2005). Therefore, the *presidential we* (or *premiere we*), does not only refer to the President or Prime Minister as does the *royal we*, but it is also affiliative of another powerful group. Arguably, it may also refer to the supreme power of the country such as *we, America*. As such, the *presidential we* in this sense is inclusive. In view of this, the *presidential we* may not be seen as the "surviving" form of the *royal we,* as Wales (1996) claims, but rather a new form of *political we*.

The conclusion I wish to draw here is that if the use of *we* by royals and Presidents, intended to refer to themselves, is interpreted as an expression of power, then the candidate's use of *we* to affiliate themselves with these powers should also be an augmentation of power. Therefore, I argue that the candidate's identification with any political power is, in principle, a manifestation of power. Presidential candidates require a source of power in order to construct a powerful image which is threatened by the candidate's need and pursuit to win support, particularly from groups that have lower institutional power (i.e., the people). Therefore, by using *we* to affiliate with an HPG, candidates authorize themselves to speak on behalf of the administration, augmenting their political selves, and endowing themselves with agency in acts in which they may not have participated.

However, it is worth mentioning that although this manifestation of power constitutes the core function of self-affiliation with an HPG, the variety of contexts of political genre, particularly debates, enables politicians to use this form of *we* to achieve different effects. In some contexts, political self-augmentation is the direct and explicit function of the FPPP, whereas in others, such

manifestation of power may be implied. For example, in this study, when the FTA increases, the FPPP that includes an HPG is oriented towards saving Clinton's negative face rather than enhancing it, exploiting the HPG to evade responsibility for the FTA (see Section 7.2.2). The current section focuses on the context in which Clinton affiliates with powerful political institutions in order to achieve political self-augmentation, expanding the boundaries of her institutional identity to assume membership with oppositional political parties. The current section also explores whether the FPPP invokes political power more than does the FPSP in all contexts.

The most salient use of the FPPP for self-augmentation in Clinton's discourse, I argue, is manifested in Clinton's affiliation with the government that it is led by the oppositional political party (i.e., the Republicans). Thus, considering the political context in which Clinton speaks is essential to determining the meaning of the FPPP. Clinton's affiliation with the Republican-led government differs strategically from her affiliation with the Democrat-led government. In their analysis of Clinton's discourse, Proctor and Su (2011) argue that Clinton's identification with the Democrat-led government in 2009 is a manifestation of loyalty toward her political party. Therefore, it is valid to argue that Clinton's affiliation with the Republican-led government cannot be construed as a manifestation of loyalty toward the party. Instead, Clinton affiliates with the Republican-led government to enhance her political power. In the CHCDT, Clinton affiliates with the government that is led by the oppositional political party mainly in acts of criticism and suggestions (as will be shown in EX.7.2). Therefore, this type of affiliation may evoke two argumentative interpretations both of which I will refute in my analysis of the context in EX.7.2. The first argument is that in the act of criticism, Clinton identifies herself with the government as a negative-politeness strategy to alleviate her criticism against the government. The second interpretation suggests that in the acts that do not indicate criticism, and in which Clinton talks about positive actions of the Republican government, Clinton's affiliation with the Republicans may be a positive-politeness strategy to express solidarity and endorsement of the government's decisions, in a bid to win the government's support at that time in the election. The analysis of the context in EX 7.2 reveals that Clinton's affiliation with the Republican government is mainly a strategy to enhance her political power, rather than expressing solidarity or mitigating criticism.

However, before starting the analysis of the situational context in EX.7.2 in which Clinton identifies with the Republican government, it is essential to point out that when Clinton affiliates herself with the government, she refers to the administration itself. That is, Clinton's use of the FPPP to affiliate with the government cannot be construed as a generic use of the *governmental we*, but as referential to the government that occupies the White House at the moment of speaking. Pointing out

this synonymity between *government* and *administration* is integral to the interpretation of the meaning of the FPPP in such contexts. The context in EX.7.1 shows first how Clinton uses *government* and *administration,* interchangeably, to refer to the Republican government.

EX.7.1

1. **Clinton:** [..] and I similarly don't think that people cling to their traditions (.) like
2. hunting and guns- either when they are frustrated with ***the government*** (.) I (.) just don't
3. believe that's how people live their lives (.) now (.) that doesn't mean that people are not
4. frustrated with ***the government*** (.) *w*e have every reason to be frustrated (.) particularly
5. with ***this administration*** (.)

In EX7.1, Clinton uses the terms *government* and *administration* as loosely synonymous and interchangeable. She uses the third-perspective, *government* and *administration,* to accuse the government of being responsible for people's frustrations. Therefore, Clinton's affiliation with the government in EX.7.2 below implies affiliation with the administration itself. Another reason to interpret Clinton's affiliation with the government as affiliation with the Republican Administration draws on Proctor and Su's (2011) similar interpretation. As mentioned above, they argue that Clinton identifies with the government in 2009 to show loyalty to her Democratic Party that was occupying the White House at the time of speaking. Consequently, it can be concluded that Clinton's use of the *governmental we* in 2006, as in EX.7.2, implies identification with the Republican administration, albeit achieving a different effect.

To begin with, the analysis of EX.7.2, below, illustrates how Clinton constructs, deconstructs and reconstructs her discursive identities by alternating between different group memberships. To assume the identity of a highly authorized person in the Republican government, Clinton deconstructs her institutional identity as a Democrat, exploiting the flexibility of FPPP to shift the collective perspective back to her political party and reconstruct her Democratic identity, thus excluding the Republicans from the collective. Thus, in line with Fetzer's (2014) view, the fluidity of the FPPP enables Clinton to expand the boundaries of her institutional identity to share the successes and failures of the opposite-party government, as well as other past American governments, as EX.7.2 demonstrates.

Context EX.7.2 is from Clinton's debate against John Spencer, which took place in 2006 during the incumbency of the Republican Administration. Thus, by affiliating herself with the Republican government, Clinton expands the boundaries of her institutional identity to strategically enhance her

political power.

EX.7.2. [Hillary-Spencer debate for New York Senator, WABC-TV, New York, *Decision*, 2006]

1 **Interviewer**: Mr. spencer (.) senator Clinton (.) good evening to you (1) we talked
2 tonight about (.) Iraq and I'd like to talk to you first Senator Clinton [..]
3 you have criticized (.) Bush's handling of the situation in North Korea (1) saying
4 it's called no carrots (.) no sticks (2) meaning toothless (1) we suppose (1) using
5 what so called stick (.) what would you propose using (.) against North Korea
6 if they decide to move forward with their program (.) or decided to move forward
7 with another test (.) even though they promised to china (.) that they would not
8 do that? (.)

9 **Clinton**: hh you know (.) eh (.) North Korea is a (1) destabilizing force (.) not only
10 in the region but the world (1) its (2) pursuit of nuclear weapons poses a danger
11 (1) ah (.) to us (.) because the missiles they have a range (.) that could reach
12 Hawaii at least (.) and may be the west coast of the United States (1) so I have been
13 for several years now (1) questioning administration officials who appear before
14 the armed services committee (1) trying to understand what the strategy was (.)
15 the strategy to me (.) looked as though for the last (1) um you know (.) four or five
16 years **we have outsourced it to China** (1) I disagreed with that strategy (1) I
17 thought **we needed to be much more forceful** (.) so basically I think **we have**
18 **to do three things** (.) yes (.) **we now have sanctions** (.) not as though as I would
19 want them **but we** (.) **did get sanctions** out of the UN and **we need to especially**
20 **enforce them** (.) secondly (1) **if we will have the Six Party Talks** (.) **let's get**
21 **back to them** and **let's try to figure out** (.) **how china** (.) **will continue to put**
22 pressure on North Korea (.) but in addition (1) I think **we have made a mistake**
23 not having (1) a bilateral engagement with North Korea (.) this administration (.)
24 doesn't like to talk to people they disagree with (.) and I think that's a misjudgment (.)
25 **we talked all during the cold war** to the Soviet Union (.) they had thousands
26 of missiles pointed at us (1) I believe **we need to be engaged with North Korea** (.)
27 and I would hope that (1) **we'll make progress on this front** but **we can't take any**
28 **option off the table** (.) I think that (.) North Korea not only is a danger with its own
29 weapons (.) but will sell anything because it has (1) no means (.) of producing other
30 than weapons (.) and (.) ah so I would ah take no options off the table but I would
31 would pursue vigorously those (.) ah three areas (.)
32 **Interviewer**: I'd like to talk to you further about that [..] but since you mentioned the
33 Six Party talks eh Mr. Spencer (.) in a conversation with me last week hh (1) you said
34 eh (.) you support Six Party talks (1) as a (1) road to some resolution there (.) [..]
35 can we look at the Six Party talks as realistic when we've already seen this party (.)
36 North Korea (.) treat them as though they (.) didn't matter at all?
37 **Spencer**: I'll get to that real quick (.) let me again point out as Senator Clinton answered
38 that question how she handled it when the situation was unfolding about a week ago

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39   when North Korea when it was learned they were doing underground nuclear

40   testing and she was asked what was going on her immediate response was it's George

41   W Bush's fault (.) if they followed my husband's plan we wouldn't be in this situation

42   I think that is a bad response for a US Senator [..] what the Clinton Administration

43   did with bi-lateral talks is almost laughable [..]

44   **Interviewer**: Senator Clinton (.) you did mention the quote (.) let's take nothing off the

45   table (.) senator many people want to read into that insofar as use of military force (.) a

46   (.) at what point in your estimation (.) if at all (.) should the use of military force and

47   U.S. troops be a possible resolution in this issue? (.)

48   **Clinton**: well ah (.) let me first set the record straight (2) ah (1) um (.) out of the (.) ah

49   agreed framework that (.) ah was entered into in 1994 (.) there was (.) no platinum

50   reprocessing (.) there are two ways to make a nuclear weapon (.) reprocessing

51   Plutonium and (.) trying to (1) come up with highly (.) enriched Uranium (2) by far

52   far the easier way is (.) reprocessing plutonium (.) that did (.) not (.) happen (1) now (.)

53   **when we found out in** (1) the early part of Bush Administration(.) that (.) there had (.)

54   been (1) a secretive effort to (.) try come up with highly enriched uranium (.) it was

55   absolutely appropriate to (1) come down hard on the North Koreans (.) but what the

56   Bush administration did was to basically pull out (.) they said (.) you breached the

57   agreement (.) we're done with you that was like a big green light to the North

58   Koreans (.) let's process Plutonium that's (.) where the nuclear weapons come from

59   (.) there were no nuclear weapons (.) ah (.) that the North Koreans produced in the

60   1990s that we see them testing underground (.)

61   **Interviewer**: we are out of time If I could ask you (.) does it take nothing off the table

62   including the use of military troops? (.)

63   **Clinton**: absolutely it does (.) because **we've got troops in South Korea** for a reason

64   (1) **we** (.) **have been in a** (2) **low level (.) but consistent** (.) eh (.) **state of readiness**

65   against eh (.) North Korea for many years (.) and I think you cannot take anything off

66   the table the only way **we got the agreed framework** (.) eh (.) in 1994 was by making

67   it clear to Kim Jong Il that (.) military action was imminent (.)

    The extract in EX.7.2 comprises a number of exchanges between Clinton, the interviewer and Spencer in the debate held to elect New York Senator in 2006. Although the question in EX.7.2 addresses Clinton's own ability to solve the North Korean (hereinafter, NK) problem, Clinton chooses to identify with the Republican government more frequently than distancing herself from them using an *I–They* dichotomy (*we* in "we've got troops" is not classified here as a 'Republican' *governmental we* but as a *governmental we* only because the deployment of these troops was carried out by previous Democratic as well as Republican governments.) In this extract, within 536 words,

Clinton uses the FPPP 19 times, compared to 14 instances of the FPSP in her response to the question regarding her plans for handling the NK crisis (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 *Percentages of the First Person Plural Pronoun (FPPP) and the First Person Singular Person (FPSP) in Hillary Clinton's Discourse in EX.7.2*

FPSP				FPPP	
No.	Percentage of the pronoun in Clinton's words in EX.7.2		No.		Percentage of the pronoun in Clinton's words in EX.7.2
14	2.61%	HGP	Other PGs	Total	3.54%
		17	2	19	

Note. PGs: Power-Groups

Table 7.1 shows that in EX.7.2, Clinton uses the collective perspective more frequently than the individual: 3.54% for the FPPP vs. 2.61% for the FPSP. Interestingly, after the Republican opponent takes his turn, attacking Clinton, Clinton reduces the use of both pronominals in her subsequent turns. The implications of the differences in the frequency and uses between the FPPP and FPSP will be discussed below.

Of the 19 occurrences of the FPPP, Clinton affiliates herself with an HPG 17 times. In 15 of these 17 occurrences, Clinton uses a *governmental we,* as opposed to two occurrences with her political party, the Democrats, that is, the *Democratic we*. In this way, the g*overnmental we* makes up 88.23% of Clinton's use of the FPPP with an HPG and only 11.76% for the *Democratic we*. Importantly, in EX.7.2, Clinton's first exchange about the NK problem shows the highest frequency of affiliation with the Republican government. After her Republican opponent takes turn and attacks her for her criticism against the Republicans, Clinton either avoids or reduces affiliation with the Republicans in the subsequent exchanges. However, despite the opponent's attack against her, Clinton does not refrain completely from affiliating with the government in the last exchange. Table 7.2 shows the frequencies of the different forms of the FPPP per exchange and the percentage of each form within the overall uses of all the FPPP per exchange.

Table 7.2 *Percentage of the Forms of the First Person Plural Pronoun (FPPP) in Hillary Clinton's Discourse in EX.7.2 Before and After Her Opponent's Rebuttal*

Speech-Turn	FPPP for Republican		FPPP for Democrats		Other Power Groups	
	Governmental we		*Democratic we*			
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
First (before)	13	92.85%	0	0%	1	7.14%
Second (after)	0	0%	1	50%	1	50%
Third (after)	1	50%	1	50%	0	0%

Table 7.2 shows how Clinton reduces self-affiliation with the Republican government after her Republican opponent's attack. Of the 16 occurrences of *we* with an HPG in Clinton's first speech-turn, 13 instances are inclusive of the Republican government, making up 92.85% of her use of self-reference pronominals in the first exchange. As previously noted, Clinton's high frequency of identification with the Republicans in her response decreases in the exchanges that follow her Republican opponent's rebuttal to 0% and one occurrence in the second and third exchanges, respectively, shifting membership to Clinton's political party, the Democrats. This shift represents the construction of a particular identity as a shifting one (Bramley, 2001). That is, in the second exchange after her Republican opponent's rebuttal, Clinton deconstructs the institutional identity that she has already constructed as a member in the Republican collective by distancing the Republican government as a third-party (i.e., administration), and reconstructs her Democratic identity in the subsequent exchanges. However, although in lower frequency, Clinton's persistence to affiliate with the government in the last exchange despite the criticism from her opponent suggests that Clinton is still negotiating her political identity to maintain the image of an authoritative politician.

Clinton uses the FPPP to affiliate with the Republican government in EX.7.2, as mentioned above, in acts of criticism and suggestion. Consider the following utterances in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 *Governmental we Referring to the Republican Administration in Hillary Clinton's Discourse in EX.7.2*

Line	**Criticism**	Line	**Suggestions and Positive Actions**
15-16	For the last four or five years **we** have outsourced it to China.	17-18	I think **we** have to do three things.
		18	Yes, **we** now have sanctions.
16-17	I thought **we** needed to be more forceful.	19	**We** did get sanctions out of the UN.
22	I think **we** have made a mistake.	19-20	**We** need to especially enforce them.
63-64	**We** have been in a low level, but consistent, state of readiness against NK for many years.	20-21	If **we** will have six-part talks, **let's** get back to them.
		26	**We** need to be engaged with NK.

	27	I would hope that **we'll** make progress on this front.
	27-28	**We** can't take any option off the table.

The interpretation of the referent of the FPPP in these utterances as the Republican government is reinforced by Clinton's emphasis on time: "for the last four or five years," as in lines 15-16 (the debate took place in 2006 when the Republicans had finished five years of their term in the White House). Clinton uses the time reference to indirectly draw an association between the NK problem and the Republican Administration. Spencer's comment in lines 37–43 in his exchange with Clinton also indicates that Clinton's criticism pertaining to the NK problem is leveled against the Republican government, not the Democrats, or any other administration: "her immediate response was it's George W. Bush's fault; if they followed my husband's plan, we wouldn't be in this situation."

Arguably, in lines 63-64, in "we have been in a low level, but consistent, state of readiness against North Korea for many years," the referent of the FPPP is the Republicans. This is supported by Clinton's exploitation of the FPPP in her criticism against the Republican government and their administration in the whole speech-turn. This interpretation is also reinforced by Clinton's repetition of the time reference, *for many years* which she has specified previously as *for the last four or five years,* which stresses the Republicans' responsibility for the NK Crisis.

In Table 7.3, Clinton identifies with the Republican government to assume the role of a leader who makes suggestions, criticizes and evaluates the decisions and policies of the government. The use of the FPPP in these utterances cannot be interpreted as a strategy to align or express solidarity with the government since Clinton explicitly criticizes and distances this government in the same context. Using the collective perspective in these utterances instead augments Clinton's political self from a candidate running for New York Senator, to a leader who shares decisions with the highest institution of power in the country. Clinton could have distanced herself from the Republicans and their acts in context EX.7.2, through exclusive, other-reference pronominals or nominal references instead of using the inclusive *we*, which could have enhanced her institutional identity as a Democrat and strengthened her criticism against the Republicans, as in, for example:

*for the last four or five years ***the government*** (or this administration) has outsourced it to.

*I thought ***the government*** (or this administration) needed to be more forceful.

*I think ***the government*** (or this administration) has made a mistake not having a bilateral engagement with North Korea.

If Clinton had used the nominal-reference (i.e., the government/this administration), to distance

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herself from the Republicans and their acts as in the asterisked examples, her criticism would have been stronger in terms of the force of criticism against the Republicans and the foregrounding of her institutional identity as a Democrat. That is, the exclusive reference (*the government* and *this administration*) may imply that the Democratic Administration was more successful than the Republican in these policies. However, despite these advantages of exclusiveness, Clinton chooses to identify herself with the Republican government, assuming authority to speak on behalf of the government rather than speaking as a distant person with unfounded ideas. That is, the reiteration of the nominal-reference (*this administration*), instead of the FPPP would portray Clinton as a typical citizen with no authority to make decisions. Clinton may have perceived her views to be less persuasive to the hearers than when she proposes her ideas as someone implicated in an issue. That is, using the other-reference pronominals instead of the FPPP may strip her of the element of power that she needs for her image.

An important comparison to draw here is between Clinton's and Spencer's use of self- and other-references in expressing the same proposition in EX7.2. Lines 37-43 (for Spencer), and 53–60 (for Clinton) show that unlike her male opponent, Clinton tends to construct her multiple selves in unexpected situations to claim a role in an event and enhance her political power. Consider their utterances again in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 *Hillary Clinton and John Spencer's Use of Pronouns in Similar Propositions in EX.7.2*

Hillary Clinton	John Spencer
When **we found out** in the early part of Bush Administration that there had been a secretive effort to try to come up with enriched uranium [..] that **we see them testing** underground.	When the situation was unfolding about a week ago when North Korea, **when it was learned they were doing underground** nuclear testing.

The two opponents express two propositions: learning about the NK problem and seeing NK tests underground. However, whereas Spencer's language shows his distance from the problem, knowing about it only "a week ago," Clinton claims a role in the event given that it started "in the early part of Bush Administration." She implicates herself in the situation once within the Democratic collective (in "we found out") and once within multiple powerful collectives (in "we see them"). That is, in contrast to Clinton, Spencer does not claim agency in knowing about the news or seeing NK test underground although he was in Office since 1996 (Bruce, 2006). Clinton, on the other hand, tends to assume a role within a powerful collective, endowing herself with agency, showing more

egocentricity than Spencer in constructing her discursive identity. In this sense, I argue that Clinton's tactic here is more persuasive than Spencer's because she shows herself as an active member in the government who is engaged in all the activities despite her position or responsibilities at the time of the event. Spencer, on the other hand, distances himself from the political arena and casts himself as an audience watching the event, rather than actively participating in it. This supports the argument above that Clinton uses the collective perspective to enhance her image as an experienced and authoritative politician. Most significantly, the *We–They* dichotomy between Clinton's political party and the Republican Administration (Bush Administration) in line 53 helps Clinton reconstruct her identity as a loyal Democrat, while maintaining a position within a powerful collective after distancing herself from the government. Clinton's shift to affiliate with her political party in line 53 functions as a face-saving strategy.

As aforementioned, although Clinton's affiliation with an HPG may enhance her political power as a participant in the decision-making process, it may, on the other hand, threaten her face if she achieves this through deconstructing her Democratic identity. Thus, as already noted, in line 53, Clinton utilizes pronominal shifts in the process of deconstructing-reconstructing her institutional identity to repair her image as a loyal Democrat, and redraw boundaries between her and the Republicans. Therefore, in addition to the shift from affiliative *we to* distal *they* when referring to the Republicans, Clinton alternates between the FPPP and the FPSP, on the one hand, and between different group memberships, on the other, to redraw these identity boundaries. Each shift fulfills a particular discursive goal to reconstruct her identity.

In redrawing these boundaries, Clinton exploits the individual perspective to create an *I–We* dichotomy, where *we* refers to the Republicans. With this dichotomy, Clinton underscores her personal stance on the criticized issue of the NK crisis and alleviates the imposition that is caused by affiliating herself with the incompetent, Republican-led administration (as aforementioned, 'stance' in this thesis is a social or political term, not linguistic. Generally, it means the position taken on an issue, the beliefs held about something. In this political context, 'stance' means the attitude adopted in confronting or dealing with a particular situation). Interestingly, in such a dichotomy, the FPPP in Clinton's response collocates more frequently with verb-processes that indicate action whereas the FPSP collocates more frequently with verb-processes of cognition, perception, senses, and so forth. However, this difference in the type of verb between the two pronouns is not specific to *governmental we* but is also observed with other forms of *we* in Clinton's discourse. In the same vein, although this analysis applies, here, to Clinton's response in EX.7.2, I have shown that this verb-collocation pattern is consistent in Clinton's discourse in the CHCDT (as the remaining examples in this chapter will

show), which foregrounds Clinton's collective identity over her independent or personal identity and aligns with Millar's (2015) conclusions about the woman Danish Prime Minster. Table 7.5 illustrates the type of verb-process that co-occurs with the FPSP and the FPPP, as subject (actor), in Clinton's discourse in EX.7.2 based on Halliday's Transitivity System (1985) (see Section 5.4.2).

Table 7.5 *Frequency of Verb-Processes with FPPP and FPSP (Position of the Actor/Performer only) in Hillary Clinton's Response in EX.7.2*

Verb	Material		Mental		Relational		Verbal	
Pronoun	Freq.	Example	Freq.	Example	Freq.	Example	Freq.	Example
FPPP	7	do, enforce, get back, make take, engage in, outsource.	3	find out, figure out, see.	6	be, have, get.	1	talk.
FPSP	2	take, pursue.	10	want, believe, hope, disagree think, understand.		NA	1	Question.

Note. FPSP: First person singular pronoun, FPPP: First person plural pronoun, NA: *Not Applicable*

Table 7.5 shows that Clinton uses the FPPP more frequently with material processes that indicate action (or doing things) whereas she uses the FPSP much more frequently with the mental processes that indicate attitude, feelings, cognition, and perception. This may indicate that Clinton tends to emphasize the individual responsibility when verbs do not demand action. Importantly, most occurrences of the FPSP in Clinton's response occur in hedges such as *I believe*, *I think*, *I thought*, and *I would hope that* (the FPPP rarely occurs with other hedges, only in *if we will* in line 18). When the FPSP occurs in a non-hedge, it also occurs with a mental verb in on-record criticism in "I **disagreed** with that," where she explicitly states her stance from the Republicans' policies. This notable frequency of hedges with the FPSP, which Clinton uses before the FPPP in EX.7.2, shows how Clinton employs the FPSP to distance herself ideologically from the proposition in which she assumes collective responsibility for the failed acts or future acts of the oppositional-party government. The hedge also signals the imposition of the utterance on Clinton's face (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1975) when she assumes collective agency in acts that are performed or will be performed by the opposite-party government. Consider again the pattern of alternation between the FPPP and FPSP, which Clinton employs to save her image from the responsibility that might be accorded her as a result of identifying with the Republican government in EX.7.2.

- The strategy to *me* looked as though for the last four or five years *we* have outsourced it to China. *I* disagreed with that strategy. *I* thought *we* needed to be more forceful [..] *I* think *we* have made a mistake not having a bilateral engagement with North Korea- *I* think that's a misjudgment [..].

The pattern of alteration between the FPSP and FPPP enables Clinton to express her ideologies and attitudes toward the propositions that express the collective responsibility, on the one hand, and to reduce the effect of the collective responsibility, on the other. The FPSP in the hedge draws a boundary between Clinton's individual self and collective self. Without the hedge, Clinton's stance on the government's mistake would be obscured. For example, if Clinton did not use the hedge, *I thought*, in "I thought we needed to be more forceful," it would not be clear whether or not she aligned with the government in the past when the government was not forceful enough toward the issue. Without the hedge, Clinton may threaten her face as someone responsible for the failure. Interestingly, Clinton seems to actively exploit not only the pronoun of the hedge, but also the tense of the verb-process in the hedge to reinforce the effect of the hedge. That is, the tense of the verb-process with the FPSP in the hedge agrees in tense with the verb-process in the main proposition with the FPPP. In "I thought we needed," Clinton implies that she had this stance against the NK problem since it had started. Compare this with a constructed utterance in which Clinton uses the hedge in the present tense and the FPPP in the past tense.

*I think we needed to be more forceful.

Using *think* instead of *thought* may imply that Clinton has realized the mistake now, not when the mishandling of the problem was taking place in the past. That is, it may imply that she aligned with the Republican's policies against NK when the crisis started, and just now she has realized the mistake. Similarly, when the FPSP in the hedge is used in the present tense, Clinton uses the FPPP in the same utterance in the present tense, as in "I think we have made a mistake not having a bilateral engagement with North Korea." Clinton uses *think* in the present form which corresponds to the present perfect tense of the proposition with the FPPP in "we have made a mistake,*"* and vice versa. The use of the present perfect with the FPPP is significant. By using the present tense and present perfect with the issue of not having bilateral talks with NK, Clinton seems to emphasize a connection between the act of not having bilateral talks and the Republicans as the only responsible for the act. Clinton does not use the past tense that she has used in the previous utterance in "*we needed to be more forceful.*" She does not say, for example, *we made a mistake*. Since the present perfect tense indicates an action happening at some point in the past and being related to the present (i.e., the time

of speaking), the use of the present perfect tense in "we have made a mistake," implies that the collective who is responsible for the act is the Republicans, as they are the ones who are still in the White House at the moment of speaking, and thus, the FPPP in this way is exclusive of the Democrats. The concordance of tense between the FPPP verb and the FPSP verb in the hedge indicates Clinton's emphasis on the connection between her personal stance from the issue and the time hedge when she takes the stance, and which, in turn, proves how Clinton actively exploits pronominals and other linguistic features to construct a particular political self.

As already noted, shifting to the *Democratic we* and the *I–We* dichotomy is not the only tactic that Clinton uses to reconstruct her Democratic and political identity. Clinton tends to repair her alignment with her political opponents by affiliating with other powerful collectives that are exclusive of the Republicans, and using other-references to distance herself from the Republican government and their administration. As such, Clinton alternates between different group memberships and third-person pronominal and nominal references, creating another *We–They* dichotomy in some instances.

As mentioned above, in EX.7.2, when Clinton makes on-record criticism against the Republican government, she shifts reference to the Republican government simultaneously from the affiliative *governmental we* to the distancing third-person pronominal and nominal references such as *they*, *administration* or *Bush Administration* (see EX.7.1 for illustrations on the synonymous relation between *government* and *administration* in Clinton's discourse). The shift in reference to the third-person saves Clinton's face which has already been threatened through the sharing of failed policies with the Republican government and by apologizing for a failure that was not hers. Consider, for example, these lines from EX.7.2, where Clinton distances the Republican Administration in on-record criticism in *We–They* dichotomy.

Table 7.6 *Utterances of We–They Dichotomy in Hillary Clinton's Discourse in EX.7.2*

Line	Utterance
23-25	*This administration* doesn't like to talk to people *they* disagree with. I think that's a misjudgment. W**e talked all during the cold war** to the Soviet Union.

The shift in lines 23-25, shows "shifts in the construction of group membership" (Bramley, 2001). In these lines, Clinton shifts to the distancing nominal-reference (*this administration*) and the third-person pronoun, *they* in "they disagree with" after a series of affiliation with the Republican government to shift perspective from inclusiveness to exclusiveness regarding the government. In the

We–They dichotomy, the *we* is inclusive of other HPGs, such as other American governments, and her political party, but exclusive of the Republicans. In this way, Clinton shifts the source of power from the Republican government to other American governments.

Clinton uses this inclusive-exclusive *we* for different effects. First, she aligns herself with all previous American administrations, who talked to NK. More importantly, she distances herself ideologically from the Republican Administration and their policies, on the one hand, simultaneously distancing the Republican Administration from all previous American administrations, on the other. Most significantly, she maintains self-augmentation for her political self through affiliating with other HPGs. This shift of membership also manifests how Clinton exploits the flexibility of the FPPP to expand the boundaries of her institutional identity to endow herself with agency in the successful decisions made by other American administrations. That is, the shared action with the previous governments took place during the Cold War, the period between 1985 and 1991 (Gaddis, 1997) when Clinton did not yet have any position in Office that could qualify her to engage in these talks (Bernstein, 2007; Clinton, 2004; Kelley, 2001). Compare the constructed utterances had Clinton distanced the other American governments instead of affiliating with them.

*This administration does not like to talk to people they disagree with. ***American administrations*** all talked during Cold War.

The use of the nominal reference instead of the FPPP in line 25 would distance Clinton from both the Republican administration and other American administrations, making the utterance less enhancing to her political power. The use of the third-person perspective in the distancing reference, *American Administrations* instead of the collective perspective, could have been persuasive enough in terms of distancing the Republican (Bush) Administration and expressing Clinton's identity as a Democrat. However, Clinton uses the collective perspective in "we talked all" to maintain a position in the political scene, endowing herself with agency in the act to enhance her political power by sharing responsibility for successful actions that took place when she was not yet recognized in the political arena. Consequently, it can be concluded that when Clinton distances herself from one collective, she tends to construct membership with another collective to enhance her political identity.

It is noteworthy that when Clinton alternates between the individual self, her collective selves, and *others*, as in the previous examples, this process of construction occurs in a complex series of moves, supporting Wilson's view (1990) that politicians exploit pronominals to show varying degrees of distance from *self*. These discursive moves, as in lines 23-25, also foreground the role of the sequential context in constructing the meaning of the FPPP in discourse.

However, the shift that reveals salient aspects of Clinton's discursive identity is Clinton's

alternation between different pronominals to express the same proposition in the micro-linguistic context. The importance of this shift resides in two aspects: the pragmatic meaning that each pronominal conveys in terms of identity-work and the modality that collocates with each pronominal.

What I find more striking regarding Clinton's discursive identity in this study is how she switches between the collective selves, the individual self, and "other" to express the same proposition whenever she reiterates or rephrases the proposition in the micro-linguistic context. These switches between pronominals are usually accompanied by a shift in modality, and therefore, convey different pragmatic messages. This discourse practice in Clinton's speech may be determined by three factors: Clinton's use of the pronominals in the preceding utterances; the interviewer's choice of pronominals; and the FTA in which the pronominal is employed. In EX.7.2, for example, Clinton reiterates the proposition: "not taking option off the table" with different perspectives of self-reference as Tables 7.7 demonstrates.

Table 7.7 *Hillary Clinton's Different Pronominal Choices for One Proposition in EX.7.2*

Line	Exchange	Utterance
27-28	1st	But **we can't** take any option off the table.
30	1st	So, **I would** take no option off the table.
65	3rd	I think **you cannot take** anything off the table.

The utterances in lines 27 and 30 occur in Clinton's first exchange in line with the interviewer's first question on the topic, "what would you propose using against North Korea if they decide to move forward with their program?" The utterance in line 65, on the other hand, is a response to the interviewer's question, "Does it take nothing off the table including the use of military troops?" in the third exchange in lines 61 and 62.

The context in lines 27 and 30 shows that Clinton's choice of the FPPP in "we can't take any option off the table" follows a series of affiliation with the government. Therefore, using the FPPP in line 27 may be determined by the use of previous FPPPs which Clinton uses to augment her political self. In line 30, on the other hand, Clinton's use of the FPSP to express the same proposition may be attributed to two factors: the place of the utterance and the interviewer's choice of pronominals. Clinton utters the proposition at the end her speech-turn, and, thus, focuses attention on her own and final decision, using the perspective that aligns with the interviewer's question. Given that the FPSP shows subjectivity (Malone, 1997; Pennycook, 1994) in terms of showing Clinton's personal position on the issue (Millar, 2015), Clinton shifts to the FPSP in this proposition to emphasize her independence of action and to take full responsibility for her decision, after sharing most decisions

with the government. She aims at the end of her turn to portray the image of a leader who is responsible and committed.

In the third exchange, on the other hand, Clinton uses the impersonalized perspective, invoked by a generic *you* in "you cannot take anything off the table." In her response to the interviewer's third time of asking the question, Clinton seems to align her perspective with the interviewer's question "Does it take nothing off the table" in lines 61 and 62. The interviewer's use of the impersonal construction in the question may have prompted Clinton to give an impersonal answer, too, distancing herself completely from the responsibility for the act. The interviewer's choice of *it* indicates his avoidance of referring to Clinton directly, probably because the repetition of the question has increased his impingement on her face. Arguably, this impersonalization of construction may also be the interviewer's last-ditch strategy to elicit a different answer from Clinton on his question. The argument that the question impinges on Clinton's face is supported by the other linguistic choices that Clinton makes in the same utterance in line 65, either indefiniteness or hedging. First, indefiniteness in Clinton's response, in line 65, is not only in the choice of the pronominal but is also in the use of indefinite pronoun *anything* instead of *any option* or *no option* as in the other two utterances. Clinton also uses the hedge *I think* followed by a generic SPP. As aforementioned, the hedge signals the imposition that the question makes (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1975) and, thus, Clinton attempts to distance herself from both the proposition and the government. However, using the generic SPP, I argue, not only lessens Clinton's responsibility for the utterance but also reduces her discursive power because it completely excludes her from the political scene. It also obscures her political and institutional identity because her role in the proposition is not defined. Generally speaking, among the three different pronominal choices in *taking no options off*, the use of the personal perspective (FPSP), I argue, would be expected to show the strongest image of Clinton as a politician. The individual perspective, *I*, invokes a sense of an individual of power (Bramley, 2001) because it helps Clinton to create an image of "a responsible leader and shows her personal commitment and full agency" (Beard, 2000, p. 45). The FPSP, thus, should make the utterance more persuasive and truthful. However, Clinton's choice of the modal that collocates with the FPSP does not invoke this image. The analysis of various contexts in the CHCDT has also shown that Clinton tends to reveal higher confidence and assertiveness in expressing her collective, rather than individual, identity, not only in terms of frequency and verb-processes, but, more importantly, through modals. That is, whereas Clinton uses modals of certainty and commitment with the FPPP, she tends to use modals of uncertainty or contingency more frequently with the FPSP.

Using *we* and *you* in the three propositions, Clinton shows more certainty in expressing the verb with *can't*, which here indicates the state that the speaker is certain that something is not the case or will not happen (Palmer, 1990). However, Clinton does not repeat modal *can*(*not*) with the FPSP to say, *I can't take any option off*. Instead, she replaces it with modal *would* which indicates "hypothetical willingness" (Coates 1983, p. 211), and lacks the assertive force of *can't* (Aidinlou and Mohammadpour, 2012). It is arguable, however, that Clinton uses modal *would* because she speaks about a hypothetical situation; that is, if being elected as President, and thus, using *would* should not be assessed as powerless. However, my argument of Clinton's less powerful self-presentation when using the personal perspective is based on two premises. First, this conclusion draws on three propositions in the same response (i.e., the micro-linguistic context) and expressing the same proposition, not on one single utterance or separate propositions in different speech-turns across the data (i.e., the macro-linguistic context). Therefore, it is valid to assume that Clinton varies the pronoun and the modal to express one proposition with pragmatic implications pertaining to identity work. Most significantly, this argument also draws on other comparable utterances in Obama's discourse in similar propositions at the macro-level of context.

In a similar utterance to that of Clinton, (i.e., "taking no option off the table"), Obama uses *will* instead of *would*. In EX.7.3 below, although the interviewer's question to Obama does not directly address Obama's personal action (unlike the interviewer's question to Clinton in EX.7.2), Obama uses the FPSP to index full agency and to focus on his own policy. Consider the interviewer's question to Obama and Obama's response in EX7.3.

EX.7.3 [Clinton-Obama debate, ABC News, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April, 2008]

1. **Interviewer**: should it be U.S. policy now to treat Iranian attack on Israel as if it were
2. an attack against the United States?
3. **Obama**: [..] *they* should know that **I *will* take no options off the table** when it comes to
4. preventing *them* from using nuclear weapons.

Obama's use of *will* with the FPSP in line 3 in EX.7.3 shows a higher level of commitment, assertiveness and greater self-confidence in the proposition being presented (Coates, 1983; Lillian, 2008). It also evokes a sense of confidence in portraying Obama's election as reality whereas Clinton's use of *would* evokes a sense of doubt in her chances of becoming President when compared to Obama's language, which may contribute with other discourse practices to influence the voters' decision in 2008. Overall, Clinton's utterances, both in the FPPP and the FPSP in lines 27 and 30 in EX.7.2, I argue, are less forceful than that of Obama in two ways: the choice of modality and the pronominal itself. First, unlike Obama, when Clinton chooses *I*, she weakens the force of the FPSP

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with hesitation markers and the modal of hypotheticality and uncertainty, *would*. On the other hand, her use of the FPPP to assume a collective responsibility for the act has diminished the force of her commitment and capability as an individual politician to perform the action despite the degree of certainty in *can't*.

The argument that Clinton's choice of the FPPP to affiliate with an HPG may make her utterance less powerful than that of Obama can also be supported by another example of Clinton's discourse that is comparable to those of Obama in EX.7.3. While Obama uses the FPSP to construct the powerful identity of a leader in the Iranian crisis in EX.7.3, above, Clinton uses the FPPP to express her stance from the same issue in the same debate in EX.7.4.

EX.7.4 [Clinton-Obama debate, ABC News, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April, 2008]

1. **Clinton**: [..] and **we *will* let the Iranians know** that (.) yes an attack on Israel would
2. trigger massive retaliation (.) but so would an attack on those countries that are willing
3. to go under the security umbrella and forswear their own nuclear ambitions (.) and
4. finally (.) **we cannot permit Iran** to become a nuclear weapons power (.)

Interestingly, Clinton's pronominal choices in EX.7.4 when she runs for President are similar to those in EX.7.2 when she was running for New York Senator. Her presentation of self is similar in terms of foregrounding her collective identity, and using the modality of certainty and commitment with the FPPP. Importantly, in EX.7.3, Obama creates an *I–They* dichotomy by which he forges two poles of power: himself as one pole and the Iranians as the other, thus exhibiting himself as a responsible and powerful leader. Clinton, in EX.7.4, on the other hand, chooses the *We–They* dichotomy by which she also creates the two poles of power but including herself within one pole with the government, and the Iranians in the other pole. That is, she attaches herself to the power of a collective, unlike Obama, who presents himself as single power in the face of the enemies. Consider another example of the two candidates' use of pronominals and modals in stating their decisions about the Iraqi crisis in the same debate in 2008 (EX 7.5 and 7.6).

[Clinton-Obama debate, ABC News, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April, 2008]
EX. 7.5

1. **Obama**: (.) I have said that as soon as **I take office I will call** in the Joint Chiefs of Staff [..]

EX.7.6

1. **Clinton**: (.) I've also said that **I would** begin to withdraw within sixty days based on a
2. plan that I ask begun to be put together as soon as I **became president** (.) and **I think**
3. **we can take** out one to two brigades a month [..]

Clinton's propositions in EX 7.6 in lines 1 and 2 are, I argue, less forceful than Obama's propositions in EX.7.5, line 1. As above, Clinton uses *will* when she speaks in the collective perspective but *would* when she speaks in the personal perspective. Obama's use of *will* displays more certainty and confidence in carrying out the action compared to Clinton's use of *would*. This degree of uncertainty in Clinton's discourse when using the FPSP is also evident in her use of the past tense with verb-processes that co-occur with the FPSP when expressing future actions as in "as I became president." Obama, in contrast, uses the present tense that indicates reality in "as soon as I take Office."

In conclusion, the analysis of Clinton's discourse above has shown that Clinton favors the collective perspective to construct her political identities when confronted with her stance on different political issues. Using the FPPP highly frequently is a common discursive practice among candidates, and politicians in general (Bramley, 2001; Fetzer, 2014; Millar, 2015; Proctor & Su, 2011), because it is seen as a characteristic of charismatic leadership (Millar, 2015), which is often associated with successful crisis management (Ladkin, 2010; Millar, 2015). However, although I have pointed out Clinton's dexterity in exploiting the FPPP to enhance her political image, I argue that, in many instances in the CHCDT, Clinton overuses the pronominal in a way that blurs her political identity instead of enhancing it. This argument is supported by the salient difference between Clinton and her male opponent in choosing the FPPP when they both express similar propositions. Obama tends to use the singular self-reference (or FPSP) to express similar propositions that Clinton tends to express in the collective perspective (or FPPP). Furthermore, when using the personal perspective, the FPSP, to construct an independent and singular identity, Clinton chooses modality that lacks assertiveness and commitment, and verb-processes that do not express action. Clinton's avoidance of taking individual responsibility for decisions, or, in Millar's (2015) words, "resistance of self-reference" (p. 86), in many instances may be attributed to her perception of her power-status as a candidate who needs to reflect the image of a leader who is engaged in political decision-making. Therefore, the FPSP shows a unitary self (Pennycook, 1994), which Clinton may perceive as less persuasive and powerful in self-presentation than her collective, multiple selves.

Importantly, Clinton's perception of a powerful identity as a member of a powerful collective rather than an individual may not necessarily be perceived in the same way by the audience and ratified hearers. Clinton's overuse of the *governmental we* or *Democratic we* as a self-augmentation strategy may not necessarily be perceived by the hearers as a powerful strategy of self-presentation in all contexts. Actually, in politicians' discourse, *I* evokes a sense of power and is central to the representation of self; it stresses the singular, unitary self in decision-making and reflects the identity

of a leader (Bramley, 2001; Wales, 1996). In using the individual perspective in verbs that indicate actions, the candidate constructs an image of a leader; one who has the ultimate power to make a decision, as in Obama's assertions in EX.7.3 and EX.7.5. Obama's use of *I–They* dichotomy under the same contextual factors shows a more powerful identity than does Clinton's *We–They* dichotomy. The *I–They* dichotomy implies two poles of power: the speaker and the opponents, which expresses an identity of a committed leader opposing anti-American powers. Clinton's *We–They* dichotomy, on the other hand, expresses an identity of a member acquiring power from the decision-making institution. These differences between Clinton and Obama in the representation of self may have accumulated, in many other contexts (as will be illustrated below), to reveal Obama as a more powerful political identity, and thus, may have contributed to his victory over Clinton in the 2008 presidential elections. However, to avoid drawing premature conclusions regarding Clinton's gendered use of the FPPP, her use of the FPPP in a broader set of contexts should be considered, as will be illustrated in the remaining part of this chapter and the ensuing two chapters. Section 7.2.1.2 discusses how Clinton exploits the FPPP to strategically identify with an HPG to save her negative face when she is confronted with her unsuccessful policies.

7.2.1.2 Co-implicating Political Party to Minimize Responsibility for Failure

Clinton exploits the FPPP not only to enhance her positive face as exemplified in Section 7.2.1.1, but also to save her negative face when she is confronted with her personal unsuccessful policies. In contrast to her strategic use of the FPPP in EX.7.2 where Clinton co-implicates herself in the failure of an HPG, this section shows how Clinton co-implicates her political party in her own political failure to alleviate the imposition of the FTA on her negative face.

Co-implicating the political party in the FTA enables Clinton to evade personal accountability and deflect attention toward a collective responsibility while simultaneously maintaining a powerful image as a member of a powerful collective. However, by using the collective perspective to talk about her personal political actions, Clinton may compromise her authority (Millar, 2015) and detract from her image as a powerful, decisive and independent leader. This section will show that identity strategies of any kind have their merits and drawbacks, depending on context. That is, whereas Clinton assumes collective agency to evade responsibility for failure, in some cases, she acknowledges the same failure, as a constructive strategy to enhance her face.

In this section, I am going to talk about the threats to Clinton's negative face caused either by the criticism leveled at her because of her failure or the defense she makes to justify her failure. The CHCDT shows that Clinton reconstructs her institutional identity to disperse the responsibility for her

failure within the political institution. This strategy is manifested in her response to the interviewer's criticism against her failed plan for her healthcare proposal in 1993–94. Consider her speech-turn in EX.7.7 in her debate against Rick Lazio when running for New York Senator in 2000.

EX.7.7 [Clinton-Lazio debate, NBC News, 2000, New York, *Decision*]

1   **Interviewer:** in 1993-94 you proposed a health care bill that was very controversial in

2   (.) this state (1) the man that you want to replace (.) Daniel Patrick Moynihan (.) had this to

3   say (.) and I'll show you on your monitor and I'll show our voters (.) the administration's solution

4   was rationing (.) cut the number of doctors by a quarter (1) specialists by a half (1) and he went

5   on to say teaching hospitals would be at risk (.) the finance committee passed a bill in 94 to provide

6   financing (.) for the medical schools and the teaching hospitals (.) the Clinton administration

7   why did you propose (.) cutting the number of doctors by 25 percent, the number of specialists

8   by 50 percent? (.)

9   **Clinton**: hh (.) well Tim let me start by saying that I'm (.) delighted to be here this evening (.) with you

10 (.) and with (.) Bob and Scott and the audience (.) and I really appreciate this opportunity (.) to talk

11 about the important issues in this race facing New York and our country (.) hh (1) you know in 1993

12 and 1994 ah (1) **we did** (.) **attempt to** (.) **reform our health care to provide** (.) **system universal** (.)

13 **health care coverage** (.) now as everyone knows (.) that was not successful (.) hh (.) but **we learned**

14 **a lot** (.) and I in particular learned a lot about (.) **what we can do step by step to try to reach** the

15 **goal of providing quality affordable health care** (1) hh and here in New York there isn't any more

16 important part of the health care system than the teaching hospitals which are (.) really the crown

17 (.) jewels of (.) the eh health care system (.) hh (1) **we did propose a funding stream** that (.)

18 would've provided additional funds to the hospitals hh (1) but **we still have not done enough**

19 **six (.) seven years later (.) ah** Senator Moynihan is absolutely right to propose (.)

20 a piece of legislation (.) that would guarantee (.) that our teaching hospitals will be funded to perform

21 the functions that they do (.) hh which cannot be performed (.) within the market at a profit namely (.)

22 training our doctors and nurses and providing health care for the sickest of the sick (.) and doing

23 the research we all benefit from hh (.) you know when **we made a proposal** Tim (.) it was to be a

24 starting point (.) a basis for argument and compromise within the legislative process (.) but I've

25 always been committed (.) to (.) ensuring that **we have the specialty care that's needed** and

26 particularly (.) that **we support our teaching hospitals** (.)

The context in EX.7.7 is Clinton's first run for what would be her first position in Office as New York Senator, in the senatorial elections in 2000 at the end of Bill Clinton's second term. The

political context of EX.7.7 is the Democratic incumbency. Therefore, Clinton's affiliation with the government in EX.7.7 implies an affiliation with the Democrats, but possibly not vice versa. (This view aligns with Proctor and Su's (2011) interpretation of Clinton's affiliation with the Democratic government in 2009.)

The question in EX.7.7 addresses Clinton's failed proposal for healthcare in 1994 during Bill Clinton's first term. Although it may be arguable that the interviewer's use of *you* in "why did you propose cutting the number of doctors by 25 percent, the number of specialists by 50 percent," offers the pragmatic space to adopt a collective 'voice of the group' in response, due to the absence of plurality in the second-person pronoun in English, I contend that the address here is singular and personal. This is supported, first, by the fact that on different occasions, Clinton claims individual responsibility for her healthcare plan proposal, using the FPSP to take full responsibility for the proposal, as will be illustrated in EX.7.8 and EX.7.9. Secondly, candidates are usually questioned over their own views and policies rather than the actions of their political party (see Mollick & Lockhart, 2015). Thus, Clinton does not use the collective perspective to align with the interviewer's question but to deflect attention from her full responsibility for the unsuccessful proposal.

The interviewer's question accuses Clinton to have stood against teaching hospitals in her proposed plan. The question exerts a high imposition on Clinton's negative face, observed in the high frequency of the FPPP, instead of the FPSP, in her response to this question probing her personal actions. This "resistance" to taking individual responsibility signifies Clinton's attempt to save her threatened face by dispersing responsibility within the collectivity. The FPPP in the subject position in EX.7.7 occurs highly frequently in Clinton's speech-turn, indexing a membership of different collectives. In EX.7.7, Clinton utters 279 words. Most of the FPPPs in the speech-turn are inclusive of Clinton's political party, which will be labeled here as the *Democratic we.* Compare the frequency of the FPPP and the FPSP in EX.7.7 when Clinton uses the pronominal in the position of the actor (doer) of the verb-process in Table 7.8.

Table 7. 8 *Percentages of the First Person Plural Pronoun (FPPP) and First Person Singular Pronoun (FPSP) (as the Actor of the Verb) in Hillary Clinton's Discourse in EX.7.7*

FPSP				FPPP	
Freq.	Percent of the FPSP out of the total no. of words in Clinton's speech-turn in EX.7.7		Freq.		Percent of the FPPP out of the total no. of words in Clinton's speech-turn in EX.7.7
5	1.79%	HPG	Other PGs	**Total**	5.01%
		8	6	**14**	

Note. PGs: Power-Groups

Table 7.8 illustrates that in EX.7.7, Clinton refers to herself collectively considerably more frequently than she does individually: 5.01% vs. 1.79%, respectively. Eight occurrences of the FPPP comprise affiliation with an HPG: notably, Clinton's Democratic Party. Also, as in EX.7.2, the type of verbs that collocate with each pronominal foregrounds Clinton's collective identity. As previously noted, Clinton favors verbs of action when using the collective perspective. In EX.7.7, Clinton uses the FPPP with most verb-processes that describe the failure of the proposal. Consider the utterances in which Clinton uses the collective perspective to talk about her unsuccessful plan, compared to the ones in which she takes individual responsibility for the failure of her healthcare plan in EX.7.7. See Table 7.9 for utterances in which Clinton uses the FPPP and FPSP.

Table 7.9. *Utterances with the First Person Plural (FPPP) and First Person Singular Pronouns (FPSP) in Hillary Clinton's Discourse in EX.7.7*

FPSP		FPPP	
Line	Utterance	Line	Utterance
9	**I**'m delighted to be here this evening with you.	12	**We** did attempt to reform our health care system.
10	And **I** really appreciate this opportunity to talk about the important issues.	13-14	**We** learned a lot/what **we** can do step by step.
14	**I**, in particular, learned a lot.	17	**We** did propose a funding stream
24-25	But **I**'ve always been committed to ensuring that we have [..]	18	**We** still have not done enough.
		23	**We** made a proposal.
		25	**We** have the specialty care.
		26	**We** support our teaching hospitals.

From Table 7.9, it can be concluded that the FPPP occurs with all verbs that directly express the process of making the proposal. Interestingly, Clinton uses emphatic *do* twice only with the FPPP in lines 12 and 17, which suggests a defensive attitude towards the proposition. The FPSP, on the other hand, occurs in two instances that indicate Clinton's mental experience (*learn*) or attitude (*be committed*) toward issues related to the proposal. Within the eight occurrences of the FPPP to affiliate with an HPG, Clinton uses material verb-processes almost exclusively with the FPPP in seven occurrences; that is, with verbs that indicate action taken towards achieving the proposal such as *reform*, *propose*, *make*, *do*, *support.* The FPSP, on the other hand, occurs only with the mental-relational verbs: *appreciate*, *learn, be delighted*, and *be committed*. Hence, Clinton foregrounds her collective identity when she mentions the political activities that resulted in the failure of her plan. In contrast, she expresses her individual identity in events that are not responsible for the actions relevant to the proposition of the healthcare plan, foregrounding more cognitive, reflective processes arising from hindsight (after the failed event). In this way, self-affiliation implies that Clinton's actions should be judged collectively, not individually, and potentially implicates that the reason for the failure lies in the actions of her Democratic colleagues, for which she is not responsible, and over which she has no control.

Importantly, as illustrated in previous examples (see EX.7.2), when a proposition contains both an FPPP and FPSP, Clinton is more likely to use the FPSP with mental verbs before the FPPP that expresses the main verb of the proposition as in EX.7.7, lines 24-26.

- But **I've** always been committed to ensuring that **we have** the specialty care that's needed and particularly, that **we support** our teaching hospitals.

This pattern of the *I–We* dichotomy foregrounds the propositions in the FPPP over the one in the FPSP. Clinton expresses the two main acts that she is committed to in the collective perspective.

The argument that Clinton constructs her institutional identity in EX.7.7 to strategically distribute responsibility for political action among Democrats and evade personal accountability is supported by the identification of a comparable strategy in other utterances on the same topic at the macro-level of context. In other debates, when the face-threat is low, Clinton explicitly takes full responsibility for the failure of the healthcare plan in 1994, using the FPSP to express independence in decision-making and full responsibility for making the proposal. Clinton shifts to the personal perspective to take individual responsibility for the failure of her healthcare plan in these contexts to achieve other particular strategic goals. Unlike the interviewer's question in EX.7.7, the questions in those debates do not pose a threat to Clinton's face because the failure of the healthcare plan is not the direct topic of these questions. Compare, first, the interviewer's question in EX.7.7, to those in EX.7.8 and

EX.7.9, in two speech-turns that take place during the Clinton-Spencer debate in 2006, and the Clinton-Obama/Feb2008 debate, respectively.

EX.7.8 [Clinton-Spencer debate for New York Senator, WABC-TV, New York, *Decision 2006*]

1 **Interviewer**: Senator Clinton (.) do you still believe there should be government run (1) universal
2 health care in the United States? (1) and (1) will you push for it if eh Democrats ah (.) take
3 over the Congress? (.)
4 **Clinton**: well eh I believe we ought to have quality affordable health care for every American (.)
5 **the plan I proposed and worked on all those years ago was not government run** (.) **but did**
6 **try to reach universal coverage so that every American would not be left out** (1) [..]
7 today (.) we have more people uninsured (.) and increasing numbers of people reassured (.)
8 the cost for (1) premiums are billing up [..] we are (.) in (.) a (.) very (.) dangerous (.) period
9 now (1) because we're going to start hollowing out our healthcare system. I would like to
10 get people together (.) you know I've got the scars to show how hard this is (.) but I haven't
11 given up [..]

EX.7.9 [Clinton-Obama debate, NBC News, Cleveland, Ohio, February, 2008]

1 **Interviewer**: Senator Clinton (.) same question (.) and that is again (.) is there a fundamental question
2 Senator Obama (.) must answer to the voters in this state and others as to his worthiness? (.)
3 **Clinton**: [..] you know (.) **when I wasn't successful about (1) ah getting universal health care** (.)
4 I didn't give up (1) I just got to work (.) and helped to create the Children's Health Insurance
5 Program (.) and (.) you know (.) today in Ohio 140,000 kids have health insurance[..]

Unlike her response in EX.7.7, Clinton's two speech-turns in EX.7.8 and EX.7.9 are responses to questions that do not directly address the failure of her healthcare plan, and thus, are not face-threatening pertaining to the failure of her plan. The question in EX.7.8 addresses Clinton's stance on the government-run healthcare whereas the question in EX.7.9 is a request for a closing statement in which she asks her opponent a question. In both contexts, Clinton shifts the topic to talk about her failed plan in two utterances, using the individual perspective to express propositions similar to those that she expressed in the collective perspective in EX.7.7.

 EX.7.8, line 5: The plan I proposed and worked on all those years.
 EX.7.9, line 3: When I wasn't successful about getting universal health care.

In EX.7.8, Clinton initiates the topic of her failed healthcare plan, on her terms, even though the interviewer's question does not refer directly to it. She explicitly admits full responsibility for

proposing the plan but only implies the failure of this proposal, whereas in EX.7.9, she explicitly admits the responsibility both for the plan and its failure. In EX.7.8 and EX.7.9, Clinton seems to use her failure as a means of supporting her image as a fighter, a persevering politician who does not give in easily, something which is here positioned as a positive and desirable political attribute. In the following lines, she frames her confession of failure through a justification of her rationale, and by stressing her personal contribution and effort. Consider the sequential utterances in which Clinton admits responsibility in contexts EX.7.8 and EX.7.9.

> EX.7.8, lines 5-6, & 10:

- But did try to reach universal coverage every American would not be left out (..) I have got the scars to show how hard this is. I haven't given up.

> EX.7.9, line 4:

- I didn't give up. I just got to work and helped to create the Children's Health Insurance Program.

Hence, Clinton employs the FPSP to confess full responsibility for the failure in EX.7.8, and EX.7.9 and to show a powerful identity that has been politically polished over the years. Clinton's avoidance of taking full responsibility in EX.7.7, line 13 can also be compared to line 3 in EX.7.9, both of which contain Clinton's confession of the failure, albeit conveying a different pragmatic message. In EX.7.7, Clinton uses pronominals and other linguistic choices to impersonalize the failure of the plan whereas in EX.7.9, she focuses on the personal failure of the plan maker. Compare her utterance in EX.7.7: "[n]ow as everyone knows, that was not successful" to her utterance in EX.7.9 "when I wasn't successful about getting universal healthcare." In the former proposition, Clinton uses the demonstrative pronominal *that* instead of *I* to impersonalize the failure. She thereby leaves the interpretation open for the hearer to assume that the failure may be associated with the Democrats, as her previous FPPPs suggest, or that she may be the only person involved. In both interpretations, Clinton alleviates the imposition of criticism on her negative face.

Importantly, in the only instance in which Clinton uses the FPSP to speak about the failure of her plan in EX.7.7, she again weakens the force of the FPSP in the utterance. Arguably, the FPSP in the *We–I* dichotomy in lines 13 and 14 in EX.7.7 does not imply taking full responsibility for the act of proposing the plan and/or its failure, as in the other two instances in EX.7.8 and EX.7.9. Instead, the shift from the FPPP to the FPSP in two similar propositions reinforces the distance between Clinton and the responsibility for failure, instead of shortening it. Consider again the utterance from EX.7.7, lines 13 and 14:

- But *we learned* a lot and *I* in particular *learned* a lot about what *we can do* step by step to try

to reach the goal of providing quality affordable healthcare.

As mentioned above, the only use of the FPSP in a proposition that is related to the failure of her plan does not indicate taking full responsibility as in the other contexts. Clinton uses *I* in a way that assigns more power to the effect of the FPPP in the main proposition of learning from the failure. This argument is based on the following observations. First, three propositions are linked in meaning and expressed by the two self-references. The pronominals in the three propositions express collective and individual responsibilities as follows:

=Collective learning resulting in-individual learning- about collective work=

This individual responsibility for learning in "I in particular learned a lot" is subsequent to the collective responsibility with the other Democrats for the same act of learning in "we learned." Thus, the act of learning here is not fully independent due to Clinton's shared learning with the Democrats in the preceding utterance. Thus, unlike utterances in EX.7.8 and EX.7.9 where the meaning of *I* clearly indicates taking full responsibility for proposing the plan and/or its failure, the meaning of *I* in EX.7.7 is influenced by the distribution of two other self-reference pronominals in the pre-and post-sequential linguistic context. First, the meaning of *I* in "I in particular learned" is bound to the meaning of *we* in the preceding utterance; this is expressed by the use of the connecter *and*, and the hedge-adverb *in particular*. Thus, *I*, here, does not mean "I, the independent politician," as in the other two contexts, but Clinton as one of the Democrats. In view of this, Clinton uses the hedge-adverb to focus attention on her act of learning as a Democrat (already mentioned with the preceding FPPP) rather than on her personal responsibility for the act of learning. Therefore, considering these contextual clues, the proposition in the two utterances can be understood as:

- The Democrats learned from the failure of their plan, and I, as a Democrat, learned a lesson too by association.

Importantly, not only does Clinton weaken the meaning of *I* in the proposition by linking it to the meaning of *we* in the preceding utterance, but also by shifting to *we* in the following proposition. Clinton shifts back to the collective perspective to refer to the ones who will correct the mistake after the act of learning. She distances herself again from the individual responsibility for what should be done after learning to correct the mistake. She does not reinforce the result of learning in the personal perspective by saying, for example:

*I in particular learned a lot about what *I can do* step by step.

Instead, she shifts back to the collective responsibility to express the action that Clinton and the Democrats should undertake to achieve universal healthcare after learning from past failure. Thus, she restricts her personal responsibility to the process of learning, not to what causes this learning or

what results from it, which neutralizes the effect of *I* in *I learned a lot*. Importantly, with the use of *we* in the preceding utterance and *we* in the following makes the proposition *I in particular learned a lot* additional or unnecessary to the meaning of the main proposition. The proposition without *I learned* would be complete and pronominally consistent as in:

*We learned a lot about what we can do step by step to try to reach the goal.

In view of this, I conclude that Clinton in EX.7.7 affiliates with an HPG to assume a collective responsibility for her failure as a strategic goal to evade full responsibility for the failure and, thus, to save her face from the FTA. In such contexts, when she chooses the FPSP to shift to individual responsibility, she reduces the force of the utterance. Weakening the force of the FPSP, in this case, assigns a stronger force to the FPPP, and consequently, strengthens the collective responsibility over the personal one.

Interestingly, at the macro-level of context, that is, in other settings, Clinton reverses the pattern of perspective when she shares a positive or face-enhancing act with her political party, foregrounding the personal perspective over the collective, and more importantly, distancing the political party from their own achievement in order to ascribe to herself full agency in the act.

In contexts where the topic addresses a positive Democratic proposal, Clinton underscores her contribution to the successful act, not only by foregrounding her independent political identity over her collective institutional identity, but also by distancing the Democrats from their achievement, thus focusing attention on her personal role. Clinton switches between the FPPP and FPSP, creating *I–We* and *I–They* dichotomies with the Democrats. Unlike in EX.7.7, in EX.7.10, for example, Clinton initiates her utterance in the FPSP to assume a major role in the action before she shifts to the collective responsibility, using the FPSP with the main verb of the proposition. Compare the *I–We* dichotomies in EX.7.7 to the *I–We* dichotomy EX.7.10.

EX.7.10 [Clinton-Spencer debate for New York Senator, WABC-TV, New York, *Decision 2006*]

1. **Clinton**: [..] we've got to change course (.) we don't have the luxury of waiting
2. very much ⎡ longer
3. **Interviewer**: ⎢ changing ⎦
4. course what does that mean exactly? (.)
5. **Clinton**: well what **I've** (.) **recommended** (.) ah (1) and what the majority of Democrats
6. (.) are behind (.) is what **we** (1) **refer** to as the Levin-Reed (.) ah (.) Approach (.) number
7. one (.) we need to resolve he political problems in Iraq [..]

The context in EX.7.10 is the senatorial election debate against Spencer in 2006. The interviewer requests Clinton to be explicit about her solution for the situation in Iraq. Providing a solution for a political issue, I argue, enhances the candidate's political power. Therefore, Clinton foregrounds her agency in the solution using the personal perspective to assume individual responsibility. Unlike in EX.7.7 in which Clinton blurs her responsibility for the act, in EX.7.10, she emphasizes her personal responsibility in recommending the proposal; Clinton distances her political party from her and from the responsibility for the act of recommending, referring to them as a third-person entity, *the Democrats*, instead of the typical inclusive *we.* This pattern reveals Clinton's egocentricity in focusing on her identity as an individual politician although the act is a result of collective work. The propositions in the first two utterances in lines 5 and 6 are similar, that is, Clinton's recommendation of the approach and the Democrats' support of the approach. Yet, Clinton makes a distinction between her act of recommendation and the Democrats' act of support. Compare if Clinton used her common pattern of affiliating with the Democrats in EX.7.10:

> *What *we have* recommended (as Democrats) is what we refer to as the Leven-Reed
> Approach.

The use of the FPPP in instead of the FPSP in "we have recommended" may convey the same meaning of the two split propositions in "I recommend" and "what the Democrats are behind." However, the use of the FPPP instead of the FPSP would minimize Clinton's involvement in the positive act of recommending, given that affiliating with the HPG in recommending may not enhance her political power as is claiming full agency for an act. In self-augmentation, as illustrated in Section 7.2.1, there is a need for the candidate to assume a collective responsibility for the act in which they may not have participated, or for future acts in which the candidates are not authorized to do so at the moment of speaking. In contrast, Clinton can claim individual responsibility for recommending the approach. In EX.7.10, Clinton constructs her individual identity as a leader and deconstructs the collective membership with her political party by distancing the Democrats from the act of recommending. After she emphasizes her independent political identity in taking responsibility for a positive action, creating a boundary between her personal and institutional identities, Clinton shifts immediately to re-affiliate herself with the Democrats in "we refer," which is augmentative in this case.

The difference between the strategic goal of the FPPP in EX.7.10, and other contexts such as EX.7.7, may be attributed to the imposition of the FTA. The CHCDT shows that when the imposition on Clinton's face is high, Clinton tends to initiate her response with an affiliation with an HPG in order to take collective responsibility for the act, before she shifts to the FPSP. In this case, this

pronominal switch may blur the message, making it sound as if Clinton is not sharing her failure with the Democrats but that she is sharing the Democrats' failure per se.

The imposition of the topic (i.e., the failure of the healthcare proposal) may not be the only reason for Clinton's inconsistent use of self-reference pronominals when expressing the same proposition in different occasions. Clinton's political experience may be another salient factor that has contributed to her taking full responsibility for her failure in EX.7.8 and EX.7.9, but evading it in EX.7.7. Clinton's speech-turn in EX.7.7 is extracted from a debate which took place in 2000, when she was running for her first position in Office; whereas the speech-turns in EX.7.8 and EX.7.9 took place in 2006 and 2008, respectively, when she had already spent six years in Office as a Senator. The interviewer's question in EX.7.7 criticizes her action of proposing the plan; therefore, Clinton may have perceived that using the FPSP would threaten her self-image if she took full responsibility for the failure, thus affecting her career that was just starting at that time. In the other two contexts, on the other hand, Clinton has already constructed her identity as an established politician, which makes acknowledging a past failure a positive political attribute.

In conclusion, as illustrated above, identity strategies of any kind have merits and drawbacks, depending on context. Clinton shows dexterity in aligning herself with an HPG for personal gains. While she uses her collective identity to evade the admittance of her failure, in some cases, she acknowledges failure to construct a powerful identity. However, as I argued above, by using the collective perspective to evade her own political actions, Clinton compromises her authority (Millar, 2015), shifting her image from a leader with the power to make decisions and take initiatives, to a member of a group. In this vein, I argue that constructing a collective identity to evade full responsibility for a failure may save Clinton's image in front of the hearers who do not have the political knowledge regarding her sole responsibility for the failure. They may perceive her as less responsible for the failure, which may strengthen her political identity. However, for those who have the knowledge, especially her Democratic colleagues, this pronominal choice may portray her as a powerless politician who lacks the courage to take accountability for their failure, thus reflecting the image of a politician who exploits their membership with the Democrats to evade the failure. In this vein, Clinton's use of the FPPP to co-implicate the Democrats may be face-threatening to her Democratic colleagues who run against her and oppose her healthcare plan, such as Obama. This may also explain why Clinton takes full responsibility for the act in other debates, notably those against Obama in the Democratic presidential elections.

Additionally, in some uses of the *Democratic we*, Clinton exploits the inclusive-exclusive feature of the FPPP to achieve two interrelated, strategic goals: ostensibly enhancing her positive face

as a loyal Democratic member while excluding her partisan opponent from the Democratic coalition to challenge her opponent's power as Section 7.2.1.3 illustrates.

7.2.1.3 Manifesting Institutional Loyalty to Distance Partisan Opponents

Clinton exploits her affiliation with an HPG, notably the Democrats, to ostensibly enhance her political image as a loyal member of a powerful group, but also simultaneously to strategically distance her partisan opponent from the Democratic Party and their ideologies. This strategy enables Clinton to achieve political maneuvers against her partisan opponents (namely, Barack Obama) in a debate context. Clinton exploits the exclusiveness of *we* as a means of distancing and alienating her partisan opponent and threatening his negative face during the interaction. It reveals her as an ideal Democrat who adheres to the Democratic values and principles much more than her opponent. Unlike in everyday conversations, threatening the opponent's face in the context of political debate, through, for example, the inclusive-exclusive feature of *we* may be seen as a discursive skill and a manifestation of power that may enhance the candidate's face in the electoral race.

In Clinton's debates, this strategy is configured through a *We–He* dichotomy in which the partisan opponent is ideologically excluded from the political party. To reinforce the *We–He* dichotomy, Clinton employs other dichotomies such as *I–He* between herself and her opponent. In the CHCDT, this strategy is specific to Clinton; none of her male opponents is found to construct their discursive identities through the use of such a strategy. EX.7.11 from Clinton-Obama/Feb2008 illustrates how Clinton exploits her institutional identity as a Democrat to create boundaries between her Democratic team on the one hand, and Obama, on the other.

EX.7.11 [Clinton-Obama debate, NBC News, Cleveland, Ohio, February, 2008]
1. **Interviewer:** and Senator Clinton ⌐ on this subject ⌐
2. **Clinton:** ⌊ I have to respond to ⌋ that because (1) this
3. is not just any issue and certainly we've had a vigorous
4. back (.) and (.) forth on both sides (.) of our campaign (1) ah but this is an issue that goes
5. to the heart (.) of whether or not this country will finally do what is right, and that is to
6. provide quality, affordable health care to every single person hh (.) Senator Obama has a
7. mandate in his plan (.) it's a mandate on parents to provide health insurance for their
8. children. That's about 150 million people who would be required (.) to do that (.) the
9. difference between Senator Obama and myself (.) is that I know from the work I've done
10. on health care for many years (.) that if everyone's not in the system, **we will continue to**
11. **let the insurance companies** do (.) what's called cherry picking (.) pick those who get

12. insurance and leave others out (.) **we will continue to have a hidden tax** (.) so that when

13. someone goes to the emergency room without insurance (.) fifteen million or however

14. many (.) that amount of money that will be used to take care of that person will be then

15. (.) spread among all the rest of us (.) h and most importantly (.) you know (.) the kind of

16. attack (.) ah on my health care plan which the University of Pennsylvania and others have

17. said (1) is misleading (.) that (.) attack goes right to the heart of whether or not **we will be**

18. **able to achieve universal health care** (.) that's a core Democratic Party value. It's

19. something that ever since Harry Truman **we have stood for** (.) and what I find regrettable

20. is that (.) in Senator Obama's mailing that he has sent out across Ohio (1) it is almost as

21. though the health insurance companies and the Republicans wrote it (.) because in my

22. plan (.) there is enough money, according to the independent (.) experts (.) who have

23. evaluated it (.) to provide the kind (.) of subsidies so that everyone would be able to

24. afford it (.) hh it is not the same as a single state trying to do this, because the federal

25. government (.) has many more resources at its disposal (.) so I think eh (.) it's imperative

26. that **(.) we stand as (.) Democrats** for universal health care (.) I've staked out a claim for

27. that Senator Edwards did (.) others have (.) but Senator Obama has not (.)

The political context in EX.7.11 is of key importance in understanding Clinton's pronominal choices. The debate is held by the Democrats to choose their nominee against the Republicans in the USA final presidential elections, and therefore, the two opponents in the venue are Democrats. Additionally, the Democrats have won the majority in Congress at the time of the debate (Sherman, 2008). In view of this, it is valid to assume that all uses of the FPPP to affiliate with an HPG in this context refer to the Democrats, given that the government, at the time of speaking, is composed mostly of Democrats and is highly expected to be run by a Democratic Administration in the near future following the elections. In EX.7.11, Clinton responds to Obama's criticism regarding her healthcare plan. As a counterattack strategy, Clinton identifies herself with her political party in a number of utterances in the speech-turn while excluding her partisan opponent from hers and a Democratic unity at the end of the speech-turn. Clinton strategically exploits this frequent affiliation with the Democrats in the speech-turn to draw attention to her loyalty and adherence to Democratic values and ideology, which reinforces the previous dichotomy and the following one.

In EX.7.11, Clinton affiliates herself with an HPG five times: three occurrences refer explicitly to Clinton's political party, the Democrats. Two instances of the FPPP with the HPG are made with the Democrats as the government, determined by the political context in which the event

(debate) takes place, as explained above. Consider the lines where Clinton affiliates herself with the Democrats either as the government or a political party in EX.7.11.

Table 7.10 *Utterances* with *Democratic we in Hillary Clinton's Discourse in EX.7.11*

Line	Utterances
10	**We** will continue to let the insurance companies do what's called cherry picking-pick those who get insurance and leave others out.
12	**We** will continue to have a hidden tax.
17-18	Whether or not **we** will be able to achieve universal health care.
19	It's something that ever since Harry Truman **we** have stood for.
25-26	So I think it's imperative that **we** stand as Democrats for universal health care.

In lines 10-19, interpreting the referent as the Democratic Party or the future Democratic government draws upon the meaning of the pre- and post-sequential context in "that's a core Democratic Party value," and the one which has an explicit reference to a Democratic figure (i.e., Harry Truman) with the *Democratic we*. In affiliating herself with the Democrats as in lines 19 and 26, Clinton explicitly states the referent, the *Democrats*, or uses terms that refer to the Democrats (i.e., Democratic value) or reference to a Democratic figure (i.e., Harry Truman). This explicit reference to the Democrats along with her affiliation with them in the FPPP in more than one instance clears up any possible ambiguity of the referent of the FPPP in the lines above.

Excluding Obama from the Democratic collective in EX.7.11 follows a process comprising a number of shifts in perspective during Clinton's act of defense of her plan against Obama's accusations. The process starts with an affiliation with Obama, followed by a Democrat-to-Democrat, or *I–He*, dichotomy and ends with a *We–He* dichotomy which is further emphasized by her naming other specific Democrats, humanizing and individualizing the group reference before excluding Obama.

Clinton's initial alignment with Obama in EX.7.11 does not seem to be a politeness strategy to enhance Obama's face, but rather a face-saving strategy through which Clinton saves her own face. Clinton claims common ground with Obama to avoid full responsibility for the back-and-forth of her campaign against Obama (see Section 8.2 for a full illustration of this strategy). Clinton shifts to a *I–He* dichotomy in which she confronts her opponent in a Democrat-to-Democrat opposition. In the *I–He* dichotomy, Clinton uses the personal perspective to criticize Obama, while referring to him in the third-person nominal (i.e., *Barack* (*Obama*) or *Senator Obama*) and pronominal references. This dichotomy serves to stress her personal disagreement with Obama and is a counter-strategy against

Obama's criticism. EX.7.11, line 9 shows how Clinton first distances herself from Obama as an initial step before subsequently distancing him for the political party.

- The difference between **Senator Obama** and **myself** is that I know from the work. I've done on health care for many years.

In line 9, Clinton distances Obama to focus on their differences, whereas in a comparable utterance in another debate, Clinton affiliates herself with Obama while also talking about the differences between them (see Section 8.2.3 for a detailed analysis of the extract). Compare Clinton's utterance in EX.7.11, line 9 to the following extract from the debate/April2008.

EX.7.12 [Clinton-Obama debate, ABC News, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April, 2008]

1. **Clinton**: [..] and so regardless of the differences there may be **between us** (.) and there
2. are differences [..]

Although Clinton speaks about differences in both contexts, unlike in EX.7.11, Clinton in EX.7.12 aligns herself with Obama to underscore their common ideology and political destiny as Democrats. Clinton could have followed the same strategy in line 9 and said:

*The difference between us is that I know from the work I've done.

However, using inclusiveness in EX.7.11, line 9 would alleviate Clinton's criticism against Obama, and thus enhance his face, which is face-threatening to Clinton as a candidate. This distancing dichotomy serves therefore as a move toward drawing boundaries between the Democratic ideologies and those of Obama.

After distancing her opponent from her ideology in the *I–He* dichotomy, Clinton uses an inclusive *Democratic we* to exclude Obama. Clinton's emphasis on the *Democratic we* evokes the image of the ideal Democrat who defends and conforms to Democratic principles as in EX.7.11, lines 25 and 27:

•I think it's imperative that **we stand as Democrats** for universal health care. **I've staked out a claim** for that **Senator Edwards** did**. Others** have. But **Senator Obama has not.**

After using the FPPP to evoke 'Democratic' emotions, Clinton employs the *We–He* dichotomy to ideologically exclude her opponent from the Democratic Party, threatening his negative face as a member who violates Democratic principles. The shift from the collective identity in *we as Democrats* to the personal perspective (FPSP) in "I've staked out" shows Clinton's egocentricity in distinguishing herself from her partisan opponents as the ideal Democrat and a leader in adhering to Democratic policies. She follows the singular self-reference with shifts to the third-person perspective to refer to other individual Democrats. Clinton employs negation "not" to situate Obama

at the opposite end of the Democratic team.

Significantly, as mentioned above, at the macro-level of context, I could not trace a similar strategic use of the FPPP in Obama's discourse. Obama does not affiliate himself with the Democratic Party to strategically distance his partisan opponent, notably, Clinton, from the Democrats. On the contrary, Obama, in many instances, distances himself from both Clinton and the Democrats, criticizing Democratic policies. Consider his speech turn in the Clinton-Obama/April2008 debate.

EX.7.13 [Clinton-Obama debate, ABC News, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April, 2008]
1   **Obama**: [..] let me just pick up on a couple of things that (.) **Senator Clinton** said
2   though because (1) during the course (1) eh of (.) the last few days (.) you know (.) she's
3   said I'm elitist (.) out of touch condescending (1) eh (.) let me be absolutely clear (.)
4   it would be pretty hard for me to (1) eh be condescending towards people of faith
5   since I'm (1) a person of faith (.) ah and have done more (1) than (1) ah most other
6   campaigns in reaching out specifically to people of faith (.) and have written about how (.)
7   **Democrats make an error** (.) ah when **they don't (.) show up** and speak directly to
8   people's faith (.) because I think we can get those votes [..]

Instead of evoking Democratic emotions against Clinton through affiliating with the Democrats, Obama explicitly criticizes the Democrats for their ideology and practices. Obama does not exploit his membership with the Democrats to affiliate with the party and muster them against Clinton. If following Clinton's discursive practice in praising the Democrats, Obama would have employed a reference to the Democrats in order to support his position against Clinton and say:

*How we make an error when we (as Democrats) don't **show up and speak directly to people's faith.**

However, in choosing the *I–They* dichotomy, Obama displays a powerful discursive identity when demonstrating the confidence and honesty to criticize his most powerful supporter, his political party, instead of redressing his criticism through evoking Democratic "flags."

In another salient instance where Obama confronts Clinton on her healthcare plan, Obama does not take advantage of Clinton's negative act against her political to evoke direct Democratic emotions against her; instead, he distances both Clinton and the political party from him, intensifying the threat against Clinton's face. Consider Obama's speech-turn in the Clinton-Obama/Feb2008 debate.

EX.7.14 [Clinton-Obama debate, NBC News, Cleveland, Ohio, February, 2008]

1 **Obama**: [..] **she mentioned** (1) eh (.) that eh (.) **she is a fighter on health care** (.) and (1) ah look (.)

2 ah I do not in any way doubt that Senator Clinton genuinely wants to provide health care (1)

3   ah (.) to all (.) Americans (.) what I have said (.)is that (1) the way she approached it (.) back

4 in (.) eh 93 (.) I think (.) was wrong in part because (.) she had had the view that (1) **what's**

5 **required** (.) **is simply to fight** (.) **and Senator Clinton ended up fighting** not just the insurance

6 companies and the drug companies, **but also members of her own party** (1) and eh as a

7 consequence, there were a number of people eh (.) like Jim Cooper of Tennessee and Bill

8 Bradley and ah (.) Pat Moynihan (.)who were not included in the negotiations (.)

Although Obama's speech-turn in EX.7.14 occurs in the same context as Clinton's speech-turn in EX.7.12, Obama uses a different strategy when Clinton acts in a way that opposes the Democrats. First, despite his criticism against Clinton, Obama compliments Clinton's honesty in serving America unlike Clinton who focused her criticism on portraying Obama as deviant from Democratic values. Although Clinton is directly involved in opposing her political party colleagues, again Obama does not exploit that to turn the party against her. Obama's distancing of both Clinton and her political party shows neutrality and objectivity in criticism. Obama could have exploited the situation in EX.7.14, lines 5 and 6, to affiliate with the party and turn them against Clinton, by saying:

> *And Senator Clinton ended up fighting not just the insurance companies and the drug companies, but also members of ***our party***.

I argue that if Obama used the collective perspective to distance Clinton from the Democrats and to affiliate with the political party, he may have strengthened his position against Clinton in evoking negative Democratic feelings against her. However, Obama's discursive identity seems to reflect independence and objectivity, more than does Clinton's identity. Obama focuses on his political singular self in contrast to Clinton's tendency to assume collective selves. Obama's criticism of the Democrats when confronted with his partisan opponent throughout his different bids reveals linguistic behavior that is powerful and un-hypocritical.

In addition to the political institutions that provide Clinton with different aspects of discursive power, her political identity is also constructed through her affiliation with individuals who are associated with her social and political life and represent political power. As mentioned above, Clinton's husband is considered the most prominent political figure with whom she affiliates to construct a powerful image. Section 7.2.2 illustrates the different strategic goals of Clinton's affiliation with her political associates (i.e., her husband and campaigners).

7.2.2 HPG as Political Associates/Individuals in the CHCDT

7.2.2.1 In Political Contexts

Political associates are not only politically powerful but may also be privately close to Clinton. This group includes Clinton's husband, Bill Clinton, and her campaigners. Classifying these associates within an HPG draws upon their ability in decision-making that affects Clinton's social life and/or political career. The reasons for this interpretation are as follows. First, Bill Clinton is a former President of the USA, holding Office between 1993 and 2001 (see Bernstein, 2007; Clinton, 2004; Kelley, 2001). His political status as a former President remains protected through legislation that offers former Presidents powerful rights; such as, pension and Secret Service protection until death (Ginsberg & Richardson, 2016). Therefore, Bill Clinton's social status is considerable for his previous and current influential status, and can be viewed as a powerful entity situated at a higher power level than Hillary Clinton, as a candidate, and other candidates. Socially, on the other hand, Bill Clinton's association with Clinton as her husband situates him in a traditionally powerful masculine role of leadership and decision-making. This view rests upon the traditional roles of the American family in the 1970's and before (when Clinton and Bill Clinton were married; see Bernstein, 2007; Clinton, 2004; Kelley, 2001). The realization of Bill's power in Clinton's discourse, as her husband, is evident in Clinton's frequent reference to him as *my husband* instead of *President Clinton.* In this way, Clinton indexes her familial identity using her marital association with Bill Clinton to refer to him in formal contexts, as the following examples illustrate.

EX.7.15

1. **Clinton:** [..] If we had stayed on the path we were on at the end of **my husband's**
2. **administration**, we sure would be in a lot better position [..]

EX.7.16

1. **Clinton:** [..] million new jobs were created during the eight years of the Clinton
2. administration **under my husband.**

Clinton's use of *my husband* suggests an intention to draw the hearers' attention to her association with the former President of the country. Considering the formality of the situational context in EX.7.15 and EX.7.16, when Clinton is running for President, Clinton's choice of the reference *my husband* instead of his official title, *President Clinton* or *Clinton's Administration*, foregrounds her familial identity rather than her political powerful identity. It does evoke stereotypical views about the wife-husband binary in patriarchal societies, and thus, gives Clinton's political rivals a chance to use this stereotypical image of a wife against her, as will be demonstrated below.

This cultural expectation of a power difference between husband and wife, I argue, affects the audience's perception of such self-identification in Clinton's discourse. Therefore, a woman politician's identification with her husband may reflect upon her a powerless image as a politician. The hearer may perceive the strategy as the woman politician's attempt to augment their political self when appearing as being supported and backed up by her man. The man politician's identification with his wife, on the other hand, reflects a positive image of the men politician. Within the cultural frame, such identification may be perceived as the politician's minimization of their political self to be part of the family structure, which enhances the politician's positive image as a man who controls, supports and cares. In the case when the husband is also politically more powerful than his wife, as in Clinton's case, the wife's identification with her husband may constitute a salient opportunity for self-augmentation considering these stereotypical gender roles.

In view of this, I argue that by shifting to the FPPP to affiliate with her husband as a strategy to strengthen her position in discourse, Clinton risks invalidating her identity as an independent politician and a powerful leader. Her constant affiliation with her husband in contexts that need emphasis of the independent political identity may evoke stereotypical associations of the traditional, patriarchal social role of the 'wife'. Such behavior may threaten her self-image instead of enhancing it. This argument is supported by her male opponents' negative comments which ridiculed or criticized her role as a wife who is guided and controlled by her husband, in different occasions, such as Spencer's stereotypical comments in the Clinton-Spencer debate:

EX.7.17

1. **Spencer**: let's get back to the structure (1) you are not president yet **Mrs. Clinton** (.)
2. don't call for that [..]

Spencer, critically, addresses Clinton as *Mrs. Clinton* although she has been a Senator for four years. His negative comments and his emphasis on the word *Mrs.* displays how Spencer underestimates Clinton's abilities as a woman politician who is bound to her husband. These comments may show that the woman politician's image as a wife is commonly anchored to submission and subordination.

Secondly, political associates also include Clinton's campaigners. Classifying campaigners as an HPG is debatable. The controversy stems from the fact that campaigners are hired to organize Clinton's campaign, and thus, should be considered Clinton's subordinates, and categorized as a lower-power group (LPG). However, campaigners, as a larger, generic group, are classified, here, as an HPG because, generally speaking, they play a central role in a politician's ability to win an

election. Campaigners include managers, political consultants, and other influential figures whose collective work is fundamental to Clinton's chances of winning an election (see Enli & Skogerbo, 2013). This need for the work of campaigners and the politician's conformance to campaigners' policies implies a power of campaigners over the politician. Importantly, Clinton's campaign is run by her husband as a major campaigner, which makes the reference to campaigners a source of power in all cases, and a source of positive ambiguity in other cases, as noted in Chapter 2. Consider Clinton's husband's role in her campaign and how she associates her husband to her campaign.

EX.7.18

1. **Clinton:** [..] and I want to be just (.) very explicit about this hh (1) **we are not** (.)

2. **neither my campaign nor anyone associated with it** (.) are in any way saying

3. you did not oppose the war in Iraq [..]

In EX.7.18, Clinton rephrases the referents in the FPPP as her campaigners and, indirectly, Bill Clinton, in "anyone associated with it." Clinton's hint at her husband's association with her campaign comes after Obama's explicit criticism against her and Bill Clinton for spreading false assertions about him. Obama, and other male opponents, have explicitly criticized Bill's dominant role in Clinton's campaign, which supports the argument that Clinton's reference to campaigners implies reference to Bill. Consider Obama's on-record criticism against Clinton in the same debate in EX.7.19.

EX.7.19 [Clinton-Obama debate, CNN, South Carolina, January, 2008]

1. **Clinton**: now (.) I just (.) I just want to be clear (.) about this (2) in an editorial board

2. with the (1) Reno newspaper (1) you said two different things, because I have

3. read (.) the transcript (1) You talked about Ronald Reagan being a transformative

4. political leader (.) I did not mention his name (1)

5. **Obama**: **your husband did** (.)

6. **Clinton**: well eh I'm here (.) he's   not (.) and

7. **Obama**:   Ok (.) **well I**

8.   **can't tell who I'm**   **running against sometimes**

9. **Audience**:   [APPLAUSE]

Obama explicitly draws the audience's attention to Bill Clinton's plausible implication in the act against him and his dominant role in Clinton's campaign. As aforementioned, this association

between Bill and Clinton's campaigners creates ambiguity in some cases. Clinton exploits this ambiguity between campaigners and Bill to achieve different effects (as will be illustrated thoroughly in the ensuing sections).

The statistical analysis in Section 6.2 did not reveal a high frequency of affiliation with her husband in Clinton's discourse, due to the fact that this affiliation is topic-specific. That is, in contrast to other forms of affiliation, such as affiliation with political institutions and the American people, which are expected to occur highly frequently in politicians' discourse as a characteristic of charismatic leadership (Ladkin, 2010; Millar, 2015), affiliation with the husband is triggered by the topic of the question. However, the analysis of context shows that Clinton exhibits tendencies towards affiliating with her husband in all topics that address her social or marital life. Clinton co-implicates her husband and campaigners in the act to strategically fulfill similar goals achieved through affiliating with powerful political institutions; that is, self-augmentation and saving face from FTAs. However, these goals may overlap in different contexts. In FTAs, Clinton affiliates with political associates mainly to evade full responsibility for questionable acts. Clinton's rebuttal in EX.7.20 in the Clinton-Obama/Jan2008 debate is salient evidence of how Clinton affiliates with her political associates to both augment her political self and co-implicate them in the FTA to evade responsibility.

EX.7.20 [Clinton-Obama debate, CNN, South Carolina, January, 2008]

1. **Audience**:   ⎡ [APPLAUSE] ⎤
2. **Clinton:**   ⎣ well (3) ⎦
3. I- 1 couldn't agree more (.) But I do think (.) that (2) eh (.) your record (.) and what
4. you say (.) does matter (1) and eh (1) when it ⎡ comes to (3) ⎤
5. **Audience**:   ⎢ [APPLAUSE] ⎥
6. **Clinton:**   ⎣ a lot of the issues ⎦
7. that are important in this race (1) it is sometimes difficult to understand (1) what
8. Senator Obama has said, because as soon as he is (.) confronted on it, he says
9. that's not what he meant (.) the facts are (.) that (1) he has said in the last week (1)
10. that he really (2) liked (2) the ideas of the Republicans over the last 10 to 15 years
11. (.) and **we can give you the exact quote (.)** now I personally (3) think (.)
12. they had ideas but they were bad ideas (.)
13. **Audience**:   ⎡ [APPLAUSE] ⎤
14. **Clinton**:   ⎣ they were bad ideas for America (.) ⎦

15. they were ideas like privatizing social security (1) like moving back from a

16. balanced budget and a surplus to deficit and debt (.) hh and with respect to (1)

17. putting forth how one would pay for (.) all of the (.) programs that we're proposing in

18. this campaign (.) I will be (.) more than happy ah (.) Barack, to get the information,

19. because **we have searched for it (.)** you have a (1) lot of money that you want to put

20. into foreign aid (.) a very worthy program (.) there is no evidence from your

21. speeches as to how you would pay for it (.) now why is this important? (1) it I

22. important because I think elections are about the future (.) but how you determine

23. what will happen in the future? well you have to look to the record (.) you have to

24. look to what we say in campaigns and what we've done during our careers (.) and I

25. want to be just (.) very explicit about this hh (1) **we are not** (.) neither my campaign

26. nor anyone associated with it (.) are in any way saying you did not oppose the war in

27. Iraq (1) you did (1) you gave a great speech in 2002 opposing (.) the war in Iraq (.)

28. that was not (1) what the point of **our criticism** was (.) hh it was after (.) having

29. given that speech (1) by the next year the speech was off your web site (.)

The context of the debate in EX.7.20 is the Democratic Party primary presidential elections, 2008, in South Carolina. This debate, as pointed out in Section 5.2.1, is the most interactive debate in the CHCDT in terms of the candidates' face-to-face confrontation. In EX.7.20, Clinton responds to her opponent's assertions, not to an interviewer's question. She defends herself against Obama's preceding accusations and confronts him with his contradictory behavior toward the war in Iraq. Therefore, in her response, Clinton constantly shifts among three pronominal references: the self-reference pronominals (FPPP and FPSP), and other-references (*you*). Clinton affiliates explicitly with her campaigners, and implicitly with her husband.

In the full speech-turn in EX.7.20, within 401 words, Clinton uses the FPPP slightly more frequently that the FPSP: seven for the FPPP (4 of instances of the FPPP refer to an HPG) vs. six for the FPSP. However, it is worth mentioning that Clinton's overuse of the FPPP in EX.7.20 heightens the ambiguity of the referent. The FPPP in line 17 "*we* are proposing in this campaign," for example, may be inclusive of Clinton and her campaigners, or of Clinton and Obama. Clinton's shift to request from Obama information regarding his payment may suggest that the referent in the FPPP is Obama, and thus, Clinton employs the FPPP in the preceding utterance to lessen the imposition of the forthcoming request. Nonetheless, the slight difference in frequency of the FPPP does not necessarily indicate that Clinton in this context constructs her personal and collective identities almost equally. The type of verb-process with which each pronominal co-occurs foregrounds Clinton's collective

identity.

As previously observed, Clinton uses the FPSP with mental (*agree*, *think*) or relational verb-processes that indicate state (*be happy*, *explicit*). In contrast, Clinton uses the FPPP with material (*give*, *propose*, *search*) and verbal verb-processes (*say*) that indicate action. This difference in the accompanying verb-process supports the previous conclusions that Clinton favors the collective perspective when expressing verbs of action.

Four occurrences of the FPPP constitute salient instances of Clinton's affiliation with her campaigners, including her husband. Clinton tends to take full responsibility for processes that indicate an opinion or an attitude but when the verb-process expresses important decisions or actions to be taken, Clinton affiliates with her campaigners and husband so she can evade an FTA and strengthen her position against her opponents. Consider the utterances in which Clinton affiliates herself with her campaigners, and, implicitly, her husband in Table 7.11.

Table 7.11 *Utterances of Hillary Clinton's Affiliation with Political Associates in EX.7.20*

Line	Utterances
9-11	The facts are that he has said in the last week that he really liked the ideas of the Republicans over the last 10 to 15 years, and **we** can give you the exact quote.
18-19	I will be more than happy, Barack, to get the information, because **we** have searched for it.
25-26	**We** are not, neither my campaign nor anyone associated with it are in any way saying you did not oppose the war.
28	That was not what the point of **our criticism** was.

Significantly, as observed in previous contexts, Clinton uses the collective perspective in unexpected situations. In EX.7.20, when Clinton starts refuting Obama's accusations, she shifts self-reference from the individual to the collective. As asserted above, in this case, Clinton runs the risk of deconstructing her image as a leader who is able to take decisions in the campaign. Clinton's choice of the FPPP in line 11 shows how she assumes a collective responsibility for actions that are expected to be used in the personal perspective.

- And **we** can give you the exact quote.

Clinton's use of the FPPP to assume collective responsibility for giving Obama the quote indicates Clinton's lack of full knowledge regarding the quote, and, thus, lack of full control over the situation. At the moment of speaking, the use of *we*, here, sounds unexpected; there is no apparent reason for why Clinton co-implicates her campaigners/husband in the action of giving Obama the

quote, which cannot be performed by her campaigners at that moment of speaking. By using the collective perspective in this situation, Clinton "risks undermining the authority of executive leadership" (Millar, 2015) by sharing all actions with her campaign. To judge whether Clinton's use of collective responsibility here is constructive of a powerful political identity or not, her utterance can be compared to that of Obama in the same debate.

EX. 7.21: [Clinton-Obama debate, CNN, South Carolina, January, 2008]

Obama: [..] what I said (.) and **I'll provide** you with the quote [..]

In contrast to Clinton's choices, Obama in EX.21, expresses his individual and independent self in providing the quote to Clinton, using the FPSP. This comparison between Clinton and Obama's choices of self-presentation through pronominals supports all previous arguments that Clinton manifests less confidence when expressing her independent political self than when attaching herself to the power of an HPG. Obama, on the other hand, tends to show more assertiveness and commitment in expressing his independent political self. This macro level analysis of the discourse of the two opponents, I argue, may reveal a more powerful presentation of self in Obama's discourse than in that of Clinton.

The argument that Clinton's discursive identity is oriented towards using the collective perspective to evade individual responsibility is also evident in her use of the FPPP in EX.7.20, lines 18 and 19. Clinton shifts from the FPSP in expressing an attitude to the FPPP in taking responsibility of an action verb. When Clinton shifts the topic to criticize Obama's program payment, she does not use the FPSP to request that information from Obama; instead, she uses the collective perspective when she asserts taking action. However, Clinton weakens the force of the FPSP in the proposition by hedging ("I'll be more than happy"), which functions as a polite strategy, here, to lessen her impingement on her colleague's face. Clinton does not use the FPSP with the verb *get* to make a direct, on-record request, as in for example:

* I want to get this information, Barack.   Or *can I get this information, Barack?

When taking responsibility for another important action in the subsequent utterance; that is, searching for the required information, Clinton immediately shifts back to the FPPP in "we have searched for it" to assume a collective responsibility for the action. This shift of the FPPP to claim responsibility for the seeking of information may be interpreted in two contrasting ways. First, Clinton assumes a collective responsibility for seeking the information in order to create a stronger effect by expanding the group of people involved in the act, which may reflect power and credibility in front of the public. That is, her judgment on the unavailability of the information is based on a

collective, not individual, effort. In another dimension, the use of the FPPP may imply that Clinton is not involved directly in the act, but that she exploits the fluidity of the FPPP to co-implicate herself in the act, and therefore, evade the image of a distant leader, who lacks knowledge about her opponents. Consider if Clinton distanced herself from the act as in:

*because *my campaigners* have searched for it.

Or claimed full agency in the act as in:

*because I have searched for it.

In addition to achieving cohesiveness of the utterance through the use of the FPSP, Clinton would have exhibited higher authority in her argument against Obama because she would have presented herself as the controller of the situation. She would position herself powerfully as an opposing power to Obama, instead of aligning with her team against him. However, if Clinton is not actually involved in the act but is nevertheless implicating herself in it, the personal perspective would indicate that Clinton claims individual responsibility for an act that she has not performed, and thus, would threaten her negative face in front of her campaigners. In all interpretations, the FPPP in this utterance implies that Clinton does not have the full knowledge regarding her accusation against Obama.

However, Clinton's affiliation with her husband is not always implied in her affiliation with campaigners, but is explicit when the topic addresses issues that relate to her marital status. In this vein, as mentioned above, Clinton co-implicates her husband in the act to strategically enhance her political power and save her negative face from FTAs. These effects are identified in the political debates from the dataset, whilst Clinton's affiliation with her husband in non-face-threatening situations occurs in the talk-show data only. As will be demonstrated below, in the CHCDT, Clinton's self-affiliation with her husband in debates occurs when the interviewer refers directly or indirectly to him. In talk-shows, on the other hand, Clinton's self-affiliation with Bill Clinton occurs, at times, without any reference to him in the interviewer s question. This difference may be attributed to the fact that, unlike in debates, topics in talk-shows are oriented toward the social, rather than the political, life of the politician (see Ilie, 2001). Most topics in the selected talk-shows are, generally, relevant to Clinton's social life, which enables Clinton to identify with her husband in unprobed situations.

It is noteworthy that in debates, Clinton favors an explicit affiliation with her husband whenever the topic is relevant; however, she may avoid this explicit reference when the implication of her husband in the act does not enhance her image. In the latter case, Clinton frequently shifts to the collective perspective between her husband and campaigners, creating an ambiguous reference in

some instances. This ambiguity, I argue, is significant, as Clinton can be seen to employ the ambiguity of the FPPP to deflect attention from her husband's role in the act under question and avoid possible criticism for his dominance over her campaign, while keeping him in the scene as a major campaigner. This argument aligns with Fetzer's (2014) view about the importance of the ambiguity of the FPPP in political discourse (see Section 2.3). The argument is also supported by examples from other debates in which the interviewer's question indirectly addresses the role of Clinton's husband in the issue.

The context of the debate in EX.7.22 represents an FTA, and indirectly addresses the role of Clinton's husband in the questioned act, in this case pertaining to the delaying of documents. The situational context is the Clinton-Obama/Feb2008 debate. As noted above, Clinton overuses the FPPP in certain situations to mitigate flouting the maxims of conversation. In EX.7.22, she employs the FPPP in an utterance that flouts the Maxim of Relevance. Consider how Clinton's affiliation with her husband is explicit in some utterances but ambiguous in others, and how this ambiguity is utilized in flouting the maxim of relevance.

EX.7.22: [Clinton-Obama debate, NBC News, Cleveland, Ohio, February, 2008]
1. **Interviewer:** one other issue you talk about (.) ah releasing documents (1) eh on
2. January (.) the National Archives released ten (.) thousand pages of your
3. public schedule as first lady (.) it's now in the custody of former President
4. Clinton (1) will you (1) release that (.) again (.) during this primary
5. season? (.) you claim that (1) eight years as experience (.) let the public
6. know (.) what you did (1) who you met with those eight years? (.)
7. **Clinton**: absolutely (1) I've urged that the (.) process (.) be as quick as possible hh
8. (.) it's ah (.) a cumbersome process set up by law (.) it doesn't just **apply to us** it applies to
9. everyone **in our position** (.) hh and I have urged that (1) **our end of it move** (1) **as**
10. **expeditiously as we can** (.) now also (.) President Bush claims the right to look at
11. anything that is released (.) and I would urge the Bush White House (.) to move as quickly
12. as possible (.)
13. **Interviewer:** But you had it for more than a month (.) will you get it to him (.) will
14. you get it to the White House immediately? (.)
15. **Clinton:** as soon as **we can,** Tim (.) I've urged that and I hope it will happen (.)

The context in EX.7.22 is the Democratic primary elections to choose their presidential candidate in 2008. Clinton initiates her response with the personal perspective before shifting to the

use the collective perspective. She exploits the relevance of her husband to the topic by co-implicating him in the situation to alleviate the FTA, on the one hand, and to augment her political self when sharing her decisions with a former President, on the other. She expresses this association with her husband by using the FPPP in different positions.

The interviewer's question addresses Clinton's delay in releasing the documents of her schedule as First Lady. The interviewer indirectly addresses her husband's role in releasing these documents in "it's now in the custody of former President Clinton." The interviewer uses the formal title *former President Clinton* to refer to Clinton's husband. However, Clinton changes this indirect reference to her husband into a direct reference and a shared responsibility. She switches the reference to her husband from distal TP reference, (*former*) *President Clinton*, that the interviewer uses, to the most proximal reference, the FPPP. Consider the utterances where Clinton uses the FPPP in EX.7.22.

Table 7.12 *Utterances Including First Person Plural Pronoun in Hillary Clinton's Discourse in EX.7.22*

Line	Utterances
8-9	It doesn't just apply to **us**. It applies to everyone in **our** position.
10	**Our** end of it move as expeditiously as **we** can.
15	As soon as **we** can.

Whereas the reference in line 8 (*us*, *our*) explicitly includes her husband, the other three instances of the FPPP are ambiguous regarding whether they refer to her campaigners and/or to her husband. This ambiguity is due, as mentioned above, to Clinton's overuse of the collective perspective. However, although the reference *us* or *our* in lines 8 is explicitly inclusive of Bill Clinton, the reference may not be understood without background knowledge of Clinton. The interviewer uses the formal title of *President Clinton*, and Clinton does not indicate explicitly in the previous or subsequent utterances who is included in the FPPP (*us*) or the FPPP determiner (*our*) in "does not apply only to *us*" and "in *our* position." Hearers who have some background knowledge of Clinton's social status can make use of the few contextual clues to understand the referent in *we* as Clinton and her husband. Hearers, who do not have this knowledge of Clinton, on the other hand, may fail to understand the reference in these utterances and, thus, will miss the pragmatic message of the proposition. Clinton's assumption that the hearer understands the referent to be her husband without explicit reference to him may indicate part of Clinton's egocentricity as the wife of a former President. As will be illustrated in this section, Clinton assumes that her husband is present in the hearers' minds in any conversation she gives, and thus, she chooses her pronouns based on this

presumed knowledge.

As observed in previous situations, Clinton's strategy of co-reference is reflected in the difference in frequency between the FPSP and the FPPP and the types of verbs that co-occur with each pronominal. Clinton uses the FPPP as frequently as the FPSP even though the question addresses her own decision about releasing the documents. In EX.7.22, Clinton utters 100 words in her response to the question about releasing her schedule when she was the First Lady. Consistent with her linguistic behavior in previous examples, Clinton uses the FPSP in the position of the performer with mental and verbal verb-processes (*urge*, *hope*). The verbal verb-process *urge* co-occurs in four instances, comprising 80% of the verbs with the FPSP. The verbal process, *urge*, according to Bloor and Bloor (2004), indicates indirect speech that can convey illocutionary force. Therefore, the use of the FPSP with the verb *urge* indicates telling someone to do something, which shows indirect accomplishment of releasing the documents, not the releasing of the documents itself. Only two instances, or 20%, of the FPSP occurs with the mental verb *hope.* The FPPP, on the other hand, occurs in different functional roles. Although Clinton uses the FPPP in the position of the person who performed the act, in lines 10 and 15, with modal *can* only, the implied verb which follows is *do,* which anaphorically refers to the verbs *move* (the end of it [or end it]) and *get* (it to the White House). Therefore, the FPPP as the actor/performer is used in utterances that indicate the ability to carry out the act of releasing the documents.

When Clinton shifts to the procedures that she will follow to release the documents, the reference of the FPPP becomes ambiguous or multiple. Clinton's use of the verb, *urge*, in the utterance before and after the FPPP, as in "I have urged that our end of it," creates ambiguity of reference by using double collective perspective in the same utterance *our end of it* and *as we can*. It is not clear if *our* here refers to her husband or her campaigners. However, considering Bill Clinton's social roles as a husband, as the keeper of the documents in his custody, and as a major associate to Clinton's campaign, the referent in line 15 in "as soon as we can" may constitute Bill Clinton or/and the campaigners. Again, Clinton may have employed this ambiguity to lessen her dependence on her husband, something which has been criticized in previous debates (see EX.7.19). As explained above, the shift to the FPPP to assume a collective responsibility when the interviewer repeats the question and increases impingement on her face is characteristic of Clinton's linguistic behavior. Therefore, after initiating her response to the question about her delaying the release of the documents using the FPSP in "I've urged the process," the interviewer imposes a higher threat on Clinton's negative face when he repeats the question. Hence, Clinton strategically shifts from the singular self to her collective selves to distance herself from the FTA, creating an ambiguity that enables her to distance

her husband from the act of being a husband but keep him in the situation as a major powerful campaigner. As already noted, the shift to the FPPP, with the ambiguity it creates, is employed to evade giving the direct answer to the interviewer's yes-or-no question. First instead of giving the answer 'yes,' Clinton uses *as soon as possible* to evade saying 'not immediately.' Clinton exploits *we* instead of *I* in her evasive answer, flouting the maxim of relevance in two ways: not giving the exact time of submitting the documents and being ambiguous about who is responsible for the act of submission itself.

In this vein, Clinton's assessment of the contextual situation is expressed in her pronominal choices. Clinton avoids using the FPSP in the targeted utterances in lines 8, 9 and 15 as she may have assessed that the strategic benefits of using the FPPP in these utterances overweighs those of the FPSP. The difference is evident when considering the case of Clinton using the FPSP instead of the FPPP in the targeted propositions.

> *It does not just apply to *me.*
>
> *it applies to anyone in *my* position.
>
> *as soon as *I* can.

Even though the personal perspective in the targeted propositions would show full commitment to the proposition, Clinton may have perceived that taking full responsibility for the delay of the documents would not enhance her image, unlike if she were to share this responsibility with a famous political figure. In this way, using the FPSP would restrict the responsibility for the act to Clinton and distance Bill Clinton completely from the act, even though her husband may be the reason behind the delay, not her. Therefore, Clinton's shift to the FPPP enables her to draw attention to her social association with the former President, which augments her political self as a politician who is closely associated to the former President, and minimizes her responsibility for the act because co-implicating her husband may indirectly indicate that Bill is also responsible for this delay.

In short, Clinton's self-affiliation with her husband may be influenced by her assessment of the benefits that can be strategically attained from this affiliation. When Clinton's identification with her husband may be face-threatening in terms of conveying a negative message about his role in her career, she employs ambiguity of reference between him and her campaigners. However, as aforementioned, Clinton identification with her husband occurs in (non-face threatening) contexts that are oriented toward her social, rather than political, life. Section 7.3.2 discusses these situational contexts.

7.2.2.2 Affiliating with Political Associates/Individuals in Non-Political Contexts

As previously noted, the CHCDT shows that Clinton's self-affiliation with her husband in debates occurs in FTAs, with a high level of ambiguity of the referent, husband or campaigners, in some instances. In talk-shows, on the other hand, affiliation with her husband in Clinton's discourse occurs more frequently in non-FTAs. In addition, the CHCDT shows that in debates, Clinton affiliates herself with her husband when the interviewer's question explicitly or implicitly addresses her husband's role in the problem. In talk-shows, on the other hand, Clinton affiliates with her husband even when there is no reference to him in the question or the topic, which makes the FPPP ambiguous in some instances. However, whereas ambiguity in debates occurs between Clinton's husband and her campaigners, in talk-shows, this ambiguity may sometimes occur between her husband and other members of her family, in particular, her daughter. As mentioned above, Clinton seems to rely on the hearers' knowledge of her social background to codify the reference in the FPPP, notably in talk-shows that do not introduce her as the First Lady (e.g., Clinton's interviews on Ellen DeGeneres Show, 2008, and David Letterman Show, 2003).

As aforementioned, Clinton's presumption that hearers know the referent in the FPPP without explicit reference to her husband may be interpreted as a manifestation of egocentricity as the wife of a former President. This discursive practice indicates Clinton's exploitation of her social identity as the wife of a powerful former President to augment her political self. This self-augmentation results from the powerful image that Clinton attains by reminding the hearer in every context that she is sharing her life and decisions with a former President. Clinton's identity as the former First Lady of the USA forms an integral part of her presentation of her political self (Blair, 2015; Mollick & Lockhart, 2015; Williams, 2015). Clinton seems to represent her singular self and multiple selves from a social perspective as a wife, rather than a political one as a senator or potential president, merging her selves into her husband's self.

Significantly, Clinton's perception of powerful identity through affiliating with her husband is evident not only in truthful propositions but also in the propositions that violate Grice's Maxim of Quality (1975) or Truthfulness as in her response to the interviewer's sarcastic comment in DeGeneres (2008). Consider EX.7.23.

EX.7.23 [Hillary Clinton's Interview on *Ellen DeGeneres*, 2008]

1. **Interviewer**: you are also cousins with Madonna? (2)
2. **Clinton:** that's true (.) can I see that one? (.)

(a picture of Madonna and a photoshopped picture of Clinton dressed like Madonna)

3. **Interviewer:** yes (.) because (.) I see it's amazing to see (.) you (4) how closely

4. related you are (.)

5. **Audience**. [APPLUASE]

6. **Clinton:** I eh I wanna know where you got that

7. picture (.) **we've kept that picture** under lock and key nobody was supposed

8. to see that picture (.)

The situation in EX.7.23 is the *Ellen Show* 2008, during Clinton's presidential campaign. The situation is a joke in which Clinton comments humorously on a photoshopped picture that shows her dressed provocatively as Madonna (the singer). The situational context itself, in this way, violates Grice's Maxim of truthfulness and Clinton's discourse is produced on an unreal situation. They both, as well as the audience and ratified hearers, know that the situation and the conversation on the topic lack truthfulness. The interviewer aims to help enhance Clinton's positive face as a politician who accepts and humorously responds to such sarcastic comments. Significantly, although the contextual situation in utterance EX.7.23 violates Grice's Maxim of truthfulness, Clinton makes the same choice of the FPPP that she makes in the previous contexts; those that do not violate the Maxim of truthfulness. This may indicate a salient trait of Clinton's linguistic behavior. That is, whenever the context allows for it, Clinton identifies with her husband whether the interviewer's question implicates him explicitly or implicitly, whether the context is truthful or humorous, real or unreal and whether or not it poses an FTA.

However, although the reference of the FPPP in line 7 in "we've kept that picture under lock and key" is ambiguous; that is, we may refer solely to Clinton's husband or to both her husband and daughter; I argue that it refers to her husband only. Specifying the referent of the FPPP as Clinton's husband is based on three major points: the pragmatic implications of the situation, Clinton's typical linguistic behavior and the distribution of the other pronominals in the context. Firstly, pragmatically speaking, the intimacy of the picture and the privacy that Clinton expresses by keeping it away from everybody implies that this person authorized to see the picture and keep it private can only be Clinton's husband. Secondly, the norm of Clinton's linguistic behavior as demonstrated above is to affiliate with a powerful party, notably with her husband whenever the context allows for that. Hence, I argue that Clinton would not shift to the collective perspective unless she can achieve the strategic goal of self-augmentation. Therefore, Clinton takes the opportunity to evoke an image of the wife of a former President. Without this goal, I argue, Clinton may have expressed her singular identity, using the FPSP instead of the FPPP. Thirdly, in this vein, the distribution of the other pronominals or the "sequential context" (Malone, 1997, p. 59) may also contribute to the meaning of the FPPP. The

sequential context helps to understand politicians' construction of identity "which enables the listener to identify the referent of, and identity work being done by, the pronouns themselves" (Bramley, 2001, p. 2). Consider the utterance in the sequential context that follows the FPPP in lines 7 and 8.

- ***Nobody*** was supposed to see that picture.

This utterance, I argue, determines Clinton's use of the FPPP in line 7. The use of the indefinite pronoun, *nobody,* excludes everybody except the ones who are authorized to keep the picture under lock and key, which includes Clinton and her husband. Hence, using the FPPP in the previous utterance and *nobody* in the following one restricts the reference of the FPPP in line 7 to close people only; and considering the intimacy of the picture, the interpretation of the reference will be restricted to her husband only. In this vein, although the use of the FPSP instead of the FPPP in line 7 would make the utterance more cohesive with the previous utterances; the choice of the FPSP followed by the indefinite pronoun, *nobody*, may convey a negative message that contradicts the self-image that Clinton is concerned with in discourse. Consider the use of the FPSP instead of the FPPP.

> *Clinton: I wanna know where you got that picture. ***I've*** kept that picture under lock and
> key. Nobody was supposed to see that picture.

If Clinton uses the FPSP in *I've kept* then the indefinite pronominal, *nobody*, would mean that only Clinton can see the picture but everybody else, including her husband, cannot, which excludes her husband from the situation. Hence, in this way, the use of the FPSP would deter Clinton from exploiting her social association with her husband in order to evoke her identity as the First lady. This would also affect her image as a family-oriented politician. Keeping secrets from her husband would not fit with the idealized view of American heterosexual partnerships because it might indicate a distance between Clinton and her husband, Bill Clinton. This distance, although employed in a humorous situation, might allude to a marriage crisis, as evidenced between Clinton and her husband at times such as during the Monica-Lewinsky Scandal, which may threaten Clinton's negative face (see Sections 4.2, 4.3, & EX.7.26). She exploits her husband in conversations that do not have any need for him, co-implicating him unnecessarily in the act. Significantly, however, despite this discrepancy between reality and unreality in EX.7.23, Clinton's pronominal choice of the FPPP is consistent with her linguistic behavior with all the previous truthful or real contexts.

In another humorous situation, but one that does not violate the Maxim of Quality, Clinton affiliates herself with her husband in unexpected situations to draw attention to her association with her husband, and evade her responsibility for FTAs. Clinton shifts from the individual to the collective perspective to save her image as the First lady. Consider her exchanges in EX7.24.

EX.7.24 [Hillary Clinton's interview on *The Late Show with David Letterman*, 2000]

1. **Interviewer**: How do they [the cat and dog] get along? are they alright together? (.)

2. **Clinton:** they do not get   along

3. **Interviewer:**   yeah I wouldn't you know dogs and cats

4. **Clinton:**   that's what

5.   I hear

6. **Interviewer:**   I don't figure

7. **Clinton:** you know I've tried to teach them some stupid pet tricks so I could be

8. on the show (.)

9. **Interviewer:** yeah (1) don't tell me you had that (.) eh Socks (the cat) declawed? you did

10. not have Socks declawed? did you? (.)

11. **Clinton:** yeah **we did** [NODDING HEAD]

12. **Interviewer:** oh (.) ouch (.)   ow

13. **Clinton:**   I know (2)

14.   but there is this really (.) old furniture like (.) George Washington chair (1)

15.   you know

16.   **Interviewer:**   [LAUGHING]

17. **Clinton:** I didn't (.) I didn't wanna (.) explain (.)

18. **Interviewer:** I don't even want to hear what they have done to   Buddy

19. **Audience**:   [LAUGHING] (4)

20. **Clinton:**   well (1) let's say(.)

    The dialogue in EX.7.24 takes place a month before Clinton's candidacy for New York Senator in 2000, during her husband's second term as USA President, and thus, her second term as the First Lady. Letterman humorously explores Clinton's personal life in the White House. In her speech-turn in EX.7.24, Clinton shifts from successive personal perspectives (lines 4 and 6) to the collective perspective (line 10) to take the responsibility for having Socks, the cat, declawed. The act of declawing an animal is considered a violent act against animals, which may be face-threatening to her image in front of the public, especially with the interviewer's expressions that indicate his criticism of the cruelty of the act. This negative act may threaten Clinton's image and thus affect her candidacy for New York Senator. A possible argument for Clinton's use of the FPPP in line 10 is that the absence of plurality in the English second-pronoun may have made Clinton perceive the interviewer's use of *you* as plural *you,* and therefore, she chooses the collective perspective accordingly. In this

way, Clinton uses *we* in "**we** did" to align with the interviewer's perspective of his question. This argument is refuted by the preceding and subsequent utterances. In her two exchanges that precede the targeted utterance and in all the exchanges that follow it, Clinton uses the personal perspective to take individual responsibility for her acts. More importantly, in the subsequent utterances, after assuming the collective responsibility for declawing the cat, Clinton shifts back immediately to the personal perspective to justify the act for which she has already taken a collective responsibility. In "but there is this really old furniture like George Washington chair. I didn't want to explain," Clinton indirectly (or probably, unintentionally), admits what she has evaded in the previous proposition, that is, declawing the cat is her decision. Therefore, when the interviewer's humorous comments turn into an FTA, Clinton shifts immediately to the collective perspective. Her use of the collective perspective in "we did (have it declawed)" aims to blur her responsibility for the act, sharing it with her husband who was the President of the country at the moment of speaking. Thus, the use of FPPP here is dimensional. Whereas it saves Clinton's face from taking full responsibility for an act that may threaten her image as a potential Senator, it also evokes an image of her as the President's wife, which may empower her image before the senatorial elections.

In other contexts, Clinton overuses the FPPP to identify with her husband in a way that may violate cohesion and presuppositional coherence of the utterances and, consequently, affect the hearer's understanding of the utterance. Similar to EX.7.23 and EX.7.24, in EX.7.25, Clinton uses the FPPP to affiliate with her husband in a situational context that has no reference to him either in the interviewer's question or in Clinton's pre-sequential context, which demands too much effort from the hearer to work out the reference of the FPPP. The interviewer's question focuses on Clinton's personal and individual experience concerning her efforts to fight breast cancer. However, Clinton exploits the situation to draw attention to her association with her husband; arguably, co-implicating him in the act unnecessarily in order to construct her identity as the wife of a former President. Although in EX.7.25, Clinton refers to her husband as *Bill*, this nominal reference does not clarify the ambiguity of the collective perspective in EX.7.25.

EX.7.25: [Hillary Clinton's interview on *Ellen DeGeneres*, 2008]

1. **Interviewer:** well I ah I'm going to bowl (.) eh with you (.) I'm not a good bowler but
2. when we come back I'm going to bowl with you (.) but first I wanna talk about before we
3. go to break (.) you have a new policy for breast ⌈ cancer
4. **Clinton:** ⌊ right
5. **Interviewer:** and let's talk about ⌈ that
6. **Clinton:** ⌊ well (.) I
7. know your mum's a survivor and **we lost my incredible mother (.) in law** to (1) breast
8. cancer during Bill's first term and first year in office [..]

In EX.7.25, line 7, Clinton's choice of the FPPP is similar to that in EX.7.23, in terms of the appropriateness of the use of the FPPP as opposed to the FPSP. In both contexts, the use of the FPPP confuses the hearer in terms of its deictic, referential meaning. No explicit reference in the preceding utterances is made to who is the referent of the FPPP. Clinton uses two different pronominals before she shifts to the FPPP. Consider the pronominal shifts in lines 6-7 where the FPPP occurs.

•**I** know **your** mum's a survivor and **we** lost **my** incredible mother-in-law to breast cancer.

In lines 6-7, Clinton's use of the FPPP is preceded by two pronominal shifts, the FPSP and the second-personal possessive pronoun and followed by a shift to the FPSP determiner, *my*. Clinton's shift from self-reference (*I know*) to the second-person address (*your mum*), to the collective identity in the FPPP, I argue, heightens ambiguity and increases the possibility of violating the presuppositional coherence, and consequently, the hearer's understanding of the utterance. Clinton's shift to the FPPP to share a collective responsibility in "we've lost" for a single possession (*my mother-in-law*) exerts effort on the hearer to work out the referent of the preceding *we*, particularly when no contextual clues are made before the FPPP to state explicitly who is included in this *we*. Some hearers may presuppose Clinton's use of the FPSP in "I lost" instead of the FPPP in "we've lost" based on Clinton's choice of the FPSP in the preceding utterance. Some hearers, on the other hand, might interpret the FPPP in "we've lost," for the first time, to refer to the preceding two people (i.e., Clinton and the interviewer, represented by pronominals *I* and *your mom*). However, the use of *my incredible mother-in-law* indicates a marital relationship which makes the reference in *we* only to people are concerned with this relationship. The reference is conventionalized euphemism that is partly aligned with Bill Clinton's stance as much as Clinton's own. The egocentricity in the reference *my mother-in-law* together with the positive modifier *incredible* show a positive social image about Clinton. It indicates intimacy between Clinton and her mother-in-low, which helps Clinton to evade the trope about mothers-in-law, and create a strong social image of herself as a President's wife. I

argue that the utterance in line 7 could have been more pronominally consistent (cohesive) in two ways. First the FPSP may be used instead of the FPPP as in:

　　*Well, **I** know your mother is a survivor and **I lost *my*** incredible mother-in-law.

　　The FPSP may seem more expected in terms of presuppositional coherence and its dietetic usage than the FPPP. The FPSP in *my mother-in-law* refers to the first singular speaker, which concurs with the initial FPSP in *I know*. Additionally, the use of the FPPP as the agent before the FPSP determiner makes the hearers presuppose the determiner to agree in number with the possessive pronoun; that is, using *our* instead of *my*. Given that the use of ***our** mother-in-law* would be inappropriate and would have different implications, then the use of *I* instead of *we* is more cohesive. The connector *and* prepares the hearer for something that is parallel in meaning with the preceding utterance, *I know*, making the use of the FPSP *I lost my incredible mother-in-law* again more cohesive than *we lost my incredible mother-in-law*.

　　In the second case, avoiding ambiguity may be achieved if the FPSP determiner, *my*, is not used. Instead, Clinton could have used the nominal reference, *Bill*, given that she subsequently uses the reference in the following utterance. Consider the following suggested utterance.

　　　　*Well, I know your mother is a survivor and **we lost *Bill's* mother.**

　　In the second case, the FPPP may be interpreted as inclusive of the family and other relatives, not only of Bill Clinton unlike in the case of the FPSP determiner in *my mother-in-law*. Choosing to use *Bill's mother* lacks the closeness and intimacy with which Clinton portrays when speaking about her husband or any person related to him. Therefore, Clinton's shift to the FPSP determiner (*my*) allows her to draw attention to her association with Bill Clinton. In other words, using the phrase *Bill's mother* may direct attention to the woman's relation (i.e., the mother) with Bill only; it does not show a direct association between this woman (the mother) and Clinton and, consequently, between Clinton and Bill Clinton. Therefore, the use of the social reference, *my mother in-law*, focuses attention on the relation between Clinton and the mother-in-law, on the one hand, and between Clinton and Bill Clinton, on the other.

　　Importantly, this intimacy with Bill Clinton, invoked by the FPPP, is also reinforced by other references to Clinton's husband in the speech-turn. The informal reference to Bill Clinton as *Bill*, in line 7, after the affiliation, reinforces the interpretation that the referent of the FPPP is the husband since Clinton draws attention explicitly towards her husband in the subsequent utterance. The informal reference, *Bill*, instead of the formal *Bill Clinton*, or *President Clinton*, in the time-referential clause, *during Bill's term*, draws attention to Clinton's intimate association with Bill Clinton. It might be arguable that Clinton's choice of *Bill* corresponds to the genre of the discourse.

That is, talk-shows are oriented toward the politician-guest's social side rather than their political side. Therefore, Clinton's choice of the intimate and social reference, *Bill*, shows Clinton's discursive skills in constructing her selves according to the genre of her interaction.

In view of this, the previous examples have demonstrated how Clinton exploits the mention of her husband in any topic to index her feminine identity in which her image as the President's wife is integral. Clinton may perceive this discursive practice of affiliating frequently with her husband as a powerful presentation of self. However, the picture that Clinton wants to create about herself, invoked by the FPPP, is of a woman with a strong and ideal marital relationship, an image that may not always correspond to her representations on different occasions when she is confronted with the scandals of her husband, as will be explained below in EX.7.26.

Despite the previous account that shows how Clinton exploits her husband in different settings, Clinton may refrain from identifying with him when discussing topics that portray a negative image of her husband, Bill Clinton. In this case, Clinton not only avoids using the FPPP to share decisions and acts with her husband but, more importantly, she refers to him in other-reference pronominals to distance him from her and from the act. In the CHCDT, this notable discrepancy in Clinton's linguistic behavior occurs only in topics that discuss Clinton's stance on her husband's scandals. In such contexts, Clinton takes full responsibility for her decisions that pertain to her marriage, but not those of her husband. That is, in situational contexts that present her husband as weak, wrong and convicted, Clinton saves her self-image by distancing her husband, and consequently the act, from her. In these situations, Clinton foregrounds her ego and focuses on herself as the leader of the situation and the leader of her marital relationship while relegating her husband to a subordinate position in terms of decision-making. One salient example of such contexts is manifested in Clinton's response to the question in Letterman Show (2003) regarding her decision following the revelation of the Monica-Lewinsky Scandal.

EX.7.26 [Hillary Clinton's interview on *The Late Show with David Letterman*, 2003]

1. **Interviewer**: The other situation was after the revelation of ah Monica Lewinsky the
2. thought was that you would finish out the term with your husband (.) ah and then likely
3. separate or divorce? (1) eh Was that ever possibility (.) did you ever consider that? (.)
4. **Clinton**: well (1) certainly (1) eh I mean eh it had to cross my mind (.) because (1) I was (1)
5. eh in (1) you know (1) in such a terrible situation ah (1) trying to figure out what to do (.)
6. but (1) ah hh but you know (.) what I write about in my book (.) is a decision that (1) I
7. made along with my husband (1) ah **to work on our marriage** (.) to hh (1) you know ah

8. (.) try to (.) ah repair it (.) and eh it was the right decision for me (.) and ah Ian't say that

9. for anybody else (.) people say well she should've done that she should've done this (.)

10. but you know everybody has to live (.) his or her life ⌐ own life ¬

11. **Interviewer**: ⎨ right ⎬

12. **Clinton**: ⎩ but you ⎭

13. have to make decisions that are right for you not right (.) for anybody else and that's

14. what I tried to do (.)

In EX.7.26, Clinton's expression of herself and her stance from her husband in such a context is saliently manifested though her pronominal choices. The interviewer impinges on Clinton's negative face through his face-threatening question about the scandal that threatened Clinton's husband's political career, as well as his marriage. The imposition is evident in Clinton's high frequency of pauses and use of the hedge *you know,* and in her pronominal choices.

Atypical to her linguistic behavior, Clinton uses the personal perspective and other-reference pronominals more than the collective perspective in her response regarding her decision about her marriage. Importantly, not only does she avoid affiliating with her husband but she also distances him from her and thus also the decision in which he is co-implicated. Comparing EX.7.26 to all the examples above (EX.7.22–2.7.25), I find Clinton's pronominal choice in EX.7.26 striking. In the 125 words she utters in her response, she uses the collective perspective only in one occurrence. She focuses on her singular self in expressing her ability to take important decisions without identifying herself with her husband. Table 7.13 shows the difference in frequencies between the FPPP and the pronominals in Clinton's discourse in EX.7.26.

Table 7.13 *Percentages of the First Person Plural Pronoun (FPPP) and Other Pronominals in Hillary Clinton's Discourse in EX.7.26*

	FPSP	FPPP	Other-Reference Pronouns	Total
No. of occurrences of the pronoun in Clinton's response in EX.7.26	10	1	14	25
Percentage of the pronoun from the total pronouns in Clinton's response in EX.7.26	40%	4%	56%	100%
Percentage of the pronoun from the total no. of words in Clinton's response in EX.7.26	8%	0.8%	11.2%	20%

Note. FPSP: First Person Singular Pronoun

Table 7.13 shows that the FPPP is the least-often occurring pronominal in Clinton's response in EX.7.26. Clinton almost exclusively presents herself in the personal perspective, that is, the FPSP.

The FPPP comprises 4% of her pronominal choices in her response vs. 40% for the FPSP.

In Clinton's typical performance, her linguistic choices are usually oriented towards sharing decisions, particularly sharing accountability with her husband. In view of this, it would be expected that Clinton will affiliate herself with her husband more frequently when sharing acts and decisions in which her husband is explicitly co-implicated, particularly when this decision pertains to their marriage itself. However, instead of identifying with her husband, she distances herself from her husband in making the decision about their marriage, relegating him to a subordinate position in the act of making the decision.

In the only instance of the FPPP, Clinton identifies herself with her husband, and in the possessive form, *our*, sharing a thing (i.e., marriage), and not a responsibility for the act. That is, she identifies with him to share only the possession of their marriage upon which the decision is to be taken. Consider the utterance where the FPPP occurs in EX.7.26, line 7.

- A decision that **I** made along with **my husband** to work on **our** marriage.

Importantly, Clinton chooses two agents (*I* and *my husband*) to do the same action (i.e., taking the decision) on a thing that they both possess: that is, to take responsibility for the decision. Most significantly, the meaning of the utterance is complete before Clinton mentions her husband. In line 7, Clinton foregrounds her independent identity as the main doer of the decision being taken, while referring to her husband in a distal reference, *my husband*, separating herself from her husband. She stresses *I* to indicate singularity of doing the action. She only uses the expression *along with* to implicate him in the act. Although modified in the personal perspective *my husband*, the function of the reference is distancing. Arguably, it may be a choice that Letterman makes that in some ways allows Clinton to align with his choice and be assertive because she is not being asked to refer to the *former President*, but to her husband. In either case, the reference to her husband as a third-person, instead of an identification with him, signals the emotional distance that exists between Clinton and her husband as a result of the scandal.

What is noteworthy, here, is that the proposition of taking the decision is complete even before Clinton refers to her husband in the utterance. In "a decision that I made," the meaning of the utterance is clear without the need to mention the role of her husband in the act. This conveys the message that this decision to maintain the social institution is Clinton's main decision. Although expected and presupposed, the use of the FPPP determiner with marriage, in *our marriage*, after the FPSP, implies that the marriage that they both share has survived due to her decision. Clinton's emphasis to downplay her husband's role in the decision and to distance him from the act is reinforced in the subsequent utterances in lines 8 and 14, respectively:

- And it was the right decision for **me.**
- And that's what **I** tried to do.

Along these lines, Clinton continues to focus on her ego, using the individual perspective in the utterances that follow the use of the FPSP in the main proposition. Importantly, the use of the FPSP in "the right decision for me" indicates that the decision which she has made is right for her, regardless of whether or not it suits her husband. In this way, Clinton emphasizes that she is the one who made the decision independently and powerfully, and for her own interest. Clinton's choice of the FPSP instead of the FPPP in lines 7, 8 and 14, highlight Clinton's attitude towards her husband during the crisis. She saves her self-image from identifying with the man who is described as the betrayer who misled the nation and portrays herself as a powerful woman. Compare if the FPPP was used in the lines above.

*A decision that **we** made (together) to work on **our** marriage.

*And it was the right decision for **us.**

*And that's what **we** tried to do.

The use of the FPPP in these lines would repair Bill Clinton's image as a cooperative husband and may show Clinton closer to the man who betrayed her and misled the nation. It would also deflect attention from the struggle and the challenge that she faced during the crisis, which she is exploiting in this context to enhance her powerful political identity. Therefore, in using the FPPP, Clinton may waste the chance to display her strength and wisdom in taking crucial decisions during the hardest times in her life, which would serve to enhance her image as an experienced politician who successfully can overcome other crises.

In short, Clinton's choice of the FPSP in EX.7.26 conveys a salient political message. By focusing on her ego in saving the marriage institution, Clinton implies that the successfulness of her marriage is her personal work through her personal successful decisions and policies. This implication leads to the construction of a powerful political identity in that this successfulness to meet the challenges and the crisis when leading on decisions pertaining to her marriage, qualifies her to perform the same when taking control of the highest political institution in the country. In this vein, she exploits her success of overcoming a marriage crisis to construct a powerful political image as a leader and decision-maker.

As such, despite Clinton's binary distinction between herself as a wife and her husband, which evokes stereotypical, cultural roles, I argue that by refraining from expressing the collective self when taking decisions in this context, Clinton presents herself through her pronominal choices in EX.7.26 as an independent woman and a leader, focusing on her own abilities to make crucial

decisions. However, this strong presentation of the self is not frequent in Clinton's discourse and occurs only in specific contexts, particularly when there is a high degree of face-threat, on the one hand, and a negative portrayal of her husband, on the other.

7.3 Summary

The analysis of Clinton's discourse above has shown that Clinton favors the collective perspective to identify with an HPG as a strategy to construct a powerful political identity when confronted with her stance on different political issues. Clinton shows dexterity in aligning herself with powerful political institutions for personal gains. She uses *governmental we* to augment her political self and expand her institutional identity. While she uses her collective identity to evade her failure, in some cases, she acknowledges the failure, using the personal perspective to construct a powerful identity. In some uses of the *Democratic we*, Clinton exploits the inclusive-exclusive feature of the FPPP to achieve two strategic goals: ostensibly enhancing her positive face as a loyal Democrat while aiming at excluding her partisan opponent from the Democratic collective. Another striking discursive practice about Clinton is the switches between the collective selves, the individual self, and "other" to express the same proposition whenever she reiterates or rephrases the proposition at the micro level of discourse. These switches between pronominals are usually accompanied by a shift in modality, and therefore, convey different pragmatic messages.

Generally speaking, Clinton overuses the FPPP in a way that blurs the referent to strategically evade responsibility and mitigate violating or flouting the conversation maxims. More importantly, Clinton tends to use the collective perspective with verbs that show action whereas she uses the personal or individual perspective with verbs that indicate mental state or verbal verb-processes.

This chapter has also demonstrated how Clinton exploits the FPPP to affiliate herself with groups or individuals whose institutional power is higher than Clinton at the moment of speaking, particularly her husband. In this vein, Clinton constructs a kind of gendered identity in affiliating with her husband in different occasions. She exploits her husband as a strategy to draw attention to her association with a former president in topics that do not address her husband's role, in utterances where the use of collective identity is unexpected or unprobed, in utterances that require a personal decision, or in situations that violate the Maxim of truthfulness. However, Clinton refrains from expressing the collective self in taking decisions when the topic addresses her husband's scandals. In such situations, she presents herself through her pronominal choices as a powerful and independent woman, focusing on her own abilities to make crucial decisions.

Chapter 8

Strategic Goals of Self-Affiliation with the Equal-Power Group (EPG) in Hillary Clinton's Discourse

8.1 Introduction

As illustrated in Sections 1.5 and 6.3, the equal-power group (EPG, henceforth) comprises people who have, in terms of political decision-making, a degree of power and institutional status that is equal to Hillary Clinton's political power at the moment of speaking. This group mainly consists of Hillary Clinton's opponents, either those competing against her during the face-to-face interaction, or those absent from the interaction but to whom she refers in her speech. Section 6.3 demonstrated that the EPG is the least frequent category to occur in Hillary Clinton's self-affiliation. The quantitative analysis in Section 6.2 also revealed that Hillary Clinton identifies with her partisan opponents more frequently than with her opposite-party opponents. Regarding these opposite-party opponents, Clinton either affiliates rarely with them, as in the case of the House-Independent and Republican-supporter opponent, Rick Lazio, or avoids affiliating with them entirely, as in the case of her Republican opponent, John Spencer.

This chapter discusses how Clinton exploits the FPPP and other pronominals in the sequential context to negotiate her political and discursive identity in terms of assuming a group membership with her opponents. This negotiation, as emphasized throughout the thesis, helps Clinton to manage face-work in different high face-threatening situations. The chapter will demonstrate that, in contrast to her affiliation with the high-power group (henceforth, HPG), which seems an integral part of her discursive identity, Clinton's affiliation with EPG seems atypical of her discursive behavior. That is, in addition to the salient difference in frequencies between the two uses of *we* (i.e., to include an HPG and an EPG), as demonstrated in Section 6.3, Clinton uses the FPPP and other pronominals in a sequential context to convey the message that the alignment with her opponents is not an attribute of her discursive identity but a self-presentation tactic to achieve a particular goal during interaction.

As aforementioned, Clinton affiliates with her partisan opponents considerably more frequently than with her opposite-party opponents. However, the effect of the opponent's institutional membership on Clinton's use of the affiliative *we* is evident not only in the frequency of the pronominal but also in the goal that Clinton achieves through affiliation. That is, when the opponent belongs to Clinton's political party (i.e., the Democratic Party), particularly in the case of Barack

Obama, Clinton identifies with the opponent in order to manifest institutional loyalty through evoking "Democratic flags"; on the other hand, when the opponent belongs to the opposite-party, Clinton's identification mainly indicates conditional cooperation. Importantly, when Clinton is confronted with her past failures, she co-implicates her opponent in the FTA in a bid to redress the imposition on her negative face and to thus save her face, regardless of the opponent's institutional membership.

Clinton's affiliation with partisan and opposite-party opponents to express cooperation supports Bramley's view (2001) that candidates exploit pronominals to create a version of reality in the moment of discourse that is not necessarily consistent with the objective reality. That is, typically, candidates engage in political battles over candidacy against their opponents during the interaction and beyond. Hence, choosing in-group language that indicates closeness and cooperation with respect to opponents during the debate is a strategy employed to redress the noticeable disagreement between opponents during the debate and on previous and/or subsequent occasions.

In this chapter, particular attention is paid to a situational context in which Clinton affiliates with her partisan opponents in order to save the Democrats' image. The analysis of this will include reference to Grice's Maxims, in cases when either Clinton or her opponents violate them, and the impact of the violation on her identity. It will further discuss the implications of Clinton's use of such affiliation on her identity as a woman politician.

This chapter follows that same format of analysis as was introduced in Sections 7.1, including the presentation of extracts, tables for quantitative supportive information and asterisked examples. The FPPP will be labeled variably as the FPPP, plural self-reference (Fetzer, 2014), (self-) affiliation, *we*, self-identification, collective identity (Bramley, 2001) or the collective perspective (Millar, 2015). The first personal singular pronoun (henceforth, FPSP) is also used interchangeably with *I*, the singular self-reference (Fetzer, 2014), or the personal perspective or individual perspective (Millar, 2015). The pronominals that refer to the "other" are variably labeled either generally as other-reference(s) (Fetzer, 2014), or categorically as the second person pronoun (SPP), or third person pronoun (TPP). Third-party entities such as *president*, or *senator,* are also referred to as third-person nominal references, or the third-person perspective (Millar, 2015).

The examples that best illustrate the strategic uses of the FPPP are selected from the CHCDT and titled as EX(tract). The extract comprises Clinton's speech-turn(s), and in most instances, the interviewer's turn(s) and (where necessary) the opponent's turn(s) (for the interviewer's name in these extracts, see Tables 5.2 & 5.4). The inclusion of the other interlocutors' turns in the extract depends on how their contributions influence Clinton's choice of the FPPP. As already noted in

Section 7.1, these extracts are transcribed using Jefferson's (1984) system, the version used by Cameron and Shaw (2016). However, when parts of these extracts are reproduced inside the text for further analysis, quotes are written in sentences (not utterances), using conventional punctuation. Importantly, to investigate the effect of Clinton's choice of the FPPP on her self-construction, utterances with alternative pronominal choices are provided after an asterisk (*). The asterisked examples resemble Clinton's utterances in the original extract but are modified in their pronominal content, which helps to compare the effect of Clinton's original pronominal choices against the effect of the presumed choices on constructing a powerful identity and to infer the possible reasons for Clinton's choice of a particular pronominal. As aforementioned in Section 7.1, when the point requires an illustration involving two examples from two different genres, the debate examples are listed before those of the talk-shows, regardless of the date of the speech-event.

This chapter is divided into three major sections. In addition to the introduction, the other two major sections discuss the strategic goals that Clinton achieves through affiliating with her opponents (Section 8.2), and present a summary of the findings (Section 8.3), respectively. Section 8.2 is further divided into three subsections. Whereas Section 8.2.1 discusses Clinton's use of the FPPP to express conditional cooperation with opposite-party opponents, Section 8.2.2 discusses Clinton's use of the FPPP to co-implicate opponents in the FTA and redress her personal faults or inadequacies; and Section 8.2.3 examines Clinton's use of the FPPP to establish Democratic alliance with her partisan opponents.

8.2 Strategic Uses of the First Person Plural Pronoun When the Referent is an EPG
8.2.1 Expressing Conditional Cooperation with Opposite-Party Opponents

The analysis of the data shows that Clinton's use of the collective perspective to identify with opposite-party opponents occurs more frequently when Clinton is confronted with issues of cooperation with her opponents during the interaction. Hence, Clinton exploits the intrinsic inclusiveness of the FPPP as evidence for her willingness to cooperate with the opponent despite the political enmity between them, implying that this willingness to cooperate is conditional. These contexts illustrate how Clinton negotiates her identity with her opponents, whether this opponent is present or absent from the face-to face interaction, to re-construct a political identity that enhances her image through manifesting her readiness to cooperate with opponents and overcome the differences between them for the welfare of the country.

In the CHCDT, Clinton, typically, refers to her opposite-party opponents in 'other'-references, mainly using third-person pronominals and 'other' entities, such as *my opponent* (despite the personal

perspective in *my*). Her shift to affiliate with them occurs for a particular reason. Clinton realizes the conditionality of cooperation by switching between an inclusive *we* and alternative distancing pronominals when referring to her opposite-party opponent. In particular situations, as with Rick Lazio, Clinton alternates between the FPPP and the second-person perspective to refer to her opposite-party opponent. This switch between the in-group language marker, the FPPP, and the distancing pronominal to refer to opposite-party opponents, enables Clinton to maintain the distance between her and her opponents, making salient the fact that she cooperates with the opponent for a particular goal only. The shift also enables Clinton to maintain a powerful image as a politician; one who does not compromise easily with opponents, presumably because an extensive affiliation would be damaging for the political competition. That is, as aforementioned, threatening the opponent's face, instead of enhancing it, is a powerful discursive skill in the context of debate.

Clinton's exchanges with Lazio suitably exemplify how Clinton exploits the FPPP to negotiate her identities. Throughout the debate, Clinton refers to Lazio in 'other'-reference pronominals. She only shifts to identify with him when the interviewer confronts her with soft money issues that need a cooperative response. This shows that the cooperation that Clinton expresses through affiliating with opposite-party opponents is restricted by the topic and is not the default position of Clinton's attitude toward her non-partisan opponents. EX.8.1 illustrates how Clinton affiliates herself with the opponent in order to negotiate her willingness to cooperate during the face-to-face interaction.

EX.8.1 [Clinton-Lazio debate, NBC News, New York, 2000, *Decision*]

1. **Interviewer:** no soft money (1) and no outside groups advertising on New York television (.)
2. **Lazio**: yeah (.) eh (.) my opponent is willing to agree to the same (2) I'm willing to (3) not
3. raise a dime of soft money (.) not spend a dime of soft money (.) and call on all outside
4. groups (1) eh to (eh) stay away from this race and not spend any money in furtherance of
5. my campaign or
6. **Interviewer:** and you'll make phone calls to Governor Pataki if need be
7. **Lazio**: or make any phone calls
8. **Interviewer:** Mrs. Clinton?
9. **Clinton**: hh (1) well Tim you know (.) back in May I made eh (1) exactly that offer I said (.)
10. let's forego soft money but let's also be sure we don't have these independent
11. expenditures like (.) the one we just (.) talked about concerning Senator Moynihan and (.)
12. the fake ad (.) and I said you know (.) if you would do this (.) I would certainly abide by
13. it (1) if you will get signed agreements from all your friends who say they're raising (.)

14. thirty two million dollars and will not be running (.) so-called independent ads (.) will not

15. be doing push polling will not be doing mass mailings that are filled with these

16. outrageous (.) eh (1) personal attacks (.) I **think we can have an agreement (.)** I'd like to

17. see those signed letters from all those different groups that ah (.) you have counted on to

18. flood this state [..] (1) I think **if we can get signed agreements** from all of (.) your allies

19. (.) ah (.) when you wouldn't ask ah (1) the one group to stop but if you will get those

20. signed agreements (.) then you know **we can make a deal** [..]

The context in EX.8.1 is the Clinton-Lazio debate for the New York Senator Elections 2000. Clinton is running for her first position in Office. Her opponent, Lazio, is a member of the Independent House at the time of speaking, but is also supported by the Republicans to run against her. Before the exchange, Clinton distances her opponent, referring to him throughout the debate almost exclusively as a third-person (i.e., *he* and *my opponent*). Her reference to her opponent changes after being confronted with the need to cooperate on soft money issues. She exploits pronominals to negotiate her discursive identity at this point.

The main proposition that Clinton emphasizes in her response in EX.8.1 is that her opponent should have the paper regarding the stopping of soft money signed by all his allies so that she and her opponent can come to an agreement. To prepare for the shift from isolation to cooperation, that is, from the distancing third-person reference to the affiliative *we,* Clinton exhibits a gradual pronominal shift from the generic to the specific. She alternates between different group memberships and use of direct pronouns of address, as in lines 10–12, before affiliating with her opponent in:

- But **let's** also be sure **we** don't have these independent expenditures like the one **we** just talked about and I said, you know, if **you** would do this.

In lines 10–12, Clinton shortens the distance with her opponent before affiliating with him as a strategy to convey the meaning of conditional cooperation. Firstly, Clinton uses generic (*let's*) and governmental *we* (which may also include her opponent), then multiple *we* that is directly inclusive of the participants in the conversation in "we speak", including the opponent. After these different group memberships, Clinton shifts to address her opponent more directly in the second-person perspective. After shortening the distance with her opponent through the direct address, Clinton shifts to the in-group marker that includes her opponent only. This gradual shift from distance to closeness supports the role of the sequential (micro-) context in configuring the meaning of the FPPP.

Importantly, to express conditional cooperation, Clinton reiterates the proposition of "getting the paper signed to make an agreement," using If-clauses. Interestingly, in all the instances of affiliation

with Lazio, Clinton uses *you* in the conditional clause with *if*, and *we* in the result-clause, which makes salient the fact that her opponent's act is the condition for her cooperation. Consider the conditional propositions in which Clinton affiliates with her opponent, in lines 13–20.

- If **you will get signed** agreements from all your friends who say they're raising 32 million dollars, I think **we can have** an agreement.
- **I think if we can get signed agreements** from all of your allies, when you wouldn't ask.
- But **if you will get those signed agreements** then, you know, **we can make a deal.**

Clinton reiterates her offer for making the agreement with her opponent, putting Lazio's ability to get signed agreements from his allies as the condition for this offer of cooperation. Importantly, in the three instances in which she reiterates the offer, Clinton uses different pronominal choices when expressing the condition for cooperation. In two instances, Clinton uses the second-person pronominal in stating the condition for her offer, addressing her opponent in the If-clause in *"if you can get/will get signed agreements."* Only once does Clinton use the FPPP with *if* in "if we can get signed agreement from your allies." However, in the only instance where Clinton uses the FPPP in the If-clause, she does not show the result of the condition in order to complete the offer but immediately repairs her utterance by shifting back to the second-person perspective to repeat the condition of the offer. This repair strategy through pronominals shows that Clinton actively exploits the pronouns in this context to attribute the responsibility for the problem of soft money to her opponent and his allies. Assuming a collective responsibility in "if *we* can get" may deflect attention from her opponent's individual responsibility for getting the signed agreements to the shared responsibility for it.

In line with previous conclusions, whenever Clinton reiterates the proposition, not only does she change pronominals, but she also changes modality accordingly. However, in contrast to the type of modality that Clinton tends to use when affiliating with an HPG, in all the utterances in which she negotiates cooperation on soft money with her opponent, Clinton chooses to use a modal *can* with *we* and *will* with *you.* As explained in Section 7.2.1, in political discourse, *will* reflects political will and commitment and a high degree of responsibility for the act or confidence in the truthfulness of the proposition (Coates, 1983) whereas modal *can* in these utterances indicates possibility (Ehineni, 2014) or ability to do the act (Biber et al., 1999; Coates, 1983). As such, this pronoun-modal collocation implies that Lazio's is the determining action which can solve the problem. Clinton does not say, for example:

*If you (*can*) get those signed agreements then, you know, we ***will*** make a deal.

In fact, Clinton avoids *will* when including herself in the act. Instead, she puts emphasis on her opponent's work as the condition for solving the problem, therefore reducing her responsibility for solving the problem, by claiming only an ability or possibility of making the agreement, rather than committing to do so. This is supported by her use of the hedge *I think* every time she uses the FPPP either in the condition clause or in the result clause. The hedge before *we* lessens the force of, and her responsibility for, the utterance (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

In short, in EX.8.1, Clinton seems to switch between exclusivity and inclusivity when referring to her opposite-party opponent (i.e., the SPP and FPPP). Clinton's negotiation of political identity through pronominals indicates three things. Firstly, her opponent and his party are responsible for the soft money problem, and thus, they are the ones who should sign agreements to clarify their position on the issue. Secondly, getting those signed agreements is her opponent's responsibility. Thirdly, she will cooperate with her opponent only if he and his allies sign the agreements on soft money. The pronominal shifts allow Clinton to make her accusations indirectly, rather than explicitly, and thus, mitigate the FTA. It is worth mentioning, however, that the analysis of this data does not display a similar "procedural" practice of shortening the distance before affiliating with partisan opponents (i.e., Obama). Instead, Clinton tends to affiliate with her partisan opponent even when she has not addressed him in the preceding utterances (see EX. 8.6). This may be attributed to the fact that familiarity is already established between Clinton and Obama because they are in the same party, and therefore should share more similar views/policies and having participated in several debates against each other.

As aforementioned, affiliation to imply conditional cooperation with opposite-party opponents in Clinton's discourse occurs not only with opponents who are present in the interaction, as in EX.8.1, but also with opponents who are absent from interaction, particularly her colleagues in the Senate. However, while Clinton may frequently alternate between the FPPP and the address pronoun with face-to-face opponents, with opposite-party opponents who are absent from the interaction, she instead switches between the FPPP and third-person references to negotiate and reconstruct her political identity. Clinton shifts from distance to closeness to achieve her strategic goals. Consider the situational context in EX.8.2 where the interviewer confronts Clinton on her relationship with her colleagues in the Senate, whom she had previously referred to as enemies on a number of different occasions.

EX.8.2 [Hillary Clinton's interview on *The Late Show with David Letterman*, 2003]

1. **Interviewer:** an- and I eh I guess in some cases the (2) dynamic eh exists whereby
2. you are now working with and against people (.) that at one point you con-(1)sidered
3. enemies or regarded as trouble in your life (.) eh how eh how do you reconcile those
4. situations? (.)
5. **Clinton:** (.) ah (.) it takes time (1) but eh (1) I am working with a lot of people across the
6. aisle from me (1) and where **we can** (.) **we work together and we try to do things**
7. **(.) that we (.) both believe will help our constituents (.)** but you know it's (.) it's not
8. easy (.) but I've found a lot of eh (1) the (.) republican senators and members of the
9. House who I didn't know before (.) to be (1) you know (.) really (.) ah pretty good
10. guys (.) good to work with (.) and (1) whenever I can I do (.)

The context in EX.8.2 is Clinton's interview with Letterman (2003) during her first term as New York Senator. The interviewer threatens Clinton's negative face by asking her about her attitude toward some Senator-colleagues using comments such as "considered as your enemies." The question reminds Clinton and the hearers of the accusations of conspiracies that she leveled against her Republican opponents before her appointment as a Senator. Letterman's comments may also imply some accusation of hypocrisy against Clinton regarding her having changed her attitude toward those she previously considered her enemies. The imposition of the question on Clinton's negative face is also reflected in the high frequency of hesitation makers, such as *ah,* and pauses in Clinton's discourse when she initiates her response and throughout the speech-turn (see Brown & Levinson, 1987). In view of this, Clinton negotiates her discursive, political identity to define her relationship with her new colleagues through pronominals. Lines 5–7 show how Clinton defines her new relationship with her previous 'enemies' through pronominals as in:

- It takes time but I am working with *a lot of people* across the aisle from me and where *we* can, *we* work together and *we* try to do things that *we* both believe will help *our* constituents.

Similar to her response in EX.8.1, Clinton negotiates her collective identity before affiliating with her opponents. She first emphasizes the existing distance by using the distancing locative-phrase "people across the aisle from me," creating an *I–They* dichotomy. The phrase indicates literal distance, but also implies a metaphorical, political, difference. The use of this phrasal reference emphasizes that distance is the default position of those people. Clinton's subsequent shift from distance to inclusiveness conveys the fact that her stance regarding these past enemies remains the same but the distance is shortened to cooperate with her opponents; an act which may convince the

hearers that her intention to overcome this political distance is for the benefit of the public. Thus, Clinton employs different pronominals to configure the distance with her Republican colleagues and show her attitude toward her past enemies, which supports Bull and Fetzer's (2006) argument that politicians exploit pronouns in the political context to shape relationships. Strategically, Clinton exploits the FPPP to underscore her honesty in cooperating with her 'enemies' for the interest of the political institution, which reflects an important ideology for American diplomacy and democracy.

Importantly, after establishing this conditional closeness, Clinton instantly shifts back to distancing her opponents again by referring to them with various third-person references, thus creating another *I–They* dichotomy to define the relationship between her and her opponents, after having expressed conditional cooperation, as in EX.8.2, lines 8–10.

- **I've** found a lot of the **Republican senators** and **members of the House** who **I** didn't know before to be you know really ah pretty **good guys** good to work with and whenever **I** can**, I** do.

Clinton shifts back to using third-person entities, *Republican senators*, and *good guys*, to situate herself against her opponents in her default position of distance. In line with the conclusions above, Clinton reiterates a proposition, usually the one that conveys the main idea of her response, expressing a different identity each time the proposition is expressed. The following ideationally similar propositions occur in different positions in lines 6 and 10, respectively.

- Where **we can**, **we work.**
- Whenever **I can**, **I do.**

By reiterating the proposition with two different perspectives, the collective and the personal, Clinton reconstructs her political and institutional identity, implying that she aligns with her Republican opponents only when cooperation is possible; otherwise her opponents are distanced and marginalized. However, more atypical of Clinton's discursive practice shown in the previous contexts, when affiliating with an HPG, is her use of the same modality when alternating between the FPPP and the FPSP. In the previous contexts she tended to show less assertiveness when using the FPSP than with the FPPP. The interpretation is that the referent of *we*, here, is not an HPG, as in the previous examples, but an EPG, with whom Clinton does not have positive relations. Therefore, her individual self in this context is equal in power to the collective membership of her Republican opponents; that is, the FPPP is not augmentative as it would be in the case of an HPG, and therefore, the individual and collective perspective are equal in delivering the same message.

However, affiliating with her opponents does not have the sole aim of expressing cooperation. Clinton exploits affiliation with the EPG to achieve other strategic goals. Section 8.2.2 discusses

Clinton's exploitation of self-affiliation to co-implicate her opponents in the responsibility of her political flaws.

8.2.2 Co-implicating Opponents in FTA to Redress Personal Faults or Inadequacies

Clinton's self-affiliation with opponents not only expresses conditional cooperation, but also saves her face when confronted with her own failure, whether the opponents are partisan or opposite-party. Clinton exploits the FPPP to involve the opponent in the criticized action. Using the FPPP in such scenarios enables Clinton to deflect attention from her own failure and direct it toward her opponent. In this way, the inclusion of the opponent 'dilutes' the FTA that is directed at Clinton to save her negative face from the imposition of the FTA. In this way, affiliation is a means of preventing the opponent from taking electoral advantage of Clinton's confession of failure or acknowledgment of a scandal. However, while saving her threatened face, Clinton simultaneously threatens that of her opponent, through being impolite, which supports the argument above that the use of *we* may function in the sphere of impoliteness (see Section 1.3). That is, by co-implicating her opponent in the FTA during the face-to-face interaction, Clinton makes her opponent lose his face instead of satisfying it. In this way, Clinton reconstructs her political identity through 'false' commonality, using this communal relation as a means to save her threatened face and indirectly threaten the opponent's face.

This strategic goal of self-affiliation with the opponent in the CHCDT differs from the strategic goal in 7.2.1.2 in which Clinton exploits her membership with her political party (i.e., an HPG) to make them responsible for the failure per se. Co-implicating opponents in the FTA, on the other hand, does not indicate the opponent's sharing of the responsibility for Clinton's failure, but instead equates him with her in terms of making mistakes. Clinton co-implicates her opponents to remind the hearers of the opponent's failure, conveying the message that her opponent also has flaws, and countering any implication that Clinton is unusual in exhibiting such failings. Clinton uses this strategy with both partisan and opposite-party opponents, as will be illustrated in EX.8.3 and EX.8.4, respectively. Consider how, in EX.8.3, Clinton uses the FPPP to deflect attention from the criticism against her to her partisan opponent's (i.e., Obama's) involvement in the FTA. Clinton shifts pronominals to shift attention from the criticism leveled against her by an audience, and thus, to alleviate the imposition on her face.

EX.8.3 [Clinton-Obama debate, ABC News, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April, 2008]
1. **Interviewer:** Senator Clinton (.) we also did a poll today (.) and there's also questions
2. about you raised in this poll about six in 10 voters (1) that we talk to say they don't believe

3. you're honest and trustworthy (1) and we asked a lot of Pennsylvania voters for

4. questions that they ad (.) a lot of them raised this (.) honesty issue and (.) your

5. comments about being under sniper fire in Bosnia (.) here's Tom Rooney from

6. Pittsburgh (.)

7. **Audience**: (Begin video clip) Senator Clinton how do you reconcile

8. the campaign credibility that you have when you (.) made those comments about what

9. happened getting off the plane in Bosnia which (1) totally misrepresented what really

10. happened on that day (.) you really lost my vote (.) and what can you tell me to get

11. that vote back? to other things (.)

12. **Clinton**: hh (1) well (.) Tom I can tell you (.) that ah (2) um I may be a lot of things (.) but

13. ah I'm not dumb (1) and (1) I wrote about going to Bosnia in my book in 2004 (.) I

14. laid it all out there (1) and you're right (.) um (1) on couple of occasions in the (.) last

15. (.) weeks (.) ah (1) I just ah (1) said some things that weren't in keeping with what (1)

16. I knew to be the case and what I had written about in my book and you know (1) I'm

17. embarrassed by it (.) I have apologized for it I've said it was a mistake (1) ah um (1)

18. and eh (1) it is I hope something that eh (1) you can eh (1) look over (1) because

19. clearly I am (.) proud that I went to Bosnia (.) It was a war zone [..] but I have talked

20. about this (.) and written about it (.) and then (.) unfortunately in a few occasions I

21. was not (.) ah (.) as accurate as I have been in the past (1) hh but I know too (.) that

22. eh (.) being able to (.) rely on my experience of having gone to Bosnia gone to more

23. than 80 countries (1) having represented the United States (1) in so many different

24. settings (.) ah gives me a tremendous advantage (.) going into this campaign (1)

25. particularly (.) against Senator McCain (1) ah (.) so (.) ah I will either try to get more

26. sleep Tom or (.) eh (.) you know eh have somebody ah that (.) you know (.) is there as

27. a remind to me (1) you know (1) you can go back for the past 15 months **we both**

28. **have said things that eh (.) you know have turned out not to be accurate (1) you**

29. **know, that (.) happens when you're talking as much as we have talked** (.) but eh

30. you know (1) I'm very sorry that I said it ah and eh (.) I have said that you know eh (.)

31. it just didn't jive with what I had written about and knew to be the truth (.)

The context in EX.8.3 is the debate in Pennsylvania against Barack Obama for the presidential bid in 2008. In this speech-turn, Clinton defends herself against the audience's accusation that she made false assertions regarding her role in the Bosnian war. Acknowledging the scandal of

misleading the nation in the Bosnia report does weaken Clinton's chances of winning the debate and thus poses a threat to her negative face. Therefore, in the whole speech-turn, Clinton focuses on constructing her individual identity, rather than a collective one, to defend her position. It is noteworthy that foregrounding the individual identity is not typical of Clinton's discursive identity, particularly in FTAs. Unlike in many instances in this data, in EX.8.3, Clinton shifts to the collective perspective (the FPPP) only at the end of the speech-turn in lines 27-29:

- **We both** have said things that, you know, turned out not to be accurate. You know, that happens when you're talking as much as **we** have talked.

The repeated occurrence of the hedge, *you know*, in these lines where self-identification is used indicates a state of hesitancy in Clinton's speech and an attempt to distance herself from the utterance and to take time to choose the appropriate pronominal that might save her threatened face. Importantly, Clinton uses *both* to make salient that the opponent is included in *we*. Clinton initiates her response first by apologizing for her fault and reminding the hearers of her positive acts, which is high FTA. However, Clinton may have found these moves insufficient to save her image and save the audience's support. Therefore, she uses the strategy of identification with the opponent as the last ditch, as if she realizes her argument is weak, and that taking full responsibility for the failure does not save her image. The act of apologizing for a lie is also a high FTA. In this way, co-implicating her opponent enables her to deflect attention from her responsibility for lying to the nation and towards her opponent's responsibility for similar faults, which thus alleviates the imposition on her face and redirects the FTA to her opponent. This strategic goal of the FPPP may effectively maintain Clinton's position in the debate against her opponent, conveying the message that "I am not the only one who makes mistakes but also my opponent does; and thus, we are equal, and voters should also consider my opponent's failures too."

However, to save her threatened face when she admits her inadequacies, Clinton co-implicates not only partisan opponents, but also opposite-party opponents. Consider EX.8.4 in which Clinton identifies herself with her opposite-party opponent, Rick Lazio.

EX.8.4 [Clinton-Lazio debate, NBC News, 2000, New York, *Decision*]
1. **Interviewer**: I have an e-mail question regarding Jonathan Pollard (.) the American
2. naval officer who (1) betrayed the country was sentenced to life for (.) espionage and
3. treason (.) the secretary of defense, the secretary of state, the director of the F.B.I.
4. and the head of the C.I.A. have all said (.) do not pardon him (.) do not grant him
5. clemency hh (1) do you support clemency for Mr. Pollard? (1) and if so (.) why

6. would you even consider it? (.)

7. **Clinton**: hh (.) well Tim (.) what Mr. Pollard did (.) was a terrible crime against the

8. United States ah (.) ah (1) it was ah (1) a great breach ah (1) of trust and national

9. security ah (.) and he (2) ah plead guilty (.) was convicted and is serving a very

10. long prison term hh ah (1) [..] the question for me (.) is around the due process

11. issues concerning (.) ah (1) the way that he was sentenced (.) hh it is something

12. that I (.) have questions about and I believe that fair-minded people should ask

13. similar questions (.) ah there was secret evidence (.) put in before the court that

14. has never been revealed only people (.) ah with high security clearance can see it

15. (.) and two men whom I respect very much have reached different opinions based

16. on reviewing that material (.) on the one hand, Senator Lieberman believes

17. strongly that (.) no action ah with respect to clemency (.) ah should be granted (.)

18. and Senator Schumer, who's also reviewed the material, believes that it should (.)

19. ah (1) neither my opponent nor I are in a position (.) to (.) have seen that material

20. so far as I know (.) so **we like every other American are (.) in a position of** (.)

21. **not knowing how to form an opinion about this** (.) but I am troubled by the due

22. process issues (.) that ah (1) I think **we should ask (.) ah** (1) **questions about and**

23. **get further** information about so that **we can make our own judgments** (.)

As mentioned above, in her debate against Lazio, Clinton identifies with her opponent only in two instances. The first one is expressing conditional cooperation (see EX.8.1), and the second is co-implicating him in her failure. In EX.8.4, Clinton is asked about her own view on granting Mr. Pollard clemency. She admits her inability to draw judgment regarding Pollard's case to be due to her lack of knowledge about the issue. Admitting the inability to get information that is available to other Senators (e.g., Schumer), may threaten Clinton's face, for it portrays her as someone who lacks power and authority to access the relevant information. Therefore, to save her face from this FTA, Clinton identifies with her opponent to share the inadequacy with him, placing the affiliation within a national and a political frame when equating herself and her opponent with 'ordinary Americans.' Consider how Clinton negotiates her political identity before she assumes a shared group membership with her opponent in lines 19–23.

- Neither *my* opponent nor *I* are in a position to have seen that material, so far as *I* know, so **we**, like every other American, are in a position of not knowing how to form an opinion about this.

- *I* think **we** should ask questions about and get further information.

- So that **we** can make **our** own judgments.

Starting with this *I–He* (*my opponent*) dichotomy, before the use of the FPPP, enables Clinton to identify explicitly and specifically who she includes in the FPPP, thus eliminating any possible ambiguity of the referent. If the FPPP was used without using *my opponent* in the pre-sequential context, the reference of the FPPP in "*we* are not in a position" would be ambiguous and might be understood as generic or to be referring to the multiple referents in the conversation (e.g., the people, the audience, the interviewers, etc.). As such, the FPPP in this case would not have been effective in saving her negative face from the FTA. Clinton uses the collective perspective instead of the personal in the lines above to reduce taking full responsibility for the failure to make the right judgment. Compare if Clinton used *I* instead of *we* in all the utterances EX.8.4, lines 19–23.

> ***I am not** in a position to have seen that material, so as far as I know, so **I am**, like every other American, in a position of not knowing how to form an opinion about this. But I am troubled by the due process issues that I think **I should ask questions** about and get further information about so that **I can make my own judgment**s.

If Clinton used the FPSP instead of the FPPP, she would appear to be the only one lacking this authority among Senators including her opponent. Thus, the FPPP shows that she is like 'every other American,' but that so is her opponent; both are depowered in this particular situation, Clinton is no exception. In view of this, I argue that the FPPP, in such a context, functions in the sphere of impoliteness rather than the sphere of politeness because the addressee's (i.e., opponent's) face is threatened by being implicated in an act for which they are not responsible. In this regard, the FPPP is used to benefit the speaker, not the addressee.

Unlike in the previous two contexts in which Clinton co-implicates her opponent in an act for which he is not responsible, in a particular context, Clinton co-implicates her opponent in a shared act to index a specific shared group membership. This special use of the FPPP functions as a counter-attack strategy to save her threatened face when her opponent criticizes her. This strategy is illustrated by the famous exchanges between Clinton and Obama during the Democratic primary elections for USA presidency in 2008, which occupied the media for a considerable length of time during the election (see Section 5.2).

EX.8.5 [Clinton-Obama debate, CNN, South Carolina, January, 2008]
1. **Audience**: ⌈ [APPLAUSE] ⌉
2. **Clinton**: ⌊ now (3) ⌋
3.   I just wanna be clear about this (2) in an editorial board with the (1) Reno

4. newspaper (1) you said (.) two different things (.) because I have read the transcript (1) you

5. talked about Ronald Reagan being a transformative political leader (.)

6. I did not mention ⎡ his   name

7. **Obama**:   ⎣ your husband did ⎤

8. **Clinton**: well (.) I'm here he's ⎡ not (.) and

9. **Obama**:   ⎣ OK (.) well (.) ⎤

10.   I can't tell who I'm running ⎡ against sometimes

11. **Audience**:   ⎣ [APPLAUSE] ⎤

12. **Clinton**: well (2) you know (1) I think **we both have very passionate and**

13.   **committed spouses** who stand **up for us** (.) and I'm proud of that ah (.)

The context in EX.8.5 is a dialogue between Clinton and Obama in the Democratic primary presidential elections in 2008. In EX.8.5, Obama threatens Clinton's face by indirectly criticizing her gendered identity as a powerless, woman candidate who is controlled by her husband, rather than being a qualified candidate who is running independently for the powerful position. Obama's previous comments in the exchange, in "your husband did" and "I can't tell who I'm running against sometimes," form high FTAs against Clinton's face. Thus, as a counter-attack strategy, Clinton exploits the FPPP to assume a shared membership in a social collective, the collective of supported spouses, to threaten Obama's face and save hers. Using the collective perspective in line 12 in "*we* both have very passionate and committed spouses who stand up for *us*," Clinton defends herself against Obama's criticism by involving him in the criticized act. By identifying with Barack Obama, Clinton hints at the role of Obama's wife in supporting him during his campaign, whereby Michelle Obama delivered speeches on a number of different occasions during the campaign in support of Barack Obama's candidacy for USA president (Wheeler, 2009).

In this way, Clinton utilizes the in-group marker, *we/us*, not as a politeness marker but as an FTA strategy. She de-genders Obama's accusations by making husband and wife equivocal in her argument, even if some social views would continue to see them as unequal social roles (in particular Clinton's unique personal circumstances as the wife of a former president). The paralinguistic features in Clinton's utterance of affiliation, such as Clinton's intonation and eye-contact that occur in conjunction with the use of three hedges (*well*, *you know*, and *I think*) before use of the FPPP, indicates a high degree of imposition of the FTA on Clinton's face. These moves also show Clinton's attempt to gain time to choose the appropriate pronominal that could save her face. Therefore, the FPPP in lines 12 and 13 does not indicate solidarity and sharing common ground with the addressee,

in terms of both being married and supported by their spouses, as Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest, but, instead, it is a negative strategy by which Clinton distances herself from the imposition of the FTA. Importantly, Clinton favors an affiliation with Obama, over distancing herself from him in the second-person pronoun, as she has done in the previous utterances. Clinton could have used the second-person pronoun as in:

You also have a passionate and committed spouse who stands up for *you*.

Although Clinton's use of the pronoun of address instead of the FPPP in lines 12 and 13 would convey the same message that Obama's wife supports him as does Clinton's husband, the second-person pronoun would focus the attention on Obama's wife as a committed spouse, while distancing Clinton and her husband from the proposition of having a committed spouse. This focus on Obama and his wife, as illustrated in Section 7.2, would contradict Clinton's typical discursive practice of augmenting herself by exploiting her husband to underscore her intimate association with a former president. Clinton's affiliation with Obama in this utterance reveals that, although she realizes Obama's intention to make a negative remark about her, she seems not to be offended by his comment; instead, she takes advantage of the situation when her husband is mentioned to draw attention to her powerful spouse, and thus enhance her political power and threaten her opponent's face. The strategy in this context demonstrates a discursive skill in Clinton's ability to spontaneously deflect the FTA toward the opponent, while enhancing her political identity.

In summary, in situations when she is accused of a lack of competence, Clinton constructs her political identity by identifying herself with partisan as well as opposite-party opponents, equalizing herself and her opponent in terms of having committed mistakes by involving her opponents in the FTA. This saves her negative face from the imposition of the FTA of admitting a mistake or incompetency. This strategy, I argue, is effective for voting purposes as she knows that admitting the charges would cost her many votes.

Identifying with the partisan opponent in Clinton's discourse serves another strategic goal that contributes to constructing her institutional identity. Section 8.2.3 demonstrates how Clinton exploits the FPPP in affiliating herself with her partisan opponents to emphasize institutional unity and cooperation through teamwork.

8.2.3 Establishing Democratic Alliance with Partisan Opponents

As demonstrated in Section 6.2, most of Clinton's uses of the FPPP to identify with her opponents in the CHCDT occur in a dialogue with her partisan opponent, Barack Obama, in her final debate. In most of these occurrences, Clinton exploits the FPPP to index her institutional identity as a Democrat,

notably in situational contexts that emphasize her institutional cooperation, making salient the fact that she overcomes personal issues with her partisan opponent for the benefit of the Democratic Party. However, the cooperation that the FPPP invokes here, is not the same type of conditional cooperation that she shows with opposite-party opponents (see Section 8.2.1), but is rather a type of profound cooperation demanded by mutual political destiny. This distinction between the goal of cooperation with partisan and opposite-party opponents is expressed through the relationship between the FPPP and other pronominals in the micro-linguistic context. With opposite-party opponents, Clinton refers to them mostly with other-reference pronominals, creating an *I–He*, *I–They*, or in rarer cases, *I–You* dichotomy in most utterances during the debate; she only shifts to affiliate with them in order to assert her willingness to cooperate with the opponent. With partisan opponents, on the other hand, identification with the opponent occurs in many instances during the debate to emphasize the shared values and ideologies of the political party, which indexes her Democratic identity, and thus, enhances her positive face as a recognized loyal Democrat. In some such situations, Clinton overuses her affiliation with her partisan opponent in a way that contributes to violating Grice's maxims (1975) of quantity, manner, and relevance.

This section also discusses a particular use of this form of *we* as seen when Clinton exploits the pronominal to repair the image of the Democrats. The institutional alliance in other situations of this type is implied in Clinton's alignment with her colleagues to save the image of the Democrats. This particular use of the FPPP has implications in terms of gendered behavior, as will be discussed in Section 8.2.3.1.

As already noted, Clinton's affiliation with Obama occurs more frequently in the final debate of the Democratic primary elections in 2008, thus indicating that Clinton exploits the FPPP to win the party's trust as a loyal Democrat who prioritizes the interests of the institution over personal gains. Consider EX.8.6 in Clinton-Obama/Apr2008, where the interviewer confronts Clinton on her institutional cooperation with her partisan opponent, thus causing Clinton to overuse the FPPP to index her institutional unity and enhance her image as a committed Democrat. In doing so, she violates and flouts Grice's maxims in a way that deflects attention from the purpose of the question.

EX.8.6 [Clinton-Obama debate, ABC News, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April, 2008]

1. **Interviewer:** but Senator Clinton eh (.) Governor Cuomo made that suggestion because
2. he's not so sure (.) and other Democrats are not so sure (.) Just to quote from the
3. Constitution again (2) (reading an article) in every case (2) Article two, Section one
4. (3) after the choice of the president (.) the person having the greatest number of votes

5. of the electors shall be the vice president (1) If it was good enough in colonial times

6. (1) why not in these times? (.)

7. **Clinton:** well Charlie (1) I'm going to do (1) everything I possibly can to make sure eh

8. (1) **that one of us takes** the oath of office (1) ah next January (1) I think that has to

9. be (.) the overriding goal (.) whatever **we have to do** (1) ah (1) obviously (1) **we are**

10. **still contesting** (.) to determine who will be the nominee ah (1) but once that's

11. resolved (.) ah (1) I think it is (1) absolutely imperative that **our entire party** close

12. ranks that we become unified (.) I will do everything to make sure that the people

13. who supported me (.) ah (.) support our nominee (1) I will go anywhere in the country

14. to make the case (.) ah (1) and I know that Barack feels the same way because (2)

15. **both of us have** (.) spent 15 months traveling **our country** (1) I have seen the

16. damage (.) of the Bush years (.) I've seen extraordinary pain that people ah (1) have

17. suffered from because of (.) the failed policies (.) you know, those (.) who have held

18. my hands who've lost sons or daughters in Iraq (.) and those who have lost sons or

19. daughters because they didn't have health insurance hh (1) and (1) so (.) regardless of

20. the differences there may be between **us** and there are (.) differences (.) they pale in

21. comparison (.) to the differences **between us and Senator McCain** ah (.) so (1) **we**

22. **will certainly do (.)** whatever is necessary to make sure that a Democrat is in the

23. White House (.) next January (.)

The context in EX.8.6 is Clinton's final debate against Obama in Pennsylvania in 2008. The interviewer questions Clinton's commitment to electing Obama as her vice president, were she to be elected USA president. In her response, Clinton focuses on constructing her institutional identity as a loyal Democrat rather than giving a direct answer to the question, violating Grice's maxims (1975) of Quantity and Manner, and flouting the maxim of Relevance. Concerning the Maxim of Quantity, Clinton utters 226 words in her response, without giving an informative answer to the interviewer's question; that is, whether she is going to appoint Obama as Vice president or not. In this way, Clinton violates the Maxim of Manner which states that the speaker should be direct and concise. Instead, she gives an indirect answer to the question, which also leads to flouting the Relevance Maxim. In flouting this maxim, Clinton seems to intentionally avoid giving an answer regarding her decision whether to elect Obama as Vice President; instead she focuses on what she is going to do to help elect a Democratic President, rather than a Vice President. Clinton seems to overuse the FPPP in her response to mitigate this violation and flouting of the maxims. In her response, she uses the FPPP slightly more frequently than the FPSP: 11 occurrences for the FPPP vs 10 for the FPSP. Importantly,

she uses the collective perspective more frequently with verb-processes that indicate action, whereas the personal perspective is used equally with material and mental verb-processes. That is, Clinton uses the personal perspective four times to express material verb-processes (*do/make/go/travel*) and four times with mental verbs (*think/know/see*). The FPPP, on the other hand, co-occurs almost exclusively with material verb-processes (*take/do/spend/ travel*), only on one instance does Clinton uses the FPPP with a relational verb-process (*become*). This supports the conclusions above that Clinton typically uses the collective perspective more frequently with material verbs, or specifically verbs that show action rather than mental state, and aligns again with Millar's (2015) conclusions regarding the Danish Prime Minister's use of the first personal pronouns (see Section 3.2.2).

The constant shift between the personal and the collective perspective in Clinton's response in EX.8.6 enables Clinton to deflect the focus away from the topic of electing the opponent as Vice President to evoking "Democratic" emotions through frequently allying with her partisan-opponent colleague. Arguably, affiliating with her Democratic opponent redresses Clinton's preceding attacks against Obama and reconstructs her identity as a Democrat who maintains a strong bond with her partisan colleagues. This shift is salient when Clinton expresses her institutional identity in two ideationally similar propositions.

Interestingly, as a typical discursive practice, when Clinton repeats ideationally similar propositions, she tends to shift the pronominal in the repeated utterance(s), using a different modality with each pronominal. Clinton initiates and ends her response in EX.8.6 using two similar propositions using two different pronominal perspectives. After she initiates her response by taking full personal responsibility for the proposition "doing everything to make sure a Democrat is elected," she reiterates the proposition in lines 21-22, using the collective perspective to share the responsibility for the pledge with her partisan opponent. However, although the two propositions are directly related in their meaning, another proposition in line 12 indirectly states the proposition, in the personal perspective. Compare the three utterances.

- ***I*'m going to** do everything ***I* possibly can** to make sure that one of ***us*** takes the oath of office next January.
- So, ***we* will certainly** do whatever is necessary to make sure that a Democrat is in the White House next January.
- ***I will* do** everything **to make sure** that the people who supported me support our nominee.

I will first draw a comparison between the two directly related propositions in lines 7 and 21-

22. As illustrated repeatedly above, Clinton tends to choose the modal that displays greater assertiveness and a stronger will in performing the act with the FPPP rather than with the FPSP. In these lines, Clinton uses the proposition with two different types of modality. In the first occurrence, Clinton uses the proposition with the personal perspective; she uses the semi-modal (Biber et al., 1999) *be going to* with verb *do* and the modal verb of ability/possibility *can*. The semi-modal *be going to* often implies an intention, and thus, "an expectation that the intention will be carried out" (Leech 1971, p. 860). As such, this use of the future semi-modal indicates high certainty of carrying out the action. However, despite this high degree of certainty when using the FPSP, which is atypical of Clinton's discursive behavior, Clinton reduces the degree of certainty by hedging in the subsequent utterance using the modal *can* and an adverb of possibility. Modal *can* indicates ability, possibility, or permission (Coates, 1983; Leech, 2004; Quirk et al., 1985). In "what I *possibly can* do," the meaning of possibility of the modal is reinforced by use of the hedge *possibly* that indicates less assertiveness in doing the act, thus weakening the force and the truthfulness of the utterance (Brown & Levinson, 1987). These contradictory forces transform the proposition from a high expectation of carrying out the act to only a possibility of doing so, thus resulting in making the utterance perceived as:

*I am going to do what I can do.

Clinton does not invest the assertiveness of the first utterance to reinforce the individual identity; instead, she shifts the personal perspective to express possibility. In the second occasion in which she reiterates her commitment in the personal perspective, that is, to doing everything to make sure a Democrat is elected, Clinton's utterance sounds more assertive through the use of *will,* which indicates a strong will to perform the act (Ehineni, 2014). This high assertiveness of the proposition in this case is similar to the one expressed in the collective perspective in lines 21-22. With the FPPP, Clinton also uses *will*, and reinforces the modality of *will* with the hedge *certainly* which, in contrast to *possibly* in the first use of the personal perspective, "stresses the speaker's commitment to the truthfulness of his utterance," (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 165). In addition to the hedge of certainty with the FPPP, Clinton uses "whatever" instead of "everything," which, along with the other linguistic choices, reinforces Clinton's commitment to the truthfulness of her proposition. Interestingly, when Clinton chooses *I* to make the pledge, she affiliates with her Democratic fellow in "to make sure one of *us* takes the oath;" whereas when she uses the collective perspective (in which she affiliates with her partisan opponent), she uses the indefinite noun "a Democrat," instead, in "to make sure that *a Democrat* is in the White House." She does not repeat the same phrase and, for example, say:

*We will certainly do whatever is necessary to make sure that *one of us* takes oath.

Thus, although the debate is the final in the Democratic primary-elections, and it is already known that the nominee is either Clinton or Obama, Clinton avoids referring to herself and her opponent; and instead she uses the indefinite noun, *a Democrat*. Clinton seems to distance herself from the utterance when sharing the act with her opponent. Arguably, despite the distance that the indefinite use of the noun, *Democrat*, creates, such use of the noun may boost Clinton's manifestation of loyalty as she sounds unselfish and more devoted to her political party.

However, arguably, the confidence and assertiveness that Clinton expresses in the collective perspective "we will do" are, arguably, higher than in the personal perspective "I will do everything to make sure that the people [..]" in line 12. The argument is based on the premise that Clinton uses *I* with *will,* not to state directly her pledge to make sure a Democrat is elected (or in the White House) as in lines 7 and 21-22, but indirectly, that is, to encourage her supporters to support the Democrat nominee. This, therefore, makes her proposition, despite the use of *will,* less forceful than *I* with *going to* and/or *will* with *we* in terms of making the pledge to electing a vice president. In view of this, it is valid to conclude that among the three propositions, the utterance in the collective perspective is the most assertive and forceful in expressing Clinton's pledge.

Clinton's emphasis on constructing her institutional identity through affiliating with Obama in EX.8.6 is saliently demonstrated in lines 12 and 13. The strategic use of affiliation in these lines can be explored through comparing Clinton's choice of pronominals to other comparable utterances in a previous context in which Clinton speaks about the differences between her and Obama (see EX.7.11). In each context, Clinton tends to construct a different political identity. Compare Clinton's utterance in lines 18 and 19 in EX.8.6 with her utterance in line 9 in EX.7.11, respectively.

- And so, regardless of the differences there may be between **us**, and there are differences; they pale in comparison to the differences between **us** and **Senator McCain.**
- The difference between ***Senator Obama*** and ***myself*** is that.

Although Clinton speaks about the differences between her and Obama in both contexts, she chooses to distance herself from Obama in EX.7.11 but to identify with him in EX.8.6. Topic is a paramount factor in the choices of pronominal in both contexts. In EX.7.11, Clinton is confronted with a comparison between her policies and those of Obama; thus, distancing Obama and his policies from the Democratic Party and their ideologies is more self-enhancing for Clinton than a case of affiliating with him. In EX.8.6, on the other hand, Clinton is confronted with her commitment to support her Democratic colleagues. Thus, associating herself with her partisan opponent reinforces her claim for cooperation, particularly when she is evading a direct answer. The institutional alliance

in these lines is invoked by a *We–They* dichotomy between Clinton/Obama (Democrats) and Republicans, referring to Republicans as a third-party (represented by John McCain), which as noted above, foregrounds political continuities between members of the in-group (e.g., Clinton and Obama).

As previously noted, Clinton violates and flouts the maxims of conversation while affiliating with the partisan opponent. This emphasis on affiliating with the opponent and thus violating maxims is not observed in Obama's response to the same question in the same debate. On the contrary, Obama affiliates directly with the Democratic Party rather than with Clinton, thus distancing himself, simultaneously, from Clinton. Consider Obama's response to the same question regarding the election of Clinton as his Vice President in EX.8.7.

EX.8.7 [Clinton-Obama debate, ABC News, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April, 2008]

1. **Obama**: well (.) ah ah I'm happy to start with a response (.) look eh (.) this has been
2. an extraordinary journey that both Senator Clinton and I have been on (.) a (1)
3. number of other able candidates (1) ah and (.) I think very highly of of (.) Senator
4. Clinton's record (1) but as I've said before (.) I think it's premature at this point (.)
5. for **us to talk about** who (.) vice presidential candidates will be because **we're**
6. **still trying to determine (.)** who the nominee will be (1) ah (1) **b**ut eh eh (.) one
7. (.) thing I'm absolutely certain of (.) is that, come (2) August (.) when **we're in**
8. **Denver** (1) eh (.) the Democratic Party will come together (1 because **we have (1)**
9. **eh no** choice (.) if **we** want to deliver on the promises that eh (1) not only **we've**
10. **made** but the Founders made (1) **we are (1) seeing eh (2)** people's economic (1)
11. status slipping further and further behind (1) **we've seen** people who (1) have not
12. only lost their jobs but now are (1) at risk of losing their homes (2) ah **we have** a
13. sharp contrast in terms of economic policies (.) John McCain wants to continue ah
14. (1) four more year of George Bush policies and (.) on the foreign policy front,
15. wants to continue George Bush's foreign policy (.) So I'm confident that (1) both
16. Senator Clinton's supporters and (1) Senator Obama's supporters will be
17. supporting the Democratic nominee (.) eh when **we start (.) engaging i**n that
18. general election (.)

Although Clinton and Obama utter almost the same amount of words in their response to the question (226 vs. 221, respectively), Obama's response, arguably, is more consistent with the Cooperative Principle, particularly with the Maxims of Manner and Relevance, than Clinton's.

Obama's answer is more direct and relevant to the interviewer's question than that of Clinton. Obama gives an informative answer regarding electing Clinton as his Vice President, by explaining the reasons for not being able to choose his Vice President at this stage. However, unlike Clinton's response that emphasizes an affiliation with the opponent, it is noteworthy that in all instances of use of the FPPP in Obama's response, he identifies explicitly with the Democratic Party, even though the question is about electing Clinton. It seems that Obama avoids affiliating with Clinton, distancing her through an *I–She* dichotomy, referring to her as a third-party, *Senator Clinton*. Interestingly, Obama chooses long phrases to avoid affiliating with Clinton and emphasizes the distance between them, as in lines 15-17 in "so I'm confident that both Senator Clinton's supporters and Senator Obama's will be supporting the Democratic nominee," instead of saying:

*So, I'm confident that (both of) our supporters will be supporting the Democratic nominee.

I argue that even in the one instance in which Obama may be seen to affiliate with Clinton in "but as I've said before, I think it's premature at this point for ***us to talk about*** who vice presidential candidates will be," the referent of *us* is also 'the Democrats' in the generic sense, not Clinton. This is supported by the absence of affiliation with Clinton in Obama's discourse throughout the speech-turn. Obama uses distal references to refer to Clinton in all the preceding utterances and the subsequent ones. This is also supported by the choice of certain linguistic features. For example, the phrase "as I have said before" anchors his answer to his previous assertions, and therefore, *us* may refer generically to different Democrats who were engaged in previous encounters, not only Clinton. Thirdly, the choice of plurality in *vice presidential candidates* indicates generality of reference, which supports the generic meaning of *us* in the previous utterance. Finally, and more importantly, the subsequent utterance (the causal clause) which is dependent on the previous (result) clause explains why Obama says "it is premature for "*us*" to talk." That is, the FPPP in "because we're still trying to determine who the nominee will be" conspicuously refers to 'the Democrats,' which makes *us* in the previous utterance a membership with the Democrats, not with Clinton. In view of this, Obama does not affiliate with Clinton in a context resembling the one in which Clinton overuses the FPPP to identify with Obama.

This salient difference between Clinton and Obama in affiliation may indicate that Clinton is flexible and inconsistent in her identity/affiliations whereas Obama is more consistent in his political identity. Clinton shows intimacy in this context in EX.8.6 toward Obama more than she shows in other discursive representations, whereas Obama's pronominal choices are usually oriented towards distancing Clinton (see EX.7.13 & EX.7.14). The importance of the frequent identification with the

partisan opponent, particularly when the proposition signifies differences or opposition, I argue, resides in the fact that this self-affiliation is not conditional or restricted to a specific act as in the case of opposite-party opponents; instead, it is a manifestation of ideological and political unity based on one political destiny.

As mentioned in Section 8.1, the analysis shows a particular situational context in which Clinton uses the FPPP to identify with her partisan opponents to repair the image of the Democratic Party. The context reveals a difference between Clinton and her male opponents in constructing discursive and institutional identities, as will be explained in Section 8.2.3.1.

8.2.3.1 Identifying with Partisan Opponents to Save the Democrat Image

Clinton affiliates with her partisan opponents not only to manifest Democratic loyalty but also to save the image of the Democrats when it is threatened during the debate. In a particular situational context, Clinton employs affiliation with her partisan colleagues to deflect attention from the negative image of their conflict as Democrats to the positive image of unity. As such, Clinton exploits the FPPP to powerfully index her institutional identity and as an entertaining and spontaneous speaker, which are desirable discursive attributes of the American politician (see Stewart, 2012).

In the Clinton-Obama/Jan2008 debate, the Democratic candidates Obama, John Edwards and Clinton, engage in a chaotic confrontation against each other which is threatening to the image of the Democrats as a united party. Clinton exploits the FPPP to construct her institutional identity through making a humorous comment to alleviate the chaotic picture of the Democratic candidates. The FPPP enables Clinton to do face-work both positively and negatively. Positively, she identifies with her colleagues to enhance her face as a loyal Democrat who stands up for the Democratic image, and as an entertaining speaker. She also saves her negative face that is threatened as a Democrat by the candidates' misrepresentation of the Democratic Party. Consider the exchanges in EX.8.8.

EX.8.8 [Clinton-Obama debate, CNN, South Carolina, January, 2008]

1. **Edwards**:   there's a third ⌈ person in this ⌉ debate
2. **Interviewer:**   ⌊ wait a minute ⌋
3.   Senator Edwards hold on (1) there has been a specific (1) there is charge leveled against
4.   Hillary ⌈ Clinton ⌉
5. **Clinton:**   ⌊ yes ⌋
6. **Interviewer**: so she can respond then I'll bring in   ⌈ Senator Edwards ⌉
7. **Clinton:**   ⌊ I just want ⌋

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 8.          to be      ⌐ sure
 9. Obama:             |              and   address what she  ⌐ said about
10. Interviewer:        ⌐ go ahead ⌐                          | we have got
11.  a long time to (.) you'll have a good   ⌐ opportunity
12.                                          | [CROSS-VOICES]
13.  Clinton:                                | we're just getting warmed up (.)
14.  Audience:                               | [LAUGTER/APPLAUSE]
```

In EX8.8, the three candidates Clinton, Obama and Edwards engage in a disorderly conversation, interrupting each other in a way that may show that Democrats lack the manners to dialogue with and listen to the "other." This behavior might threaten the image of the Democrats as potential leaders of the country and may cause them to lose more votes in favor of the Republicans. Therefore, Clinton attempts to save her image as well as the image of her colleagues by deflecting the audience's focus from the candidates' misbehavior to the humor of the situation. In line 13, Clinton utilizes the FPPP in a humorous comment in "we are just getting warmed up." Clinton reconstructs her political identity in three ways. First, she presents herself as a more spontaneous speaker than her male opponents in reacting to sudden face-threatening situations. Secondly, she challenges the stereotypes that represent women as having less of a sense of humor than men. Thirdly, Clinton utilizes the FPPP as a powerful strategy to boost the effect of humor itself.

Regarding stereotypes, Clinton's use of humor may be interpreted in three different ways. First, while her male opponents do not respond to the chaotic image of the Democrats, Clinton exploits the situation to reconstruct a complex gendered identity (Gordon, 2015). Given that creating and telling jokes is socially believed as an expression of a powerful masculine identity (Lakoff, 1973, 1975; Graddol & Swann,1989), Clinton's

use of humor in EX.8.8 reflects a powerful image of Clinton as having an ability to respond to face-threatening situations spontaneously and amusingly. Secondly, however, Clinton's care to repair the situation while her male colleagues ignore it may, to the contrary, foreground a feminine identity since women are socially perceived to be more inclined towards caring about others than are men (e.g., Holmes, 1995; Tannen, 1994; Thomas, 1995). In this way, Clinton displays care for the image of the Democrats more than do her male opponents. The third interpretation is in line with Jenkins' (1986) view that women use humor in the same way as men, but, their goal of humor is different: they aim to achieve greater intimacy. Their humor "is consistent with women's predominant conversational style which is cooperative, inclusive, spontaneous and self-healing" (Jenkins, 1986, p.

135). Clinton's use of the FPPP in humor in EX.8.8 may support the third view. Clinton uses humor in a cooperative way, reinforced by the inclusive language she uses.

Regardless of the gendered perspective, Clinton's use of the in-group marker pronominal in this context, I argue, made the joke successful in its appeal to the audience, and presumably, to her colleagues. Clinton exploits the inclusiveness of the FPPP to boost the effect of humor. The FPPP, in context EX.8.8, functions as a negative-politeness strategy to ameliorate the criticism against her colleagues and to redress the face-threatening situation. Co-implicating herself in the FTA, while her colleagues are still interrupting each other at the moment of her speech, satisfies the negative face of her colleagues. That is, she indicates that she is also making the joke about herself, not only referring to her opponents in the criticism. Compare the effect if Clinton had distanced her colleagues through the third-person perspective in the joke.

*They are just getting warmed up.

Using the third-personal pronoun would threaten Clinton's image because she would appear as if she were ridiculing her colleagues and portraying herself as the ideal candidate by excluding herself from the situation even though she had previously also been engaged in the chaotic conversation. This exclusion may indicate that she wishes to construct a favorable image of herself at the cost of her colleagues'.

In conclusion, Clinton's use of the FPPP in humor in EX.8.8 may manifest a powerful identity, whether masculine or feminine, since jokes and humor are a socially powerful tool. If her male opponents' absence of reaction is taken into consideration, Clinton's comment, I argue, is a salient manifestation of powerful talk. Clinton takes the courage to face the audience's potentially negative judgment in order to save the Democrats' image even while the others are avoiding the situation. Importantly, the joke is spontaneous during the interaction, which enhances Clinton's discursive identity as a good spontaneous speaker reacting cleverly to preserve the Democratic image. This supports the argument that powerful strategies are available to both genders, not only characteristic of men's language (Cameron & Shaw, 2016).

8.5 Summary

This chapter has focused on the strategic uses of Clinton's affiliation with her opponents who represent a politically equal power-group. The analysis of the data showed that Clinton affiliates with her opposite-party opponents mainly to express conditional cooperation, using the FPPP and other pronominals to negotiate her political identities. This affiliation does not reflect intimacy that is perceived in Clinton's alignment with her partisan opponents, which she exploits to manifest

institutional alliance. However, when Clinton is confronted with a high FTA such as her scandals or failure, she affiliates with both partisan and opposite-party opponents, not to show intimacy but to co-implicate them in the FTA and save her threatened image.

Chapter 9

Strategic Goals of Self-Affiliation with the Lower-Power Group (LPG) in Hillary Clinton's Discourse

9.1 Introduction

As illustrated in Section 1.5.2 (in Fetzer's model), the lower-power group (henceforth, LPG) comprises a varied set of groups and individuals whose power-status is lower than that of Hillary Clinton in terms of political decision-making. The LPG includes the American people and their subgroups in the media (i.e., the audience in the studio, and viewers), interviewers, and program makers. However, the analysis here will focus on the groups that appear most frequently in Clinton's discourse and contribute saliently to constructing her political and social identities; that is, the American people (audience and viewers) and interviewers.

As demonstrated in Section 6.3, Clinton affiliates herself with the LPG much more frequently than with the higher-power group (HPG) or equal-power group (EPG). The high frequency of occurrence of this category compared with other categories in Clinton's affiliation can be explained within the political context of the corpus. As illustrated in Section 5.2, the CHCDT, collected for this study, comprises discourse from these genres which were held during Clinton's senatorial and presidential campaigns. Therefore, it is expected that Clinton would use these shows and confrontations "to get particular messages out" (Potter, 2012); that is, to win votes. Thus, in such shows, a candidate would be expected to use language that is oriented towards expressing intimacy and solidarity with the people.

In line with the strategic goals of her affiliation with the previous groups (see Chapters 7 and 8), the use of the first personal plural pronoun (henceforth, FPPP) to identify with an LPG offers Clinton ways to create alignments and establish boundaries between her different identities and between her and the 'other' during the interaction. However, whereas Clinton's affiliation with an HPG and an EPG provides a useful insight into her political and institutional identities, affiliating with the LPG, I argue, is, to a large extent, an indication of her social identities. This is because the LPG includes social groups and individuals who lack political power but with whom Clinton interacts; either those in the venue at the time, such as the audience and interviewers, or those who are ratified hearers (i.e., the people/viewers).

As argued in Section 7.2, although Bramley (2001) suggests that the politician's use of *we* inevitably subsumes the *self* into a collective and so is a self-effacing or minimizing act, her view

applies particularly when the politician identifies themselves with an LPG, not an HPG or EPG. That is, unlike when affiliating with an HPG, when Clinton affiliates herself with groups of lower political power, she constructs the image of an average person who speaks on the behalf of the nation, which contradicts the powerful image of an authorized leader and decision-maker. As thoroughly discussed in Section 7.2.1.1, Fairclough (1989) asserts that when *we* is used by a leader to include the people who are led, the use of the pronominal is a humble tactic which "assimilates the leader to the people" (p.179). Therefore, whereas identifying with an HPG is a strategy of political self-augmentation, identifying with an LPG is an act of self-minimization. Importantly, as with all previous power-groups, Clinton affiliates herself with an LPG to protect her face from FTAs.

In the studies that have investigated the politician's use of the FPPP to affiliate with social groups such as the nation, the researchers have not discussed the use of the FPPP from the face-want perspective (e.g., Bramley, 2001; Fetzer, 2014; Millar, 2015; Proctor & Su, 2011). Mostly their focus has been restricted to the function of what I label here as the *national we,* used as an expression of solidarity and national unity to win votes (e.g., Proctor & Su, 2011). As noted above, I do not use Wales' (1996) term *patriotic we* here because I argue that the meaning of the *national we* is more nuanced than *patriotic we* (see Section 2.3). That is, nationalism has different facets including patriotism, and thus, exhibiting patriotism is one of the functions of the *national we* in political discourse, as will be demonstrated below.

Some researchers, on the other hand, such as Bramley (2001), have focused on how the politician co-implicates the people in what he is saying, speaking on behalf of the people, but without explaining his goal behind this affiliation or its impact on the politician's identity. Bramley only argues that in this affiliative *we*, the people are "drawn in to an issue, either by sharing responsibility for or benefiting from something" (p. 98). This chapter will show how Clinton reconstructs her national and social identities to achieve different strategic goals that enhance her positive face and save her negative face from FTAs.

In addition to the introductory and concluding sections, Section 9.2 discusses the strategic goals of Clinton's self-affiliation with the LPG, and is subdivided into two sections, each of which discusses one group of the LPG: Sections 9.2.1 and 9.2.2 investigate the strategic uses of Clinton's affiliation with the American nation and/or audience, and the interviewers, respectively.

Section 9.2.1 is subdivided into two sections that discuss how Clinton uses the *national we* to achieve different strategic goals. First, Section 9.2.1.1 discusses how Clinton uses *the national we* as a persuasive linguistic device to win supporters. That is, how the FPPP functions as a component of national-identity constructive strategy to "invite identification and solidarity with the we-group" (De

Cillia, Reisgil, Wodak, 1999, p. 160), in what De Cillia and colleagues call national-identity-narratives. The section will illustrate how Clinton uses the *national we* to "evoke nationalistic flags," or national emotions (Proctor & Su, 2011, p. 3252) as a strategy to win the people's votes. Additionally, the section will demonstrate how Clinton exploits the inclusive–exclusive property of *we* to distance the opposite-party opponents and exclude them from the national collective. Importantly, the section will also explore the differences, if any, between Clinton and her male opponents, in their use of the *national we,* particularly in opening statements. Section 9.2.1.2, on the other hand, illustrates how Clinton exploits her national identity invoked by *we* to co-implicate the people emotionally in the FTA when she is confronted with her scandals, using this as a strategy to evoke sympathy and, thus, save her threatened face.

Section 9.2.2, on the other hand, investigates Clinton's use of the FPPP to affiliate with interviewer. The focus is on the situational contexts in which the interviewer's performance threatens Clinton's face. In such contexts, Clinton affiliates with the interviewer to defy the power that interviewers acquire from their institutional role in the media (see Section 1.5.1) and co-implicate them in the FTA.

This chapter has the same format of analysis as was introduced in Sections 7.1 and 8.1, including the presentation of extracts, tables for quantitative supportive information and asterisked examples. The FPPP will also be labeled as plural self-reference (Fetzer, 2014), (self-) affiliation, *we,* self-identification, collective identity (Bramley, 2001) or the collective perspective (Millar, 2015). The first person singular pronoun (henceforth, FPSP) is interchangeably used with *I* and/or the singular self-reference (Fetzer, 2014), or, in Millar's (2015) terms: the *personal perspective* or *individual perspective*. 'Other'-reference pronominals are variably labeled either generally as other-reference(s) (Fetzer, 2014), or categorically as second-person pronoun (SPP), or third-person pronoun (TPP). Third-party entities such as *people*, *government*, *president*, or *senator,* are also referred to as third-person nominal references, or the third-person perspective (Millar, 2015).

As aforementioned, the examples that best illustrate the strategic uses of the FPPP are selected from the CHCDT and titled as EX(tract) (see Sections 7.1 and 8.1 for the system of data transcription). The extract comprises Clinton's speech-turn(s), and in most instances, the interviewer's turn(s) and (where necessary) the opponent's turn(s) (for the interviewer's name in these extracts, see Tables 5.2 and 5.4). Importantly, to investigate the effect of Clinton's choice of the FPPP on her self-construction, utterances with alternative pronominal choices are provided after an asterisk (*). As already noted in Section 7.1, the asterisked examples resemble Clinton's utterances in the original extract but are modified in their pronominal content to help compare the effect of Clinton's original pronominal

choices against the effect of the presumed choices on constructing a powerful identity; and to infer the possible reasons for Clinton's choice of a particular pronominal. The debate examples are listed before those of the talk-shows, regardless of the date of the speech-event, when the point requires an illustration involving two examples from two different genres.

9.2 Strategic Uses of the First Person Plural Pronoun When the Referent is an LPG
9.2.1 LPG as the American people/Audience

As already noted, **'the American people'** is the most frequently occurring category of self-affiliation in Clinton's discourse. The analysis shows that Clinton purposefully targets the American people in debates and talk-shows in order to influence the electorate's decision through the emotional attitude that accompanies the expression of nationalism (see De Cillia et al., 1999; Martin, 1995). Interestingly, Clinton's self-affiliation with the American people occurs more frequently in debates than in talk-shows (see Table 6.4), which indicates that the purpose of the genre affects Clinton's use of *we*. That is, whereas debates are held with a view to generating political campaign discourse (Benoit, McHale, Hansen, Pier & McGuire, 2003), by directly targeting voters, talk-shows are regarded as a sort of entertainment program (Ilie, 2001) and a medium for candidates to indirectly attract supporters during their campaigns. Therefore, for candidates, talk-shows may be seen as less central than debates in the electoral process.

However, before discussing the strategic goals of self-affiliation with the American people in Clinton's discourse, it is worth mentioning that Clinton uses the *national we* in this dataset in two ways. The first pattern observed is her explicit reference to the "people/nation" following the *national we*; while the second pattern, occurring more frequently, involves the use of the FPPP to infer the referent from the contextual information provided and the hearer's knowledge of the context. Consider the effect of self-affiliation through the first pattern in examples EX.9.1 and EX.9.2 when the affiliated group (i.e. the American people) is stated explicitly.

EX.9.1
1. **Clinton:** [..] (3) thankfully (2) what happened to my opponent and others when they came
2. back home from Vietnam has not happened (2) **we've been as a nation** behind our
3. troops (3) [..]

EX.9.2
1. **Clinton:** Because I believe with all my heart that **we** (1) **the people** can have the kind of
2. future[..]

To boost the emotional effect of the *national we* in EX.9.1 and EX.9.2, Clinton explicitly identifies with the American people, emphasizing this membership by rephrasing the referents of the collective. Clinton's explicit reference to "the people" after affiliating with them shows that Clinton underscores her natio-centricity (De Cillia et al., 1999) as an American. The use of the FPPP with the affiliated group "the people", in this way, is an explicit humble strategy by which Clinton relegates her powerful political identity to foreground her social and national identities. Clinton uses the pattern *We+the people/nation* to emphasize her citizenship and, thus, shorten the distance and neutralize the power differential between her and the American people. As already mentioned, most uses of the *national we* in the CHCDT follow the second pattern, whereby there is no explicit statement of the referent. The less frequent occurrence of the first pattern may be attributed to the negative image that may be evoked as a result of explicit reference to 'the people' after *we*. This explicit reference as in EX.9.2 may be seen as less sincere and more manipulative than the implicit pattern. That is, despite its function as a humble tactic, it may show Clinton as overemphasizing her membership with the nation in a bid to exploit them for electoral purposes.

However, the implicit pattern does not necessarily imply less force of the utterance than the explicitly-stated referent. In many instances, the *national we* in the second pattern is supported by other linguistic choices in the sequential context that reinforce the nationalistic emotions or 'flags,' as shown in the following sections. The use of *we* to affiliate with an LPG has sometimes been discussed in simple terms. It is said that *we* implies nationalism and strengthens the speaker's positive face by emphasizing the unity between the speaker and the people. However, my examination of Clinton's use of *we* to mark affiliation with an LPG suggests that the truth is more nuanced. Clinton enhances her positive face in more ways than through a simple expression of nationalism, and also uses *we* to protect her negative face. This will be explained in the subsequent subsections. Section 9.2.1.1 discusses how Clinton exploits the *national we* to enhance her positive face as a humble leader and an advocate of the people in order to strategically win votes.

9.2.1.1 Evoking Nationalistic "Flags" for Electoral Benefits

In Billig's (1995) terms, *we* serves to "flag nationalism" (p. 8). 'Flagging nationalism' through the use of the FPPP is observed most saliently in Clinton's opening statements where the *national we* is overused. By constructing her national identity through the use of the *national we*, in the opening statements, Clinton achieves a number of strategic goals. First, in line with Martin's (1995) view, Clinton expresses her national identity to channel political emotions that "can fuel efforts to modify a balance of power" (p. 156). That is, she marginalizes the power difference between her and the

average citizen during the interaction as she minimizes her political self to become part of a collective (Bramley, 2001). By affiliating with the American people, Clinton represents herself as an average citizen aligning with the people and sharing their concerns and hopes. And with Clinton's powerful status in the mind of the hearer, this strategy of affiliation with the average citizen strongly influences the people to believe that Clinton will exploit her power and authority, if elected, to represent them in political decision-making events. Clinton utilizes this citizenship invoked by *we* to portray herself as the spokesperson of the people. Thus, using *we* constitutes a national we-group identity which serves, as De Cillia and colleagues argue, "as a basis for appealing directly or indirectly to national solidarity and union" (p. 157).

As already noted, the opening statements in Clinton's debates are the most salient examples of the context in which Clinton exploits the *national we* to evoke nationalistic flags. Before analyzing the context of use, a comparison is quantitatively drawn between Clinton and her male opponents' use of the *national we* in the opening statements. The comparison reveals that Clinton affiliates herself with the American people in her opening statements much more frequently than do her male opponents (as will be discussed below). Table 9.1 demonstrates the frequency of use of the *national we* in each candidate's opening statement/speech-turn. The proportions of *national we*s are analyzed based on the number of words that the candidate utters in each opening speech-turn.

Table 9.1 *Percentages of National we in Hillary Clinton's and Male Opponents' Discourse in Opening Statements*

Debate	Speaker	No. of Words in the opening statement	Freq.	Percent of *we* out of the total no. of words in the opening statement
Clinton-Lazio/2000	Clinton	278	6	2.15%
	Lazio	155	1	0.64%
Clinton-Spencer/2006	Clinton	188	8	4.25%
	Spencer	212	2	0.94%
Clinton-Obama/Jan2008	Clinton	466	0	0.0%
	Obama	293	2	0.68%
Clinton-Obama/Feb2008	Clinton	314	0	0.0%
	Obama	429	0	0.0%
Clinton-Obama/Apr2008	Clinton	255	7	2.75%
	Obama	219	1	0.45%

Table 9.1 demonstrates that Clinton uses the *national we* in her opening statements/speech-turns in most of her debates considerably more frequently than do her male opponents. This difference reveals that Clinton is more likely to foreground her national identity in the opening statement in order to enhance her image and win voters from the beginning of the confrontation. Table 9.1 also shows that Clinton's most frequent use of the *national we* is in senatorial debates, particularly in 2006 against her Republican opponent, John Spencer; whereas in two of her presidential debates Clinton never identifies with the nation. In two successive debates (i.e., 2008/Jan and 2008/Feb), before her final debate in April 2008, Clinton does not affiliate with the nation. Instead, she focuses on her institutional identity through identifying with an HPG. The interpretation of this inconsistent use of *the national we* in Clinton's opening turns in debates and of the difference in the frequency of this form of *we* between Clinton and her male opponents will be discussed throughout this section.

In her opening statements, as in EX.9.3 and EX.9.4, Clinton relies on collective memory which is "the selective recollection of past events which are thought to be important for the members of a specific community" (De Cillia et al., 1999, p. 154). She actively selects the events that are thought to be specifically important for the people of the state in which she is debating. She employs this collective memory in what De Cillia and colleagues (1999) term a national narrative. The collective memory helps boost the emotional effect of the *national we*. In addition to evoking national flags, as already noted, at times, Clinton exploits the *national we* to create an opposition against her opposite-party opponents. Her two opening statements in her debates in 2006 and 2008, respectively, show how Clinton exploits the *national we* to enhance her positive face as well as to threaten her opponent's face.

EX.9.3 [Clinton-Spencer debate, WABC-TV, New York, *Decision 2006*]

1. **Clinton**: thank you Dominic (.) I wanna thank **our sponsors** Tim Warner Channels
2. as well as the University of Rochester (.) I'm delighted to be here this evening (1) and
3. I especially wanna thank New Yorkers (1) you know (.) New Yorkers took a
4. chance on me six years ago and I've worked hard every day to earn that trust I was
5. given (1) **we've made progress together** against tough odds (.) a billion dollars for
6. children's health and body armor for soldiers (.) shielding **our kids** from violent
7. video games and internet predators (1) looking for ways to save **our military**
8. **bases** and the thousands of jobs that went with them and creating new jobs with
9. federal highway funds and new opportunities for markets for **our farmers** (1) after

10. 9/11 (.) **we stood together** and helped bring home 20 billion dollars to help New
11. York rebuild (1) **we also stood** against president Bush's risky scheme to privatize
12. social security (1) and **we stopped** that (2) there is a lot more that needs to be done
13. (2) and I'm looking forward to continuing to work with all of you in the years
14. ahead (.)

EX.9.4 [Clinton-Obama debate, ABC News, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April, 2008]

1. **Clinton**: well (.) **we meet tonight** here in Philadelphia (2) where **our Founders**
2. determined that (.) the promise of America would be available (1) ah for future
3. generations if **we** (.) **were willing** and able (.) to make it happen (1) you know I am
4. here as is Senator Obama (1) neither of us were included in those (2) original
5. documents (.) but in a very real sense we demonstrate (.) that that promise of
6. America is alive and well (2) but it is at risk (1) there is a lot of concern across
7. Pennsylvania and America (1) people do feel (.) as though their government is not (.)
8. solving problems (.) that it is not standing up for them (.) that we've got to do more
9. to (.) actually provide the good jobs that will support families (.) deal once and for all
10. with health care for every American (.) make **our education** system the true passport
11. to opportunity (1) restore **our standing** in the world (1) I am running for president (.)
12. because I know we can meet (.) the challenges of today (.) that we can continue to
13. fulfill that promise that was offered to (.) successive generations of Americans,
14. starting here so long ago (.) and I hope that, this evening (.) voters in Pennsylvania
15. and others across the country (.) will listen carefully to what we have to say (.) will
16. look at our records, will look at the plans we have (.) and I offer (.) those on my Web
17. site, hillaryclinton.com, for more detail (.) because I believe with all my heart (.) that
18. **we** (.) the people (.) can have the kind of future that **our children** and **grandchildren**
19. so richly deserve (.)

As illustrated in Table 9.1, Clinton uses the *national we* in EX.9.3 propositionally more frequently than in EX.9.4 (3.72% vs. 2.75%). The context of EX.9.3 is Clinton's opening statement in her debate against Spencer in the running for New York Senator in 2006, whereas EX.9.4 is Clinton's opening statement in her debate against fellow Democrat Barack Obama during the Democratic primary presidential elections in 2008. Both examples illustrate the notions of national-identity narrative and collective memory in Clinton's discourse. This story in both contexts is based on a

common history of the American people, drawn specifically on past events which are specific to the people/audience of the state in which she is debating. In her national-identity narrative in EX.9.3, Clinton identifies herself with the American people, selecting the 9/11 event that was experienced specifically by New Yorkers, and which occurred five years before the debate. In EX.9.4, on the other hand, Clinton selects the memory of the foundation of America that distinguishes the people of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia from other Americans, to share this salient memory and to "appeal" to the voters of Pennsylvania. Clinton's careful selection of the recalled events to match the history of the people of the state in which she is debating emphasizes the strategic goal behind Clinton's use of the *national we* in her opening statements.

A brief comparison of the frequency of uses of the *national we* between the two contexts shows two important points. First, although the opening statement is the politician's introduction of themselves to the people, Clinton foregrounds her collective identities (the FPPP) over her individual identity (the FPSP) in both contexts. This is observed either in the relative frequency of the two pronominals or the type of verb-process that collocates with each pronominal. Table 9.2 illustrates the differences in proportions of each pronoun in the speech-turn.

Table 9.2 *Differences in the Percentages of the First Person Plural Pronoun (FPPP) and First Person Singular Pronoun (FPSP) in EX.9.3 and EX.9.4*

Pronoun Extract	FPPP		FPSP	
	Freq.	Percentage of the pronoun out of the total no. of words in the speech-turn	Freq.	Percentage of the pronoun out of the total no. of words in the speech-turn
EX.9.3	8	4.2%	7	3.7%
EX.9.4	15	5.9%	5	1.9%

Table 9.2 shows that the FPPP occurs proportionally more frequently than the FPSP in both contexts (4.2% vs. 3.7% in EX.9.3, and 5.9% vs. 1.9% in EX.9.4). However, Clinton's emphasis of her collective, over her individual, self is evident not only in the difference of frequency but also in the type of verb process that co-occurs with each pronoun. In line with the previous observations in both contexts, the FPSP occurs almost exclusively with mental and behavioral verbs (e.g., *thank*, *hope*, *believe*, *know*, etc.). The FPSP rarely occurs with material verbs (only once in EX.9.3 and twice in EX.9.4), and doing so, the act indicates Clinton's personal experience, not a future action that she would take as in "I have worked hard to earn the trust" and "I am running for president." The FPPP,

on the other hand, in both contexts, occurs more frequently with material (action) verbs that show political actions such as *make*, *demonstrate*, *stand*, *stop*, and so forth (see the discussion for the implications of these collocations in EX.7.3 above).

Secondly, within the FPPPs that occur in both contexts (see Section 7.2.1 for other forms of *we*), the *national we* is the most frequent form of *we*. Table 9.3 shows the frequencies of the *national we*, compared to the other forms of *we* and the proportion of each pronominal occurring in the overall number of words that Clinton utters in each opening statement.

Table 9.3 *Percentages of Different Forms of we in EX.9.3 and EX.9.4*

Type of *we*	National *we* (LPG)		Democratic *we* (HPG)		*We* for Opponent (EPG)	
Example	EX .9.3	EX. 9.4	EX .9.3	EX. 9.4	EX .9.3	EX. 9.4
No. of occurrences of *we* in the speech-turn	8	7	0	3	0	5
Percentage of *we* from the total no. of words in the speech-turn	4.25%	2.75%	0%	1.18%	0%	1.96%
Percentage of *we* from the total of no. of the FPPPs in the speech-turn	100%	47%	0%	20%	0%	33%

Table 9.3 shows that whereas Clinton exclusively affiliates with the people in her senatorial debate in 2006, she assumes group membership with different political collectives (i.e., a political Party and her opponent) in her presidential debate in 2008. Clinton uses the *national we* more than other types of *we* in both opening statements, albeit at different rates (*national we* forms 100% of Clinton's use of the FPPP in EX.9.3 vs. 47% in EX.9.4), which indicates that Clinton's emphasis on affiliating with the people in the opening statements. This result can be attributed clearly to the political context and distance between Clinton and her opponent in both speech events, as will be explained at the end of this section.

In EX.9.3, I argue that Clinton integrates all memberships, including institutional or governmental, to affiliate herself with the national collective. That is, the FPPPs in Clinton's opening statement in EX.9.3 are all *national wes*, despite the counter argument that some acts used in association with this *we* may be performed by other political collectives. My argument is based on, first, the fact that Clinton uses a series of affiliations after she has shifted her address to Americans and New Yorkers, which assigns the referent of all *wes* in this context as the American people, and in particular, New Yorkers. This is also supported by Clinton's use of the FPPP with the adverb *together* immediately after addressing New Yorkers. The reiteration of the adverb *together* with acts

expressed by *we* supports De Cellia and colleagues' (1999) view that the word *together* frequently occurs in national-identity narratives to express national cooperation, and thus emphasize national identity. Thus, in her opening statement in EX.9.3, Clinton indexes her national identity as an American and as a New Yorker.

In this respect, in EX.9.3, Clinton exploits the flexibility of the FPPP reference to attribute achievements to herself and the people, achievements towards which she might not have contributed. This supports Bramley's (2001) and Sacks' (1992) views that by using *we* to affiliate with the people, a politician makes their argument "more difficult to challenge because of the categorical property of *we* which entails that the proposition associated with *we* still holds even if someone in the group invoked by *we* says, 'I don't do that or 'I am not that'" (Bramley, 2001, p. 99).

More importantly, in EX.9.3, Clinton also exploits these nationalistic emotions to distance the Republican government from the national unity. This supports De Cellia and colleagues' (1999) view that the national constructive strategies "simultaneously imply distancing from and marginalization of others" (p. 160). Clinton neglects the Republican Administration by placing the shared acts within a national frame even though most of these acts are known to be the responsibility of the administration at that time. This argument is strongly supported by the *We-He* (They) dichotomy that Clinton creates between the national collective (including her and the nation) and the Republican Administration. Consider the dichotomy in the following utterances in EX.9.3, lines 10–12.

- **We** stood together and helped bring home 20 billion dollars to help New York rebuild. **We** also stood against President **Bush's** risky scheme. And w**e** stopped that.

The dichotomy that Clinton forges between *we* (the people) and President Bush, who represents the Republican Administration in "***we*** stood against President Bush's risky scheme," again supports the view above that these FPPPs in EX.9.3 are not *governmental* but include all Americans as a unit. The exclusion of the Republican President, George Bush, which occurs frequently in her debate against Spencer, I argue, implies the exclusion of the Republican opponent, Spencer, himself, and the Republicans in general. The use of the *national we* portrays the Republicans as being part of the challenges that Clinton, and all New Yorkers, have faced.

The nationalistic emotions evoked by the *national we* in EX.9.3 is also reinforced by the frequent use of the FPPP determiner, *our*, with nouns that have social connotations such as *kids* or *farmers* in lines 6 and 9, respectively: "shielding ***our kids*** from violent video games," and "creating new jobs with federal highway funds and new opportunities for markets ***for our farmers***." Compare the emotional effect of these utterances without the determiner *our*:

    *Shielding **kids** from violent video games.

    *Creating new jobs with federal highway funds and new opportunities for markets **for**

    farmers.

Without the use of the FPPP determiner, the nouns *kids* and *farmers* become indefinite, whereas in association with the collective perspective these utterances portray Clinton and the nation as one family or community, thus implicating the people in a sense of collective ownership and construing *kids* and *farmers* as shared 'possessions.' Therefore, the pronominal signifies the relationship between Clinton and the people, strengthening the emotional effect of the proposition with *our+noun* compared to the indefinite noun. In this way, Clinton's use of the word *kid* with *our* humanizes her because *kids* denotes social meanings of family, care and responsibilities, and its occurrence with the collective possessive determiner portrays Clinton and the American people as a large family sharing American "core" values; ideologies of family and good domesticity.

In EX.9.4, on the other hand, Clinton stresses her national identity in the opening statement by initiating and ending the speech-turn using *national wes* in a national narrative. To illustrate, first consider the utterance in line 1.

- **We** meet tonight here in Philadelphia, where **our Founders** determined that the promise of America would be available for future generations.

Although the FPPP in "we meet" might refer to multiple addressees including other groups involved in the interaction, such as the opponent, I argue that the *we* in this utterance also addresses all Americans as a unit. This interpretation is supported by Clinton's choice of the phrase *our Founders* that deictically refers to *we meet*, which implies all Americans regardless of their ethnic or political background. The use of *our Founders* evokes nationalistic emotions as Clinton draws on the collective memory of the American people by figuratively associating herself and the American people with common ancestors. The FPPP determiner, *our* in association with *Founders*, I argue, is the core of the national-identity narrative of the utterance. It shows that Clinton overcomes the ethnic differences that exist between Americans, represented by the presence of her African-American opponent, Obama, by identifying with all Americans, particularly the people of Pennsylvania. In this way, the use of *we* signifies Clinton's avoidance of ethno-centricity. Interestingly, Clinton's construction of national identity, invoked by the FPPP, in this utterance is inclusive of her Democratic opponent, unlike in EX.9.3 where the *national we* is exclusive of her Republican opponent. This inclusiveness is also evident in the frequent alternating of group membership with the nation and with her partisan opponent,

in EX.9.4. Hence, the use of *our Founders* reinforces Clinton's construction of national identity. Examine the difference in the emotional effect had Clinton not used the FPPP determiner.

> *Well, *we* meet tonight here in Philadelphia, where **the Founders of America** (or **of this country**) determined that the promise of America.

The absence of the FPPP determiner would create distance between the referent in *we* (Clinton and the American people/people of Pennsylvania) and the Founders of America. Therefore, the use of the FPPP determiner in line 1 creates closeness among the referents of *we* for it shows the melt of all ethnicities in the American national unity. The effect of using *our* with *Founders*, I argue, is also emotionally stronger than if Clinton had said, for example, "the founders of *our* country." Although the FPPP determiner in *our country* would also reinforce the emotional involvement of the American people, it might implicate the people in the ownership of the land only. The use of *our founders*, on the other hand, indicates both sharing both the land and all being human; that is, belonging to the same land and the same people who founded the country. This argument is profoundly supported by Obama's choice of the same word *Founders* but without out the FPPP determiner. Consider Obama's choice in one of his turns in the same debate after Clinton has already used the word.

EX.9.5 [Clinton-Obama debate, ABC News, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April, 2008]

1. **Obama**: but one thing I'm absolutely certain of is that (.) come August (.) when we're in
2. Denver the Democratic Party will come together (.) because we have no choice if we
3. want to deliver on the promises that not only we've made but **the Founders made** [..]

Unlike Clinton, Obama does not use the FPPP determiner before *founders*. He does not mirror Clinton's choice to flag nationalism. Clinton's choice of *our Founders* reveals intimacy more than does structure chosen by Obama, thus demonstrating that Clinton, more than Obama, actively exploits the *national we* to evoke nationalistic emotions. This conclusion, in conjunction with the previous comparisons, emphasizes a distinction between the two candidates in the way they use the collective perspective.

As aforementioned, unlike in EX.9.3, in EX.9.4 Clinton alternates between group memberships to draw boundaries between her different identities. After she has constructed her national identity in the opening utterances, she shifts to distancing the people and re-constructing her institutional and political identities through affiliating with different collectives in the subsequent utterances. Whenever Clinton assumes a membership with one group in EX.9.4, she distances another group. For example, when she affiliates with the American people in her initial utterances, she later distances Obama with

"I am here as is **Senator Obama**." Then after reconstructing her institutional identity as a Democrat through affiliating with her partisan opponent and political party in "neither of **us** were included,*"* and "**we** can continue to fulfill that promise," respectively, she tends to deconstruct the national collective (Fetzer, 2014) by distancing the nation in her subsequent utterances, referring to them in the third-person perspective. The following utterances from lines 6–9 in EX.9.4 demonstrate how Clinton shifts from inclusiveness to exclusiveness of the nation.

- There is a lot of concern across Pennsylvania and America. People do feel as though ***their government*** is not solving problems, that it is not standing up for ***them***, that *we've* got to do more to actually provide the good jobs that will support ***families***.

In these utterances, Clinton negotiates her political identity. She disassociates herself from the people and "their" government in a *We-They* dichotomy in which she aligns with the HPG, the Democratic collective, maintaining the power difference between her and the people. Distancing the government in line 7 with "their government" reinforces the interpretation that *we* in "***we***'ve got to do more" is a *Democratic we* because government in this context refers to the Republican Administration (see EX.7.2 for the influence of the political context on interpreting the *Democratic we* in Clinton's discourse campaign in 2008). The most salient example of how Clinton deconstructs her membership as an average citizen is manifested in her choice of the indefinite form of the noun *families* that typically concurs with the *national we* (possessive) in the CHCDT. As explained in EX.9.3, Clinton typically co-implicates the nation in a sense of ownership of aspects that indicate a social relationship, such as *kids*, *children* and *family*. Therefore, atypical of Clinton's discursive performance is her use of *families* in line 9 as an indefinite noun instead of preceding it with the determiner *our*. Clinton's expected behavior might be:

*that we've got to do more to actually provide the good jobs that will support ***our families.***

Clinton's refrain from using the FPPP determiner with *families*, I argue, shows her disposition to maintain the identity of a powerful participant in decision-making after she affiliates with the Democrats in the preceding utterance. However, after these images that portray Clinton as a powerful decision-maker in many utterances, she ends her speech-turn by reconstructing her membership with the people to re-evoke nationalistic emotions in "because I believe with all my heart that **we**, the people, can have the kind of future that **our children** and **grandchildren** so richly deserve." It is noteworthy that in this reconstruction of national identity, Clinton states the affiliated group explicitly, in *we, the people* (see EX.9.1). The explicit statement of the referent after the FPPP indicates two points. Firstly,

Clinton intends to emphasize with who she is affiliating to avoid any ambiguity in understanding the referent after her constant shifts between different group memberships. It also aims to strengthen the intimacy with the people after successively distancing them.

Importantly, as aforementioned, Clinton's focus on a national-identity narrative in her opening statements may indicate a gendered behavior. In the CHCDT, Clinton affiliates herself with the American people in her opening statements more frequently than do her male opponents (see Table 9.1). However, frequency is not the only difference between Clinton and her male opponents in their use of the *national we* in the opening statements; but also, more importantly, there are differences in the context in which the *national we* is used. Comparing Clinton's opening statements in EX.9.3 and EX.9.4 to those of her male opponents in the same debates reveals that Clinton exploits these opening statements to channel nationalistic emotions invoked by the *national we,* whereas her male opponents use these occasions to directly and explicitly state their goal of the meeting. Consider Spencer's, and Obama's opening statements in the same debates, in EX.9.6 and EX.9.7, respectively.

EX.9.6 [Clinton-Spencer debate, WABC-TV, New York, *Decision 2006*]

1. **Spencer**: thank you Dominic ah thank you again for hosting us today (.) ah to the
2. panel, New York and university of Rochester and Hillary Clinton thank you (.)
3. Hillary (1) it's good to be with you again (1) ladies and gentlemen as **we start this**
4. **debate** I like to believe (1) I'm the only one standing out on this platform today hh
5. (2) that wants to be (.) United States Senator (.) for the people of New York (.) for six
6. years hh (1) and putting time's necessary (1) the time's necessary (2) looking at
7. the last six years (1) Senator Hillary Clinton (1) has eh (1) written a best
8. selling book (1) she's traveled united states (.) for hundreds for books signings (2)
9. she has raised millions and millions of dollars for the Democratic National Party
10. (1) she's raised forty million for herself (1) to run against me (2) I don't know
11. about that (1) *we*'ll know (.) what Senator Clinton's aspirations are (1) and that
12. takes away from New Yorkers (.) new Yorkers become number two (2) I wanna
13. make New Yorkers number one based (.) first (NC) on my record or for fluffing
14. (NC) the book you can pay in (NC) promises of Senator Clinton (1) which is to
15. create 200,000 jobs (1) and to create economic development especially in Western
16. and upstate New York (1) I have experienced doing that (1) I will do that (1) I will
17. be a full time senator for six years (.)

EX.9.7 [Clinton-Obama debate, ABC News, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April, 2008]

1. **Obama**: Thank you very much Charlie and George (.) and thanks to all in the
2. audience and who are out there (.) eh (.) you know Senator Clinton and I have been
3. running (.) for fifteen months now (1) we've been traveling across Pennsylvania (.)
4. for at least the last five weeks (1) and everywhere I go what I've been struck by (.)
5. is the core decency (.) eh and generosity of the people of Pennsylvania and the
6. American people but eh (1) what I've also been struck by (.) is the frustration (2)
7. yeah I met ah (1) a gentleman ah (1) in Latrobe who had lost his job and was trying
8. to figure out how he could find the gas money to travel to (.) find a job (1) and
9. that's story I think is typical (.) eh of what we're seeing (.) all across the country
10. people are frustrated (.) not only with jobs moving (.) and (.) incomes being flat (1)
11. eh health care (.) being too expensive but also (.) that special interests (1) have
12. come to dominate Washington and they don't feel like they're being listened to (1)
13. ah I think (1) this election (1) offers us an opportunity to change that (.) to
14. transform that frustration (.) into something more hopeful (.)to bring about real
15. change and I'm running for president to ensure (1) that the American people are
16. heard in the White House (1) that's my commitment (.) if the people of
17. Pennsylvania vote for me and the people (.) of America vote for me (.)

The comparison between Clinton's opening statements in EX.9.3 and EX.9.4 and those of her opponents in EX.9.6 and EX.9.7 reveals two salient differences. Firstly, Clinton's male opponents exploit their opening statements to defend their policies and propose their arguments, whereas Clinton uses these opportunities mainly to rhetorically express nationalistic and patriotic emotions through overusing the *national we* in a national-identity narrative. More importantly, whereas Clinton affiliates herself frequently with the nation, her male opponents distance the people in their opening statements, referring to them mostly in the third-person. In fact, both opponents almost never identify with the nation in their opening statements. Spencer addresses the people as *New York(ers), people of New York,* and *all,* whereas Obama addresses them as *audience* and *out there*. Unlike Clinton who keeps shifting affiliation between the people and Democrats, Obama appears to address his talk directly to Democrats, talking as the agent of the people. His use of the third-person perspective portrays a picture of the advocate of people's rights before the government (the expected Democratic Administration). Obama's indirect way of evoking people's emotions and support, arguably, portrays Obama as more sincere than Clinton who overuses the *national we* in national narratives. In this vein, I argue that despite the attested

importance of affiliating with the people (Bramley, 2001; Millar, 2015; Proctor & Su, 2011), if a candidate overuses the *national we*, the effect may be to draw attention to an attempt to manipulate voters, with a negative outcome. This is supported by Eddins' (2016) view that voters are now aware of the tactics used by politicians to manipulate them in the electoral process. Eddins contends that previous American Presidents were known to exploit intimacy with the people as a tactic to win the people's votes. In view of this, I conclude that Clinton's overemphasis on creating intimacy with the people, through the dramatic use of the *national we* in national narratives, weakens the effect of her message.

The comparison above also reveals two points pertaining to gendered language. Firstly, Clinton's opening statements in the analyzed data are oriented towards positive politeness. She exploits her opening statements to establish a close communal relationship with the American people and the audience by identifying with them very frequently in the speech-turn, thus evoking emotions of nationalism and solidarity. Clinton's linguistic behavior in these contexts goes in line with the views that contend that women have been found to use positive politeness in their speech more than do men (Thomas, 1995; Tannen, 1994; Holmes, 1995; Takano, 2005). Holmes (1995), for example, asserts that women use language to develop personal relationships unlike men who use language as a tool for obtaining and conveying information. Women are more attentive to the affective function of conversation and make linguistic choices that solidify relationships (Holmes, 1995; Palander-Collin's, 1999).

Secondly, whereas Clinton's style in her opening statements, based on these extracts only, focuses on the involvement with the people (audience, viewers), the style of her male opponents in the extracts is more informational and focused on themselves rather than the listeners; they are less concerned with conveying such emotions, and more concerned with conveying information about what they will do for the people. This may align with Biber's (1988) view that women are more "involved" in their discursive style, whereas men are more informational; in other words, women are less detached than men (Argamon, Koppel, Fine & Shimoni, 2003). In this sense, Biber (1988, p. 43) asserts that women's discourse contains features that show interaction between the speaker and the listener, such as the first and second person pronominals. Importantly, as aforementioned, notwithstanding that these comparisons have revealed some differences between Clinton and her male opponents in the use of the FPPP in opening statements, these results cannot be generalized, because, on the one hand, these results are based on the collected data only, and, on the other hand, because many other contexts of use in the study are left without comparisons.

However, it is worth mentioning that the imposition on Clinton's face of the topic of the first question may be influencing Clinton's use of the *national we* in her opening speech-turn in the CHCDT. In the previous two examples, Clinton is asked to introduce herself to the viewers in an opening statement. Therefore, the imposition of the interviewer's question is arguably low on Clinton's face compared to in other contexts when the question is more critical. When Clinton's first turn is a response to a question, Clinton reduces the use of the *national we* and may refrain completely from using it in cases where the imposition of the question is higher. The only instance in the CHCDT where Clinton does not affiliate herself with the American people in her opening speech-turn occurs in her presidential debates in Jan/2008 and Feb/2008 against Obama. Worthy of discussion here, I argue, are two comparable utterances in her opening speech-turns in the 2008 debate against Obama (Clinton-Obama/Feb2008) and her debate with Rick Lazio in 2000. The comparison shows that Clinton uses language in a specific way to construct her national identity when there is a purpose for it, otherwise she foregrounds other identities. Compare Clinton's utterances in the opening speech-turns in EX.9.8 to EX.9.9.

EX..9.8 [Clinton-Obama debate, NBC News, Cleveland, Ohio, February, 2008]
1. **Interviewer:** [..] a lot has been said since we last gathered in this forum, ah certainly in the
2. few days since you two last debated (1) Senator Clinton (.) in your comments especially the
3. difference has been striking (1) and let's begin by taking a look [a video for CLINTON
4. attacking Obama] Senator Clinton (.) we're here in Ohio (.) Senator Obama is here (1) this
5. is the debate (1) you would agree the difference in tone over just those 48 hours was striking
6. (.)
7. **Clinton**: [..] you know (.) **health care reform** and achieving universal health care is a
8. passion of mine (.)

EX.9.9 [Clinton Lazio debate, NBC News, 2000, New York, *Decision*]
1. **Interviewer:** [..] why did you propose (.) cutting the number of doctors by 25 percent
2. the number of specialists by 50 percent? (.)
3. **Clinton:** [..] (3) you know (.) in 1993 and 1994 (1) we did attempt **to reform** *our*
4. **healthcare system** to provide universal health care coverage [..]

EX.9.8, the interviewer, I believe, indirectly accuses Clinton of political hypocrisy in dealing with her partisan opponent. Hence, instead of using the FPPP to affiliate with the nation, Clinton focuses on defending herself against the accusation of using a doubled-faced strategy with her partisan opponent. In EX.9.9, in 2000, Clinton co-implicates the people in the ownership of the

healthcare system in "our healthcare system," whereas in the 2008 debate, she uses the indefinite form of *healthcare,* relating it to her own passion. Clinton chooses to use the FPSP determiner, *mine*, to attribute the *healthcare reform* to herself instead of sharing it with the nation. Clinton's use of the word *reform* in the sequential context influenced her choice of the FPPP. Clinton could have used the word *reform* in E.X.9.8 in a different form to allow for affiliation as in:

> *Reforming **our** healthcare system and achieving universal healthcare is a passion of
>
> mine.

Consequently, it can be argued that Clinton exploits the FPPP (in both its personal and possessive forms) in her opening speech-turns to affiliate herself with the American people as an expression of nationalism and solidarity. However, when the imposition of the opening question is high, the frequency of self-affiliation with the nation and national narratives in Clinton's speech decreases or disappears from her discourse.

However, this involvement of the people in Clinton's discourse is not always oriented towards enhancing Clinton's positive face and constructing her national identity; this feature may instead be employed to save Clinton's negative face from FTAs. This strategic function of the *national we* can be attributed to the imposition of the topic on Clinton's face. Section 9.2.1.2 discusses how Clinton exploits her national identities invoked by *we* to redress her failure or scandals by emotionally co-implicating the people in the FTA. However, it is worth mentioning that these face-work strategies overlap in some contexts, making the FPPP a tool for Clinton to satisfy her positive, as well as her negative, face.

9.2.1.2. Implicating the People Emotionally in the FTA to Plead for Forgiveness

As illustrated in Sections 7.2 and 8.2, Clinton's use of the FPPP is determined to a large extent by the imposition of the topic on her face. In this regard, when the imposition of the topic is very high on Clinton's face, she employs the *national we* to save her threatened face. That is, in the CHCDT, when the imposition of the topic is low, such as in her opening statements, Clinton uses the *national we* to enhance her positive face by evoking nationalistic emotions to strategically win people's votes. When the imposition is high, on the other hand, the *national we* is strategically employed in a plea for forgiveness to redress the FTA.

Unlike as suggested by Bramley (2001) and Proctor and Su (2011), at the micro-level of the linguistic context, the meaning of the *national we* is more subtle. Clinton exploits these nationalistic emotions in high FTAs to gain sympathy, and thus, save her negative face when acknowledging a scandal. Bramley also does not account for such uses of *we*; she states that a politician's identification

with the people means that the people are drawn into an issue, either by sharing responsibility or benefiting from something. She does not account for situations where identifying with the people does not indicate sharing the responsibility for the act nor benefiting from the situation.

The involvement of the people through the use of the *national we* in Clinton's discourse functions as a "self-presentational tactic" (Schutz, 1993) to save her negative face in topics that address her scandals. Clinton makes the people/audience part of the situation by assigning them a positive role in the problem: the role to forgive and unite with her to help her rectify the failure.

The strategic goal of the involvement of 'the people' in the FTA is different from the involvement of the HPG and the EPG in the FTA, which has been discussed in Sections 7.2 and 8.3, respectively. Although Clinton benefits from implicating all these groups in the FTA to save her negative face, by affiliating with the HPG, particularly with the Democratic party, Clinton uses the FPPP to share the responsibility for the failure itself with her party as a tactic to evade responsibility for the failure. With her opponent (i.e., an EPG), on the other hand, she co-implicates him in the failure itself to equate to him in committing failures of his own as a strategy to threaten his face and deter him from gaining electoral benefits. Co-implicating the people in the FTA, on the other hand, implies involving them emotionally in the act to evoke their sympathy and deflect attention from her own failure towards the forged national unity. In this way, the goal of self-affiliation here is also to save Clinton's threatened face by distancing her from the scandal and keeping her closer to the nation.

This section illustrates through two different genres how Clinton exploits the *national we* to evoke sympathy from the people/audience when her negative face is threatened. Importantly, in line with the previous results, this section shows how using self-affiliation to co-implicate the people in the FTA in Clinton's discourse usually occurs with a consistent shift between the FPSP and the FPPP. Clinton focuses on the FPSP to acknowledge the scandal and defend her position, and then she uses the FPPP to deflect attention from the scandal.

The section also shows how Clinton's use of the *national we* in such contexts changes over the years studied, specifically when talking about the same scandal in other discursive contributions. It also aims to evaluate whether co-implicating the people in the FTA to evoke sympathy strengthens Clinton's image or rather, in fact, weakens it. This section also explores if this strategy is used by Clinton's male opponents, and assesses any gendered implications.

To explore the strategic dimensions of the *national we*, the analysis focusses on two high FTAs regarding Clinton's famous scandals: Monica Lewinsky (see Sections 4.2 & 4.3) and the Bosnia war, addressed in a debate and a talk-show, respectively. In both situational contexts in EX.9.10 and EX.9.11, Clinton affiliates herself with the American people when she acknowledges a scandal to

exploit the nationalistic emotions in a plea for forgiveness and to deflect attention from the FTA. The use of the FPPP occurs consistently in the shifts between the FPSP and the FPPP.

EX.9.10 [Clinton-Lazio debate, NBC News, 2000, New York, *Decision*]

1. **Interviewer**: regrettably it was proven true (1) do you regret (.) misleading the
2. American people? (1) and secondly (.) in that same interview you said that those
3. who were criticizing the president were part of a vast (.) right-wing conspiracy (.)
4. amongst those eventually criticizing the president were (.) Joe Lieberman (1) would
5. you now apologize for branding people (.) as part of a vast right-wing conspiracy? (.)
6. **Clinton**: (.) well you know (2) um (1) Tim (.) that was (1) a ah (1) very a (1)
7. very painful time (1) for me ah (2) for my family and (.) ah **for our country** (1) ah
8. (.) it (1) is something that (.) I regret deeply that (.) anyone had to go through **ah** (1)
9. and (2) I wish that um (2) **we all could ah** (3) **look at it** (1) from the perspective
10. of history but **we can't yet** (.) **we're going to have to wait** until (.) ah those
11. (.) books (.) are (.) written (2) but (1) from (.) my perspective you know ah (.) I'm
12. very hopeful that **ah** (3) **we can go forward in a** (1) **united way** ah (1) that
13. certainly is what I've tried to do (1) and I've tried to (3) be (.) as (1) forthcoming
14. as I could given the (1) circumstances that I faced (1) ah (1) obviously I didn't
15. mislead anyone I didn't know the truth (1) and ah (1) there's (.) ah (1) a great deal
16. of pain associated with that and(.) ah (1) my husband has certainly acknowledged
17. (1) that and made it clear that he did mislead (.) the country as well as his family
18. (3) but you mentioned trust (.) and (2) you know (.) I'm standing here running for
19. the Senate (1) I didn't cast the votes that Newt Gingrich asked me to cast (.) I've
20. been a (.) steady (.) consistent (.) voice on behalf of children and families and
21. what I've worked for for thirty years (.) and I wanna to try to put that (.)
22. experience to work for the people of New York (.)

EX.9.11 [Hillary Clinton's interview on *Ellen DeGeneres*, 2008]

1. **Interviewer**: we're back with Senator Hilary Clinton and were gonna bowl in just a
2. second (.) and ah um (.) i just feel like if there is anything that you wanna address
3. about the Bosnia thing if people have anything that they are holding on to (.) if you
4. wanna respond to that? (.)
5. **Clinton**: well (.) you know (.) that was about ten years ago (.) obviously and (1) you
6. know when ah ah (.) we (1) were (.) going in there (.) we were told (.) there was

7. gonna be (.) sniper fire in the hills (.) there wasn't at the airport then I made a
8. mistake although I wrote about it in my book and told everybody what had
9. happened then and ah ah (1) you know (.) I wasn't trying to mislead anybody was
10. just trying to (.) remember the best I could at a moment in time (1) and just
11. recently the man who was the President of Bosnia ah (.) at that time had said he
12. was worried about the safety conditions of the situation (.) but you know for me
13. it's about what **we do now and how** *we* **go forward (.)** I'm proud that **I've**
14. **represented our country** and more than 80 countries including war zones and I
15. think that international experience puts me to good place to be able to be the
16. president because we have a lot of damage and that we are going to have to undo-
17. that we are going to inherit next January so (1) I feel really ready and prepared to
18. be the commander (.) in (.) chief and take on all of the responsibilities and to be
19. you know the president that **leads our country back** in the right track (.)

The context in EX.9.10 is the debate against Rick Lazio in the race for New York Senator in 2000, whereas the context in EX.9.11 is Clinton's interview on the *Ellen DeGeneres Show* during the presidential elections of 2008. Both topics in EX.9.10 and EX.9.11 address Clinton's role in misleading the nation in two occasions: her husband's scandal and her false assertions about her role in the Bosnia war, respectively. Therefore, affiliating with the American people in such contexts strategically satisfies the public by showing her need for their support and forgiveness. Clinton strategically employs these positive-face functions of the *national we* to save her threatened face. However, what is noteworthy here is that in 2000, when talking about the Monica Lewinsky scandal, Clinton affiliates herself exclusively with the American people, whereas in the presidential election in 2008, she alternates between different group memberships, echoing her linguistic behavior in EX.9.3 and EX.9.4.

Table: 9.4 *Differences in Percentage between the FPPP and the FPSP in Hillary Clinton's Speech-Turns in EX.9.10 and EX.9.11*

Pronoun	Freq.	EX.9.10 (2000) (211 Words)	Freq.	EX.9.11 (2008) (214 Words)
		Percentage of the pronoun from the total no. of words in the speech-turn		Percentage of the pronoun from the total no. of words in the speech-turn
FPSP	19	9%	11	5.14%
FPPP	5	2.36%	9	4.20%

Note. FPSP: First person singular pronoun

Table 9.4 displays that, in both contexts, Clinton uses the personal perspective proportionally more frequently than the collective perspective (EX.9.10: 9% vs. 2.36%, and EX.9.11: 5.14% vs. 4.20). It also demonstrates that Clinton uses the FPPP in 2008 proportionally more frequently than in 2000 (4.20% vs. 2.36%, respectively). However, it is noteworthy that whereas in 2000, Clinton affiliates exclusively with the people, in 2008 she alternates her group membership between the people and her political institution. The pattern of pronominal shift between the FPSP and the FPPP in EX.9.10, arguably, summarizes Clinton's message that she takes individual responsibility for the failure but implicates the people in the responsibility for overcoming this scandal.

A simple comparison between the contexts in the two examples shows that the pattern of shift between the two pronouns is associated with high frequency of long pauses and hesitation markers in Clinton's speech in both contexts, which indicates the high imposition of the topic on Clinton's face (see Brown & Levinson, 1987). This pronominal shift is more consistent at the beginning of Clinton's response in EX.9.10, which indicates the impact of the FTA on her self-presentation through her struggle between defending herself against the scandals and satisfying the people to win their forgiveness and votes.

As aforementioned, Clinton focuses only on her national identity in 2000. She could have assumed a collective identity with an HPG, such as her husband, as she has done in different positions in 7.2.2, but the image of her husband as a betrayer in this context may not be beneficial for her self-presentation; affiliating with the husband would threaten her face, instead of saving it.

A salient pronominal choice in EX.9.10 is observed in Clinton's choice of the FPPP determiner *our* before the word *country*. Clinton typically uses the word *country* after *our* in her discourse (e.g., EX.9.3). Therefore, the absence of *our* before the word *country* is marked. In EX.9.10, *country* collocates with different determiners, once with the FPPP determiner, *our,* and once with the definite article. Compare Clinton's use of *our* before the word *country* in EX.9.10, line 7, with her use of *the* preceding the same word in line 17.

- Lines 6-7. That was a very, a very painful time for me, for my family and for ***our*** country.
- Line 16 & 17. **My husband** has certainly acknowledged that and made it clear that ***he*** did mislead ***the*** country.

The absence of the direct reference to her husband, Bill Clinton, in the same utterance in line 7 allows Clinton to evoke nationalistic emotions through using *our* to express attachment to the people. These emotions aim to save Clinton's self-image as a loyal citizen, and thus, to alleviate the threat on

her negative face. On the contrary, the direct reference to her husband in the third perspective in "he did mislead" before the word *country* in lines 16–17 seems to restrict Clinton's choice of determiners from the national collective perspective, *our*, to the definite article *the*. This choice indicates that Clinton avoids evoking nationalistic emotions and expressing unity with the nation when the utterance refers explicitly and critically to her husband. The use of *our* in line 17 would indicate allying with the people against her husband and excluding him from the national unity, which may affect her social identity as a wife. Consider the case of *our* being used instead of *the*.

*My husband has made it clear that he did mislead *our country*.

The use of *our* would create a *He-We* dichotomy; the FPPP would be inclusive of Clinton and the nation but exclusive of her husband, which would evoke negative nationalistic feelings against Bill Clinton. Thus, Clinton's refrain from identifying with the nation in that utterance may be a strategy to save her image as well as that of her husband.

It is noteworthy that the *national we* in many instances in EX.9.10 seems to replace the second-person pronoun (SPP). In all previous examples, Clinton co-implicates an HPG or EPG in an FTA to avoid using the individual perspective, *I*. First, in EX.9.10, most instances of the *national we* seem to refer only to the nation and are not inclusive of Clinton. Consider first the utterances in E.X.9.10, lines 9 and 10.

- And I wish that **we** all could look at it from the perspective of history but **we** can't yet.
  We're going to have to wait until those books are written.

The acts in these utterances cannot appropriately be performed by Clinton. Compare if the FPSP or SPP were to replace the FPPP.

* I wish that *you* all could look from the perspective of history but *you* can't yet. *You*'re going to have to wait.

* I wish that *I* could look at it from the perspective of history but *I* can't yet. *I*'m going to have to wait.

Hence, Clinton avoids addressing the people directly to request for forgiveness. The comparison of pronominals shows that the *national we* in EX.9.10 substitutes *you* and only in one instance in line 12, it substitutes *You-and-I*. Clinton's use of the second-person would make the request more direct and more face-threatening. Clinton exploits the flexibility of the FPPP reference to implicate the nation in the act of going forward while she is actually the only person involved in the act. This exploitation indicates Clinton's redress of the imposition of asking for forgiveness.

In EX.9.11, on the other hand, in line 13, "it is about what *we* do now and how *we* go forward," the reference implies Clinton alone; the FPPP is a self-presentational tactic to avoid taking full responsibility for the utterance and is replaced by *I*. The only appropriate replacement for *we* is *I,* not *you* or *you* and *I*:

　　　　　　　*It is about what *I* do now and how *I* go forward

Clinton avoids the personal perspective to avoid the weak image of someone asking for forgiveness and begging for a second chance. This shows how Clinton exploits the construction of a national identity to save her threatened face when she acknowledges a scandal.

Importantly, despite the long-time period between the two speech events (i.e. 2000 and 2008, respectively), Clinton initiates her utterance using the individual perspective in the same pattern, reiterating the utterance *we go forward*:

- But from my perspective, you know, I'm very hopeful that **we can go forward** in a united way.

- For me it's about what we do now and how **we go forward**.

Clinton initiates the two utterances by emphasizing her personal perspective in "from my perspective" and "for me" before she shifts the topic to the collective perspective to urge the people to forget the scandal using the same proposition "we go forward." This re-occurring pattern, arguably, reveals Clinton's typical linguistic behavior when confronted with a scandal.

As aforementioned, whereas Clinton exclusively identifies with the nation in 2000 (in EX.9.10), she alternates between different identities in 2008 (in EX.9.11). In EX.9.11, lines 16 and 17, Clinton exploits affiliating with an HPG to reconstruct the powerful political image of a leader after reflecting a powerless image invoked by the use of *we* to seek forgiveness from an LPG.

- and I think that international experience puts me to good place to be able to be the president because *we* have a lot of damage I feel really ready and prepared to be the commander-in- chief and take on all of the responsibilities and that *we* are going to have to undo- that *we* are going to inherit next January.

Thus, in her interview 2008, which was part of her presidential campaign for the 2008 elections, Clinton uses the collective perspective to shift attention from the scandal and the weak image of a betrayer to a powerful image of one of the Democrats who won the Congress majority and will go on to save the country. This supports the previous conclusions, such as the comparison between EX.9.3 and EX.9.4 that has shown that Clinton focuses on national group membership in her opening statement in 2006 but foregrounds her institutional identity through affiliating with her political party and partisan

opponent in her opening statement in 2008. The effect of political experience and the type of subgenre may also be factors in this discrepancy in the focus on national identity.

Regarding the subgenre of debate, in many instances in the CHCDT when Clinton is confronted on the same topic in her senatorial and presidential debates, Clinton tends to alternate between her institutional identity and national identity in her presidential debates whilst she focuses on her national identity in her senatorial debates. This may be a result of Clinton's awareness of her role as a potential president to construct a powerful image, whilst in senatorial bids she is mainly concerned with the people of the state which she is representing in Congress.

However, it is noteworthy that Clinton's attitude towards the audience makes her, at times, refrain from using the *national we*, and thus, from showing intimacy with people/audience. When the audience confronts Clinton with the FTA, Clinton distances herself from the audience. In 2008, in the debate, Clinton is confronted on the same scandal concerning her role in the Bosnia war as in EX.9.1. However, in her response in EX.9.12, below, Clinton almost exclusively foregrounds her political and institutional identities over her national identities. (EX.9.12 is extracted from the main dialogue in EX.8.3.).

EX.8.3 [Clinton-Obama debate, ABC News, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April, 2008]
1. **Clinton**: I am proud that I went to Bosnia [..] ah (1) you know (1) **our soldiers**
2. **were there** (1) ah to try ah (1) to police and keep the peace in a very dangerous area [..]

As previously noted, contrary to her response in the debate in 2008 in EX.9.11 regarding the Bosnia war scandal, the absence of the *national we* in 2008 in EX.9.12 is striking. Within 382 words in EX.9.12 (see EX.8.3 for the Audience's and Clinton's turns), Clinton does not express her national identity through the FPPP except in one instance in "our soldiers." She mainly focuses on her individual identity using *I* and her institutional identities. This discrepancy between the two contexts indicates a number of issues. First, this absence of nationalistic flags in Clinton's discourse may be attributed to Clinton's attitude toward the audience who (in a recorded question) confronts her with a face-threatening question, accusing her of lying to the nation. Consequently, her initial utterances in her response to the audience's question does not show the intimacy that Clinton typically shows when addressing the audience or the nation as in EX.9.3 and EX.9.4, or in EX.9.10, for example. Instead, she threatens the audience's negative face by implying that they think she is not clever enough to understand the situation. Therefore, arguably, the audience's face-threatening comments make Clinton

distance them by personalizing the answer in the second-person perspective to address the singular audience and not to treat them as a representative of the nation.

However, Clinton's attitude toward the audience, and vice versa, in 2008, may not be the only reason for Clinton's de-emphasis of her national identity when talking about the Bosnia War in EX.9.12. Clinton's political experience can also constitute a paramount factor in Clinton's changing discursive identity when talking about her scandal. Clinton might have found that pleading for forgiveness to an LPG, which she had done in her previous discursive presentations, weakens her image instead of strengthening it. In this regard, she finds taking full responsibility for the failure using the personal perspective to be more constructive for her political image than pleading for forgiveness.

As aforementioned, the LPG also includes INTs. Chapter 6 demonstrated that this group is a category that occurs less frequently than the *American People* in Clinton's self-affiliation. Section 9.2.2 discusses the strategic goals that Clinton achieves through affiliating herself with the INTs, notably the negative-saving strategies.

9.2.2 Interviewers as LPG

Although interviewers in talk-shows and debates, as is the case in the CHCDT, are usually celebrities, I argue that, in terms of powerful social-status, political figures are recognized as having a higher level of power than other celebrities in the media. Therefore, in the viewer's mind, Clinton — as a powerful politician and the potential President — has a higher degree of power than the interviewers, such as Letterman and DeGeneres. Clinton maintains the image of a President who has control over people's lives, unlike a celebrity, whether an actor or an interviewer. This argument draws upon Fetzer's (2013) view. Fetzer classifies the interviewers' job in political discourse as carrying out politics from below, because interviewers lack the power and authority in terms of decision-making that are possessed by politicians in powerful institutions (see Section 1.5). However, power relations "are not fixed and monolithic" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 273), but are exercised and negotiated in discourse, and are always open to challenge and resistance (Haworth, 2006). Before the interaction takes place, Clinton is perceived as someone with higher political power than the interviewer and audience. Nonetheless, during the interaction, the interviewer acquires power through their institutional role in the show (Ilie, 2001). That is, interviewers generally control the way the show begins and ends, the time allotted for politicians to answer the questions and the topics to be dealt with; a set-up which often creates a struggle for control between the interviewer and the politician (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Ilie, 2001). In this struggle, powerful politicians exercise what Fairclough and Wodak (1997) call "rhetorical power," which is realized through linguistic

devices to marginalize the interviewer's power (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 272). Clinton negotiates this power by allowing the interviewer to take control of the discourse to conform to the rules of the show; but whenever she feels her powerful image is threatened, she uses linguistic devices to challenge the interviewer's power.

Therefore, I argue that Clinton exploits self-identification with the interviewer in particular situations as a linguistic device to resist the interviewer's power and exercise some of her own political power over the interviewer. In the CHCDT, Clinton exploits self-identification with the interviewer for two purposes: as a conventional positive-politeness marker to construct a social identity and as a negative-face saving strategy. Sections 9.2.2.1 and 9.2.2.2 discuss these two strategic uses of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse.

9.2.2.1 Reflecting the Image of a Sociable Politician

In the CHCDT, the positive-politeness goals of Clinton's affiliation with the interviewer are observed only in three instances, all of which occur in Clinton's talk-shows, but not her debates. The FPPP in these instances show the conventional use of the FPPP; that is, intimacy and establishing common ground with the interviewer, which satisfies both Clinton's as well as the interviewer's positive face. However, I observed that Clinton uses these strategies in highly institutionalized, that is, scripted, utterances. Clinton's introductory dialogue with Ellen DeGeneres in *Ellen* (2008) in EX.9.13 is a salient example of this conventionalized use of identification with the interviewer in a kind of pre-prepared dialogue.

EX. 9.13 [Hillary Clinton's interview on *Ellen DeGeneres*, 2008]

1. **Interviewer:** so great to see you (.)

2. **Clinton:** It's great to see you (.)

3. **Interviewer:** you look (.) I don't know (.) how but rested and shiny and bubbly (.)

4. **Clinton:** here is one of the reasons (1) I have a gift for you(.)

5. **Interviewer:** really?

6. **Clinton:** when **we were in New York** together some months ago (.) **we were**

7. **talking about** (.) sometimes when you're all keyed up and you're working hard it's

8. kind of difficult to find time to sleep (.)

9. **Interviewer:** right (.)

As previously noted, the dialogue in EX.9.13 is highly institutionalized, and therefore, the uses of *we* in line 6 indicate the conventional meaning of the FPPP; that is, enhancing the addressee's face by establishing a common ground. Clinton uses the FPPP to strategically enhance her positive face to achieve certain political goals. At the beginning of her campaign in 2007, Clinton was attacked for being reluctant to explicitly support LGBT rights (Samuels, August, 2016). Therefore, Clinton exploits the participation of Ellen DeGeneres, who is a well-known LGBT person, in the discourse to foreground her ideology and constructs a social identity of an LGBT-rights defender. Clinton does this by affiliating with Ellen in different instances in the interview, which creates intimacy and thus, emphasizes common ground with this LGBT interviewer. This interpretation is supported by the topics on gay rights that have been raised during the interview. Hence, using this strategy of affiliation, Clinton exploits *we* to reflect a desirable image of a sociable and humble politician who maintains intimate relationships with different groups of people, on the one hand, and to showcase her political agenda to win more supporters, on the other.

The argument that Clinton exploits the FPPP to portray a sociable image can be best illustrated through two comparable situations in two different time periods with the same interviewer. To express the idea that hers and Letterman's mothers share the same name, Clinton in 2000 uses different propositions to express this idea whereas in 2003 she only uses the FPPP to express this intimacy. Consider EX.9.14 and EX. 9.15.

EX.9.14 [Hillary Clinton's interview on *The Late Show with David Letterman*, 2000]

1. **Clinton**: well (.) Dave (.) I grew up in the middle west just like you
2. **Interviewer**:   ⌈ yeah ⌉
3. **Clinton**:   ⌊ yeah ⌋
4.   my mother's name is Dorothy just ⌈ like yours ⌉
5. **Interviewer**:   ⌊ right (.) ⌋
6. **Clinton**: **we have so much in common** that I had to follow you (.)

EX.9.15 [Hillary Clinton's interview on *The Late Show with David Letterman*, 2003]

1. **Interviewer:** yeah (.) a lot of time we forget or just or just don't know what (.) our (.)
2. ancestors what our relatives had to go through ⌈ just ah to (.) ⌉ be   alive
3. **Clinton**:   ⌊ I know ⌋
4. **Interviewer**: It's just remarkable the ⌈ stories ⌉ you hear
5. **Clinton**:   ⌊ and if ⌋

6. and when (.) when they tr (.) I've met your mother of course (.) in fact **our**

7. **mothers had the same name** (.)　　　Dorothy

8. **Interviewer**:　　　　　　　　　　　Dorothy right (.)

In EX.9.14 in 2000, Clinton stresses the similarities between her and Letterman, including their mothers' names, to establish a common ground with Letterman. She expresses these common features using the second-person perspective, making an *I-You* dichotomy (e.g., "my mother's name is Dorothy like yours"). Clinton shortens this distance created by the dichotomy by explicitly identifying with Letterman in line 6 to emphasize this common ground in "we have so much in common." In 2003, on the other hand, Clinton shortens the distance directly by using one proposition that conveys the same message of her utterances in 2000. She expresses the same proposition (i.e., their mothers having the same name) using the FPPP determiner *our* instead of the dichotomy *my* and *yours*. Clinton's linguistic choices in EX.9.14 indicate that her use of the FPPP in EX. 9.15 is intentional to enhance her image as a sociable person. In EX. 9.15, after a number of false starts in lines 6 and 7, Clinton shifts from the second-person perspective in "I've met *your* mother" to the collective perspective in "*our* mothers had the same name" to share a common ground with the interviewer. Therefore, I contend that Clinton's use of *our* in *our mothers* is functional: it, on the one hand, conveys the same message of the three propositions in EX. 9.14 (i.e., "my mother's name is Dorothy;" "like yours," and "we have so much in common"), and reflects more intimacy upon the other.

However, as previously noted, Clinton exploits an affiliation with the interviewer for more salient uses; that is, for saving her negative face from a high FTA (e.g., when the topic or the interviewer's performance is face-threatening). In such FTAs, Clinton exploits the FPPP to mitigate her act of challenging the interviewer's power.

9.2.2.2 Mitigating the Act of Challenging the Interviewer's Power

As noted above, when the interviewer's performance poses a threat to Clinton's powerful image, Clinton exploits the FPPP to resist this power. In these situations, Clinton affiliates with the interviewer to marginalize their power and reconstruct her identity as a powerful politician who mediates in asking questions. In such contexts, Clinton negotiates her identity by taking over the role of the interviewer at the moment of speaking to save her face from the high FTA. In this way, she achieves two goals: politely impinging on the interviewer's face, and deflecting attention to alleviate the threat on her negative face.

In two similar contexts, Clinton uses the same tactic of affiliation with the interviewer as a strategy to express her dissatisfaction with the interviewer's performance or remarks, in order to hypothetically take control of the show. Importantly, when using this tactic, Clinton tends to implicate a third party in the FTA. Consider these two examples from two different settings in which Clinton chooses to refer to the interviewer using the FPPP instead of the second-person address.

EX.9.16 [Clinton-Obama debate, NBC News, Cleveland, Ohio, February, 2008]

1. **Interviewer**: well (.) here's another important topic (.) and that's NAFTA (.) especially
2. where we're sitting here eh (.) tonight (.) and (.) this is a tough one depending on who you
3. ask (.) the Houston Chronicle has called it a big win for Texas but eh (.) Ohio Democratic
4. Senator Brown your colleagues in the Senate has called it (.) a job killing trade
5. agreement ah (.) Senator Clinton (.) you've campaigned in south Texas (.) you've
6. campaigned here in Ohio (.) who's right? (.)
7. **Clinton**: well (.) could I just point out that (.) in the last several debates I seem to get the
8. first question all the time (.) and I don't mind (.) eh you know (.) I'll be happy to field
9. them but (.) I do find it curious (.) and if anybody saw Saturday Night Live (.) **you**
10. **know** (.) **maybe we should ask Barack if he's comfortable** and needs another pillow (.)
11. I just find it kind of curious that I keep getting the first question on all (.) of these issues
12. (.) but I'm happy to answer it (.) you know (.) I have been a critic of NAFTA [..]

EX.9.17 [Hillary Clinton's interview on *The Late Show with David Letterman*, 2000]

1. **Interviewer**: well (.) ok ready to take the ⌐ quiz? because
2. **Clinton**: ⎧ well (.) if I have to
3. **Interviewer**: ⎩ [LAUGHING]
4. not exactly under oath (.) but this could all break
5. the entire ⌐ campaign ⌐
6. **Clinton:** ⎰ don't tell ⎰ Danburg [NC]
7. **Interviewer**: ⎩ Because you
8. get a couple of these wrong and your die hard New Yorkers are going to
9. say ⌐ yeah (1)
10. **Audience**: ⎱ [LAUGHING]
11. **Interviewer**: (3) ah here we go (2)
12. **Clinton**: **well** (.) **eh maybe we should ask all** (.) **the New Yorkers here**(.) all these
13. questions (.)

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14. **Interviewer**: alright we will see what happens (.)

The context in EX.9.16 is the Democratic primary presidential elections in 2008, whereas the context in EX.9.17 is Clinton's talk-show interview with David Letterman (2000) when she was appearing as First lady, and a runner for the position of New York Senator. In the former, Clinton indirectly criticizes the interviewer and previous interviewers for giving her the floor to answer questions ahead of her male opponents. She hints at the cultural tradition implied when asking her the first question; that is, representing the 'ladies first' ideology in patriarchal societies. Therefore, she seems to perceive the act of asking her the first question as a potential response to her gender and thus an implicit evocation of her place as the 'weaker sex.' She may have also seen this bias in the advantage of time that the (male) interviewers thus give to her male opponents, enabling them to arrange their ideas and, thus, defend themselves more strongly than she. Similarly, in EX.9.17, the interviewer's humorous comment threatens Clinton's negative face because it implies that some New Yorkers wish that she would lose the election for New York Senator.

To express her disagreement with the interviewer in both contexts, Clinton challenges him by shifting the topic, on her own terms, to implicate the opponent or the audience in EX.9.16 and EX.9.17, respectively. She uses the in-group language marker, *we,* to ameliorate her impingement on the interviewer and the third party. Interestingly, although the two contexts represent two different genres and are taking place at different times, Clinton reacts discursively in the same way to the interviewer's performance. In both contexts, she shifts dialogue to a third party, hypothetically claiming agency in asking questions. Consider the similarity of the two utterances where Clinton affiliates with the interviewer in EX.9.16, line 10, and in EX.9.17, line 12, respectively.

- You know, maybe *we* should ask Barack if he's comfortable.
- Well, maybe *we* should ask all the New Yorkers here all these questions.

The imposition of the FTA on Clinton's negative face in both contexts is evident in Clinton's use of the FPPP in conjunction with hedges, pauses and hesitation markers. The use of hedges in both utterances before shifting to the FPPP, I argue, indicates the imposition that the interviewer's performance exerts on Clinton's face, on the one hand, and her imposition on the interviewer's face in taking control of the show, on the other. These moves also demonstrate how Clinton negotiates her identity with the interviewer before affiliating with them.

In EX.9.16, she uses the discourse marker, *you know*, the hedge of uncertainty, *maybe*, and a short pause; whereas in EX.9.17, she uses the discourse marker *well,* followed by the hesitation marker *eh*, a short pause and also the hedge of uncertainty, *maybe*. Thus, the hedges before the FPPP help

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Clinton to mitigate the imposition on her negative face, reducing the force of the utterance and weakening its truthfulness. The multiple hedging before the FPPP also assists Clinton in gaining time to make the appropriate pronominal choice that best conveys her message of alleviating the FTA. Clinton's use of hedge before she affiliates with the interviewer may be seen as a strategy to negotiate power before she imposes on the interviewer's face to take over their role during the interaction. In both utterances, Clinton had access to two other pronominal choices rather than using the FPPP in "we should ask:" either to take full responsibility for the act, using the individual perspective or the second-person perspective to request the interviewer to take responsibility for the act. The use of the second-person pronoun or the FPSP instead of the FPPP in both contexts might have negative implications on Clinton's image. Consider the pronominal alternatives in both contexts.

EX.9.16 line 10:

> * Maybe *you* should ask Barack if he's comfortable and needs another pillow.

> *Maybe *I* should ask Barack if he's comfortable and needs another pillow.

EX.9.17 line 12:

> *Well, maybe *you should ask all the New Yorkers* here all these questions.

> *Well, maybe *I* should ask all the New Yorkers here all these questions.

The use of the second-person pronoun or the individual perspective to express the act of asking questions in both utterances would show explicit criticism against the interviewer and the third party whom Clinton implicates based on the interviewer's comments (i.e., the opponent, Obama, in EX.9.16 and New Yorkers in EX. 9.17). Using *you* in "you should" would make her request a direct on-record FTA, and thus, constitutes an explicit criticism for the interviewer's performance and his way of running the program. Using *I* in "I should," on the other hand, would also threaten Clinton's image for it would reveal political bullying. Taking over the role of the interviewer to ask the opponent questions would portray Clinton as exercising her political power over the audience. The personal perspective would violate the rules and purpose of talk-shows (see Ilie, 2001) and reveal a salient undermining of the interviewer's power.

Importantly, Clinton's impingement on the interviewer's face to take over their role during the interaction occurs not only as a reaction against the interviewer's performance, but also can be configured to redress Clinton's flawed performance during the interaction. Clinton affiliates herself with the interviewer to avoid appearing as a helpless woman and an incompetent politician. Consider EX.9.18 where the interviewer requests that Clinton should have a go at bowling in front of the audience. When Clinton expects to lose the game in the show, she affiliates herself with the interviewer to request for help to save her self-image from her expected failure in the game.

EX.9.18 [Hillary Clinton's interview on *Ellen DeGeneres*, 2008

1. **Interviewer**: alright we are going to ⌈ go bowl ⌉
2. **Clinton**: ⌊ oh my God (.) ⌋
3. **Interviewer**: alright (.)
4. **Clinton**: well (.) I bet there are some good bowlers in this audience (.)
5. **Interviewer**: I bet there are (.)
6. **Clinton**: oh (2) (pointing to the audience) **we need some help we need**
7. ⌈ **some help** ⌉
8. **Interviewer**: ⌊ no ⌋
9. (2) no don't cheat (.)

The context of EX.9.18 is in the *Ellen Show* (2008) during Clinton's primary elections for USA President 2008, which exerts a pressure on Clinton's face since it challenges her image as a competent player in front of America. Although bowling is hardly an integral part of presidential activities, losing the game has negative implications upon the candidate's image. Clinton faces a high FTA when she is requested to bowl because the request challenges Clinton's ability as a successful player, and thus, may negatively affect her image as a potential President if she fails the test. This argument of the imposition of the request on Clinton's face draws on the press reports regarding Obama's failure to bowl during the same elections prior to Clinton's interview on *Ellen*, and regarding Clinton's failure to bowl in the Ellen show. Consider the following extracts:

> Barack Obama did some serious damage to his credibility with working-class white voters this weekend when he proved that he is **a total spastic failure at bowling**. He and fellow pantywaist Senator Bob Casey bowled worse than two girls with no arms, leaving no doubt in the minds of many voters that he is out of touch with the concerns of regular hard-working Americans. (Smith, 2008, March)

> [..] Ellen DeGeneres taking Hillary Clinton bowling as a contrast to Barack Obama's widely reported and heavily embarrassing score of 37 last week in Pennsylvania […] So the running score for the Democratic candidates, if you're counting only pins is: Clinton 1, Obama 37. It's a lot like their delegate race: Neither has enough to win, yet Obama is considerably ahead. (Catlin, 2008, April)

In the same vein, Letterman's remarks in EX. 9.17 regarding the consequences of Clinton's failure in the quiz about her campaign also emphasizes the importance of the politician's competence during the televised show for their self-image and electoral success.

The imposition is also evident in different positions in her response to the interviewer's request. First, she expresses her surprise at the interviewer's request for bowling by using the discourse marker

oh, in "oh my God," which connects interjection with indexicality (Wilkins, 1995), and indicates affect and emotionality (Aijmer, 2002). The imposition of the interviewer's request on Clinton's face is also evident in Clinton's deflection of the topic toward the audience in "I bet there are some good bowlers in the audience" which goes in line with her discursive behavior when Clinton's face is threatened as in EX.9.16 and EX.9.17.

Clinton's request for the audience to help, in EX.9.18, threatens her negative face as well as the interviewer's face in two ways: interfering in the interviewer's role as the controller of the show and co-implicating the interviewer in her incapability, and thus, in the request for help. In line 6, Clinton's request for help and the gesture she makes, seem to be a spontaneous reaction that the interviewer did not expect in the script. Thus, Clinton's violation of the rules of the show poses a threat to the interviewer's face because it puts the interviewer's competence at stake. If the interviewer (in this case, DeGeneres) fails to respond cleverly to this unexpected situation, she may lose her image as a competent interviewer, particularly in this case given that DeGeneres is originally an actor and thus is expected to lack the experience and qualification as interviewer to respond competently to unexpected situations. Consider the utterance where Clinton uses the FPPP in line 6.

- Clinton: oh! **we** need some help! **we** need some help!

To save her face, Clinton exploits the construction of her collective social identity to co-implicate the interviewer in the FTA, taking advantage of the interviewer's social status as a well-known celebrity. That is, the negative impact of the request for help is less damaging to Clinton's face since another celebrity is involved in the request. In this way, self-affiliation in line 6 strategically aims to redress Clinton's helplessness and thus her powerless image by involving the interviewer. Compare the effect of the FPPP to the effect of the FPSP if the latter was used in the same context in line 6.

*oh *I* need some help; *I* need some help!

The use of the individual perspective would explicitly portray Clinton as the sole individual lacking the ability to play the game, and would, therefore, focus attention on Clinton's incompetence. In view of this, Clinton seems to give priority to her image as a presidential candidate during the show rather than satisfying her friend's face, which supports the argument above that the relationship between the politician and the interviewer changes during the interaction as the politician tries to save her face from the interviewer's face-threatening questions.

9.3 Summary

This chapter has shown that when the political power of the affiliated group is lower than that of Clinton, such as 'the people' and 'interviewers,' Clinton exploits the FPPP in such a context to achieve strategic goals that both enhance her positive face and save her threatened face from FTAs. The most frequent use of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse is the *national we* by which Clinton identifies herself with the people to win their support. She employs this type of *we* in national narratives to evoke collective national memory, and thus, enhance her image as a humble and loyal citizen. The analysis has revealed that Clinton overuses the *national we* in her opening statements more than do her male opponents to win voters from the beginning of the confrontation.

Therefore, it can be concluded that affiliating with the people should convey informative messages that convince them of the truthfulness of the candidate's proposition, rather than creating rhetorical conventional narratives that are outdated and have become critically construed by the people as political strategies to manipulate people (Eddins, 2016). Although Obama distanced himself from the people, creating an *I-They* dichotomy in most of his speech-turns, he nevertheless appealed to the people and won their votes in 2008. He was more persuasive than Clinton, who exploited her opening statements to create nationalistic narratives. This is due to the fact that Obama's self-presentation is more balanced than Clinton's. That is, he exploits affiliation with the people in his speech more effectively than does Clinton; he avoids the emotional and rhetorical style that Clinton uses in her speech, which may cause people to judge Obama's views as more factual and realistic than Clinton's. Obama's default performance is to present himself as a responsible and independent leader, whereas Clinton presents herself in most of her discursive presentations mainly as part of a larger collective, whether this collective be higher or lower in power.

Most significantly, the analysis has also revealed that the meaning of the *national we* is more nuanced than previous studies have shown. The analysis has demonstrated that Clinton exploits the *national we* to protect her negative face when confronted on scandals and failures. Clinton tends to co-implicate the people in a face-threatening situation to evoke sympathy, obtain people's forgiveness, and consequently, win their votes.

Pertaining to the interviewers as a subgroup of the LPG, most of Clinton's uses of self-affiliation with the interviewer occurs when FTAs are being performed. When the interviewer confronts Clinton in a way that can be perceived as an exercise of power, or threatening to Clinton's image, Clinton challenges the interviewer's power. In this way, the FPPP functions beyond the positive-politeness strategy that Brown and Levinson (1987) suggested. Clinton identifies with the interviewer as a tactic to marginalize the interviewer's power and take over his role at that moment, without

explicitly exercising her political power. Constructing a group membership with the interviewer in such contexts strategically allows Clinton to shift the topic of conversation to achieve three goals: reacting to the interviewer's behavior and, thus, challenging their power, and directing the discourse to implicate a third party in the FTA to save her threatened face. The analysis has also shown that to negotiate power with the interviewer, Clinton typically uses hedges and pauses to alleviate her impingement on the interviewer's face before affiliating with them.

Chapter 10

Conclusions

10.1 Summary of the Findings

This study has investigated the language use through which Hillary Clinton constructs her political identity, by examining the importance of the first person plural pronoun (hereinafter, FPPP) in the political discourse of this American woman candidate. The research questions centered around three themes: the functionality of the FPPP in campaign discourse; the role of the macro-linguistic context in understanding the discourse identities of a candidate; and the role of gender, if any, in Clinton's use of the FPPP.

The analysis of Clinton's discourse extracted from the corpus of Hillary Clinton's Debates and Talk-shows (hereinafter, the CHCDT) has led to three important conclusions. First, the meaning of the FPPP, in campaign discourse, is more nuanced than has been shown in previous literature. Secondly, in addition to the attested importance of the micro-linguistic context, the study has demonstrated a key role of the macro-linguistic context in understanding the meaning of the FPPP in political discourse, which, in its turn, contributes to a more profound understanding of the political identity of a candidate. Thirdly, Clinton's use of the FPPP in campaign discourse has revealed aspects of gendered identity.

Despite the limited scope of the investigation, that is, its focus on one pronoun only, the analysis of the FPPP in Clinton's discourse has painted a striking image of her discursive identity, as both a politician and a woman politician. The results of the study have revealed the constructive power of the FPPP and how it can function beyond the traditional role of a pronominal, and even beyond that which has been suggested by previous studies incorporating a pragmatic analysis (i.e., Bramley, 2001; Fetzer, 2014, Millar, 2015; Proctor & Su, 2011). The current analysis has shown how Clinton uses the FPPP to actively construct and negotiate her identities, thus achieving her various strategic goals of face-work during interaction. In this regard, the study has demonstrated that the meaning of the FPPP can be determined, to a large extent, by two major factors: the power differential between the 'affiliator' and the affiliated group, and the degree of the FTA.

The study has revealed that the institutional status of the affiliated group determines the meaning of the FPPP and thus, the goal of the observed affiliation in Clinton's discourse. Regarding the effect of the FTA, the analysis has demonstrated that when the imposition of the FTA is low, the

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FPPP functions more towards enhancing the positive face; on the other hand, when the imposition is very high, it can serve to protect the threatened negative face.

In this regard, one of the major functions of the FPPP in a candidate's discourse, as argued in Section 7.2.1, is the construction of political power, which enhances the positive face of the speaker; that is, the candidate. Clinton overuses *governmental* and *institutional wes* to enhance her political power and expand the boundaries of her institutional identities, thus identifying herself as part of the government and its inherent collective power (Bramley, 2001). In this situation, *we* can express power and confidence, co-occurring more frequently with material verbs, modals of certainty and boosters. However, the FPPP can also indicate evasiveness and distance from FTAs. Significantly, the FPPP constitutes a salient tool for Clinton to configure her relationship with different parties, such as her opponents and husband, Bill Clinton. As shown in Section 7.2.2, assessing the benefits of affiliation with her husband, Clinton actively overuses the pronoun when she aims to enhance her positive face and augment her political self, or evade responsibility for a failure. Otherwise, she may refrain from affiliating with him and distance herself from him, in order to distance herself from his scandals. The FPPP can also be oriented toward impoliteness, as when Clinton threatens her opponent's face by co-implicating him in her failures or scandals in order to save her own threatened face (see Section 8.2.2).

This study has been able to reveal this striking power of the FPPP in constructing political identities in different FTAs because the analysis drew profoundly upon the macro-, as well as micro-, linguistic context in interpreting the meaning of the FPPP. At micro-level, the meaning of the FPPP can be determined by the distribution of the other pronouns as well as other linguistic and pragmalinguistic features of the sequential context. In line with Bramley's (2001) conclusions, Clinton employs the sequential context for two types of shifts: between *we* and different pronominal and nominal references, on the one hand, and between different *wes* on the other. Clinton uses these shifts to draw boundaries between her own 'self' and the 'other,' on the one hand, and between her different identities to enhance her political power and save her image in FTAs, on the other.

Conversely, at the macro-level of the linguistic context, the study has employed a method of analysis that relies on making quantitative and qualitative comparisons between different situations occurring at different periods of time. At both levels of context, such comparisons are also drawn between Clinton's choices of FPPP and her male opponents' when using the FPPP in similar utterances/contexts.

10.2 '*We*' and Hillary Clinton's Gender

As previously noted, this study draws conclusions regarding Hillary Clinton's use of the FPPP in her role as a woman politician. Section 10.1 gave an overview of the subtleness of the FPPP in a political context. This section, on the other hand, focuses on the discourse practices regarding the use of the FPPP that I argue have been found to be specific to Clinton, and not applicable to any of her male opponents.

First, the analysis of the discourse context has revealed certain discourse practices that seem typical of Clinton's linguistic behavior. First, Clinton favors the collective perspective, *we*, as a self-presentational tactic, over the singular *I*. Although the quantitative analysis of *we* and *I* in the CHCDT has shown that *I* occurs more proportionally frequently than *we* in Clinton's discourse (see Section 6.2), the analysis of the micro-linguistic context, on the other hand, has revealed that Clinton uses *we* more frequently than *I* in different FTAs. More importantly, while Clinton uses *I* more frequently with verbs that indicate cognition, feelings and emotions, she favors *we* with verbs that indicate action. Another striking discursive practice about Clinton is her switches between the collective selves, the individual self, and "other" to express the same proposition whenever she reiterates or rephrases the proposition in the same speech-turn or at the micro-level of the linguistic context. These switches between pronominals, particularly when *we* refers to a higher-power group (HPG), are usually accompanied by a shift in modality, and therefore, convey different pragmatic messages. Clinton tends to use modals of certainty with *we* and of hypothetically with *I*, showing more assertiveness, confidence and commitment when presenting herself in the collective perspective. Only in one instance does Clinton use the same modality despite the pronominal shift, that is, when the referent of *we* is the opposite-party opponent. This can be interpreted with respect to the importance of such affiliation for Clinton's image. As demonstrated in Section 6.3, *Opponent* or the equal-power group (EPG) is the least frequent category in Clinton's use of the FPPP, which suggests less importance of this group than the other two power-groups for Clinton's self-presentation, notably when the opponent belongs to the opposite party. Therefore, her individual self in this context is equal in power to the collective membership of her opponents; that is, the FPPP is not augmentative as it would be in the case of an HPG, or beneficial for electoral purposes as in the case of an LPG; and therefore, the individual and collective perspective are equal in delivering the same message.

Importantly, at the macro-level of discourse (macro-linguistic context), the analysis has revealed that Clinton tends to make the same choices regarding FPPP use to express similar propositions over different periods of time. However, some factors, such as topic, the type of genre,

and Clinton's political experience, may influence this discursive practice. At the micro-level of discourse, on the other hand, as already noted, a striking characteristic of Clinton's discursive behavior is that in the same debate, when Clinton reiterates propositions, she tends to change the pronominal and the modality each time she repeats the proposition. She shifts from the FPPP to another pronominal or vice versa, thus sending out particular messages.

Interestingly, the study has revealed a relationship between Clinton's violation or flouting of conversation maxims and her overuse of the FPPP. In particular situations, Clinton overly affiliates with her husband, with her Democratic fellow Barack Obama, and/or her political party to evade giving an informative or direct answer to the interviewer's question, and thus, she mitigates her violation or flouting of the maxims. Clinton uses *we* in utterances that violate the maxims. She does this in contexts where she is supporting her husband by marking her affiliation with him, even when that affiliation is unreasonable, for example, where both she and her husband could not possibly have undertaken an action together. The interpretation placed upon this in this thesis is that in asserting this affiliation Clinton is indexing a (heterosexual) female identity.

With respect to Clinton's discursive identity, the study has revealed aspects of gendered identity in her discourse. Although Clinton's language is analyzed using a constructive approach that does not pre-assume gendered differences, the analysis did reveal differences between Clinton and her male opponents regarding FPPP use and frequency. The comparisons of frequencies (see Section 6.4), supported by qualitative analysis of selected passages, have shown that Clinton favors the collective perspective whilst her opponents prefer the personal perspective. Male opponents are more likely to present themselves as the expert of the situation, whereas Clinton ascribes to herself agency in actions in which she might not have participated in order to construct an image of an experienced and authorized politician. However, these differences, particularly between Clinton and Obama, cannot necessarily be interpreted within the frame of gender, since Obama himself has been described as a president who uses both masculine and feminine language styles (see Section 6.4). Therefore, Clinton's choices of the FPPP, I argue, may be influenced by personal traits, rather than gender stereotypes. Obama, in all of his discursive contributions in the CHCDT, is more consistent. He is more independent, assertive, direct and straightforward in self-presentation than has Clinton. He is also more self-centered than Clinton in the sense that he tends to talk about what he does instead of endowing himself with agency in actions that could be performed by other collectives. Unlike Clinton, Obama exhibited more confidence in his being elected as President through his focus on the personal perspective *I* rather than *we* and with the use of modality that expresses his nomination as a real and anticipated, rather than a hypothetical and contingent, situation.

Despite analyzing Clinton's choices independently of a gendered binary, the analysis has revealed her tendency to foreground her gendered identity as a woman politician, either through her overuse of the FPPP and her recurring affiliation with her husband (see Section 7.2.2). The study has shown that this use of the FPPP weakened Clinton's individual identity. These findings align with the analysts' view (e.g., Blair, 2015; Mollick, 2015; Williams, 2015) regarding Clinton's campaign failure in 2008, contending that she could not fully extricate herself from her husband's tenure or legacy (see Section 4.3). The analysis has revealed that Clinton exploits her husband as a strategy to draw attention to her association with a former President, even in topics that do not address her husband's role, and in utterances where the use of collective identity is unexpected. Reference to her husband in such contexts, I argue, evokes cultural stereotypes regarding Clinton's traditional role as a wife in the patriarchal family (see Kanter (1977) and Baxter (20112) in Section 3.3.1), which may reflect the image of a powerless woman who is subordinate to her husband and put her in the dilemma of a double bind (see Sections 3.3.2 & 4.3). This argument has been supported by the constant criticism leveled at Clinton from her male opponents who exploited this feature to question Clinton's abilities as an independent and powerful potential leader of the country, as in Obama's comments:

> Obama: [she] casts herself as co-president during the Clinton years. Every good thing that happened she says she was a part of. And so the notion that you can selectively pick what you take credit for and then run away from what isn't politically convenient, that doesn't make sense [..] When Senator Clinton continually talks about her experience, she's including the eight years that she served as first lady and often says, you know, 'here's what I did, here's what **we did**, here's what **we accomplished**.

Obama's comments against Clinton, I would argue, encapsulate the discussion here with regards to Clinton's reliance on the collective perspective to present her political identity and her emphasis on gendering her identity. As he clarifies his remarks against Clinton, Obama ridicules Clinton for endowing herself with agency in her husband's achievements and taking credit for positive actions carried out by Bill Clinton's Administration.

Based on the conclusions above and the objectives of the study, implications can be drawn in the light of the double bind that women in positions of power are subject to. This may serve to shed light on the dilemma of the double bind and how it is relevant to the use of the FPPP in political leadership.

10.3 Implications of the Study

10.3.1 '*We*' and Identity: "Shattering the Highest and Hardest Glass Ceiling"

Ironically, *we* in *We and Identity* refers not only to the abstract meaning of the pronoun to be discussed in this study, but in essence signifies multiple referents, implying the effect of *us* on identity, particularly on women politicians' identity, represented by Hillary Clinton. 'We', as researchers, media, society, have a tendency to focus on the discourse of women politicians from a gendered perspective, more than we do with that of men politicians. Women's linguistic, as well as non-linguistic, behavior is always *anatomized* more than is their male peers, in order to be judged suitable for leadership; their identity is marked in the political sphere. The title implies this struggle for identity by women seeking positions of power, and different parties of the double bind they face, is a result of society's expectations of these women, on the one hand, and how these women tend to represent themselves, on the other. The double bind seems to be present whenever an analysis of women's discourse is undertaken. This phenomenon in the analysis of a woman politician's discourse is not seen in that of men politicians, which is instead analyzed and viewed as an individual case as in Allen (2007), Hakansson (2012), Putri and Kurniawan (2015) above (see Section 2.3). Strikingly, the notions of *gender*, *feminine*, *masculine* or references such as *man, men* do not appear throughout these studies, which is atypical of any study that includes a woman politician. Even in studies that do not include any male participants and are focused only on women (e.g., Millar, 2015), or studies that do not investigate any gender differences as in Proctor and Su (2011), these notions and references are frequently used by the researcher(s). Even when no claims of generality of results are made, as in this study, drawing a link between a woman politician's linguistic choices and her gender seems inevitable, and the results of such studies are likely to subsequently be generalized. These conclusions align with Lakoff's (2016) comments on Clinton's candidacy. Lakoff asserts that unlike her male rivals, Clinton is not running as an individual, but is required to represent all women, particularly those in or seeking positions of power. What Lakoff seems to suggest here is that it may not be possible to assess the language of a woman politician without considering her gender, and thus, the woman subject's linguistic behavior is considered to be representative of that of all women. Therefore, it can be concluded that women are viewed as a group made up of individuals, whereas men are seen first as individuals making up a group.

Importantly, the most serious challenge that women politicians face is the political system itself. Politics is described as being rife with misogyny (Fenton, January, 2017). Women politicians face countless examples of sexism that undermine their abilities to run for office from masculine-

dominated parties, whether directly related to the system (e.g., men politicians holding different positions) or indirectly associated with politics, such as the public and the media. For example, in her first interview after losing the 2016 presidential election, Hillary Clinton herself argued that that misogyny had played a role in her election loss. Clinton adds that she was often asked why she was running for president, whereas "male 2016 candidates were rarely asked to explain why they wanted the Oval Office." (Hendry, 2017, September). Clinton comments: "I didn't hear Marco Rubio or Ted Cruz or Bernie Sanders asked that question. It was as though there was something hidden or so unusual about a woman stepping forward and saying, 'you know I think I could be a good president, I hope you'll support me" (see Clinton-Woodruff Interview, PBS, September, 2017).

In political institutions, women continue to be outnumbered and outranked by men, which Cameron and Shaw (2016) consider as a reflection of these women's challenge against a very long lived social/political norm. This phenomenon is also evident in this study, where men candidates outnumber women candidates in presidential elections, which has subjected women politicians (e.g., Hilary Clinton) to verbal oppression as has been illustrated above. Thus, with all these challenges, women politicians always face greater scrutiny than men politicians regarding their discourse and/or appearance, which forces them to manage their gendered identities more carefully (see Walsh, 2001).

I attempted to explore Hillary Clinton's discourse without drawing upon male-and-female binary relations. However, the results of this study have revealed that it remains difficult to analyze a woman politician's discourse without considering her gender, particularly in the case of a woman politician whose accomplishments are credited to her husband's legacy, such as in the case of Clinton. This difficulty results from the fact that many famous women politicians 'insist' to foreground their feminine identity in interactions even when it is unnecessary. In this vein, the results suggest that media under-representations, cultural stereotypes, or research orientations towards gendered binaries are not the only factors influencing the dilemma of the double bind that faces women in or seeking leadership. In fact, how women leaders/candidates represent themselves in different political bids plays a salient role in perpetuating the double bind. Since the results of this study align with Millar's (2015) study regarding the use of the first-person plural and singular pronouns in the discourse of another woman politician, pertaining to the tendency of the two women to use the collective perspective rather than the personal or individual identity, and the type of verb-processes that co-occur with each pronoun, it is worthwhile drawing women's attention to some observations regarding Clinton's use of the FPPP. In some instances, her choices of the FPPP were not necessary and in fact blurred her stance and weakened her position in the argument.

As in the cases of Margaret Thatcher (Wilson & Irwin, 2015) and Sarah Palin (Davies, 2015), Clinton foregrounds her feminine identities by overemphasizing her marital and family life through pronoun affiliation and other linguistic devices. This intentional construction of a feminine identity in discourse has offered her male opponents an arsenal with which to attack their female peers and question their power, authority, and ability to lead the country. The study has shown how Clinton's opponents tend to, for example, stress her status as *Mrs. Clinton* rather than *Senator Clinton*, as a face-threatening strategy to undermine her power, hinting at her subordination to her husband (see Section 7.2.2), in contrast to themselves who are the heads of their households.

Clinton's overuse of affiliation with her husband in 2008, I conclude, contributed to reinforcing the double bind, not only during the election at that time but also in the run-up to the 2016 elections. This is evident in how Donald Trump exploits Clinton's emphasis on her social status as a wife and mother in previous political bids to cast doubt upon her political power. One instance is Trump hints at Clinton's weak physique as a woman in "I don't believe Hillary has the stamina." More significantly, aligning with Obama in 2008, Trump finds Clinton accountable for her husband's failures with regard to NAFTA:

> Trump: [..]Your husband signed NAFTA which was the worst things ever happened in manufacturing industry. [Clinton-Trump debate, 26th, September, 2016]

I argue that Obama and Trump's accusations against Clinton regarding NAFTA draw upon, to a large extent, her constant affiliation with her husband in sharing the actions and decisions of NAFTA, as Obama explicitly suggests in his criticism above.

The point I want to make here, is that, based on these observations, women seeking positions of power should be aware of the fact that if they show tendency towards using inclusive language that indexes their identity as loving wives and caring mothers, they may 'jeopardize' their chances of persuading the electorate, and thus, risk losing the election to their male rivals. Whether it may be true or not, the image of a wife and a mother evokes cultural stereotypes that renders it difficult for women political candidates in patriarchal societies to maintain a powerful image. It may be necessary for women in such situations to 'handle their gender carefully' in discourse. As Blair (2015) points out, there remains a deep cultural resistance to women wielding presidential power. However, the ideology appears to be that women politicians showing they are 'proud' of their gender is a persuasive, self-presentational tactic. This is evident in how some women candidates, such as Clinton and Palin, 'love' to exploit their maternal and marital experience in different topics; they appear to define womanhood in terms of wifehood and motherhood. The strategy appears to involve demonstrating how a woman politician is 'happy' with her traditional roles as a woman instead of

avoiding them, in a bid to fight stereotypes. However, the inefficacy of this strategy is evident in Clinton's concession (farewell) speech, referring to the situation as "shattering that highest and hardest glass ceiling."

> Hillary Clinton: And so we need, we need you to keep up these fights now and for the rest of your lives. And to all the women, and especially the young women, who put their faith in this campaign and in me: I want you to know that nothing has made me prouder than to be your champion. **Now, I know we have still not shattered that highest and hardest glass ceiling, but some day someone will, and hopefully sooner than we might think right now.** And to all of the little girls who are watching this, never doubt that you are valuable and powerful and deserving of every chance and opportunity in the world to pursue and achieve your own dreams.
>
> (Hillary Clinton, Concession Speech, 2016).

In her comments, Clinton indirectly admits the prevalence of the double bind and its influence on the electorate in American politics. Therefore, realizing the requirements of the moment is vital in achieving goals. The question here is whether the primary goal of women running for presidency is to win the position itself or merely to lay the foundation for future change? If the former is the answer then women should be more realistic about the requirements of presidency pertaining to how they express their discourse identities; if the latter, they should wait for as long as it takes to make the change and persuade the electorate.

However, before reflecting on the requirements of the moment and of leadership, a very important note to make here is that I am by no means suggesting that women politicians should refrain completely from using inclusive language that indexes their identity as women, but I urge women politicians to avoid the disposition of imposing their personal life unnecessarily in every topic or to overuse it in a way that blurs their own individual identity, or evokes cultural stereotypes, as observed in Clinton's discourse. The requirement of the stage means understanding the cultural context well and exploiting it positively instead of 'running into' it. Clinton's words in her concession speech in 2016 above indicate that she has eventually realized that cultural stereotypes remain stronger than women's efforts to fight them, and this has been the cause of her campaign failure. However, I believe that the requirement of the moment is not what is required by women candidates in order to wield presidential power. It is instead the requirements of leadership itself that need to be fulfilled in order for women candidates/politicians to be competent and persuasive.

10.3.2 The First Person Plural Pronoun, Gender and Leadership

A general rule for successful leadership, whether in a political or non-political context, is to exclude one's personal life from one's professional one. A political leader should not be identified too strongly with a particular way of life or life circumstance. In Hillary Clinton's case, for example, her emphasis on her role as a wife in different instances, emphasized by her constant affiliation with her husband, would distance her from the 'masculine' groups of the nation. As a result, she would lose more supporters who may not find themselves represented by such a 'female' leader. Arguably, I believe it is a mistake for women in political leadership to believe that their positive image, as leaders, is enhanced by portraying themselves as loving wives and caring mothers, when their male opponents hardly ever refer to their families in political discourse (e.g., see Putri & Kurniawan's (2015) analysis of the FPPP referents in Mitt Romney's discourse cited in Section 2.3). Constructing identities through such 'role traps', I argue, have weakened these women's chances to achieve what their men counterparts have achieved, particularly in masculine-dominated political systems such as the American system (see the discussion of Kanter's 'role traps' and Baxter (2012) in Section 3.3.1). This argument also aligns with Mullany's (2007) view that women leaders are disempowered by degendered discourses (e.g., family/motherhood) in their workplace. Thus, I argue that women politicians should take the misogynistic attitudes that dominate politics into consideration when presenting themselves in the political institutions or to the public. Thus, I maintain that, for a powerful image, a political leader, whether a man or a woman, should avoid using language that marks their gender or distinguishes them in a way that distances them from the people they aspire to lead.

Regarding the use of the FPPP in leadership, this study has revealed how use of the FPPP can constitute an effective self-presentational tactic in some FTAs to save the candidate's negative face. However, the study has also shown that candidates may risk their authority, and more seriously, their sincerity, through overuse of the FPPP, in place of using the individual perspective, in particular when referring to future plans. As thoroughly illustrated above, *I* invokes a sense of an individual of power (Bramley, 2001); thus, in a candidate's discourse, this becomes a salient strategy to enhance political power. However, at times, *I* may detract from the candidate's power in high FTAs. The conclusion here is that there is no single pronoun, linguistic feature or device that can be regarded as powerful or powerless, but rather it is how these features are used and manipulated in the context that serves to reflect power.

As a consequence of this, I would argue that this study adds to the growing collection of evidence that a dichotomy between powerless and powerful single features in language is simplistic.

For example, Bramley (2001) empathizes the power of *I* in constructing a political identity and Millar (2015) argues that the use of the FPPP is a characteristic of a feminine leadership. This study, however, has shown that Clinton's use of the FPPP served to construct a powerful image, or at least saved her from a powerless image, in a number of FTAs, whereas in other situations her use of the FPPP was less persuasive and reflected a powerless image. Being powerful as a candidate means being more persuasive, which, I argue, reveals the dexterity of manipulating context to configure the strategies that best enhance or protect face in different FTAs. That is, the use of *we* may be more powerful than *I* if a candidate uses *we* with a modality of certainty and commitment and *I* with contingency and hypotheticality. It is therefore worthwhile pointing out that if (presidential) candidates speak of their future actions, using the singular self-reference with modal of commitment and certainty *will* indicates confidence, which, I argue, can be more persuasive than using the more grammatically-appropriate *would*. Therefore, powerful language is not obtained through a fixed list of separated items or structures (as suggested by Lakoff (1975) and subsequent works) but through the dexterity to manipulate the linguistic (and non-linguistic) context. For example, in this study, to judge Clinton's use of the FPPP, modality, hedges, other pronominal as well as nominal references, and many other features of the linguistic (and paralinguistic) context have been considered.

10.4 Limitations of the Study and Directions for Further Research

The current study is limited by topic, corpus and participants. First, the study focuses on Clinton's use of the first-personal pronoun only. Although the study has made use of the sequential context to investigate, arguably more substantially than the previous studies, the linguistic and paralinguistic features that may influence Clinton's choice of the FPPP, more research is needed to investigate additional features of Clinton's language use either by expanding the role of pronouns to analyze deeper intricate relations, or exploring other linguistic and non-linguistic features. The corpus used in the present study is also limited by its inclusion of only two types of campaign discourse: debates and talk-shows. This limitation can be overcome by future research in different dimensions. Researchers can use other interactional genres, such as press conferences where the politician is confronted on unexpected issues, and therefore, their choice of the pronominal will be more spontaneous and thus more indexical of their discourse identities. In another dimension, a comparative approach can be used to investigate in the politician's use of the FPPP in two genres, focusing on the contextual factors that affect linguistic choices.

Finally, since this study focused on the discourse of a single woman politician who has a unique political and sociopolitical status, the results cannot be extrapolated to other women

politicians, particularly the results pertaining to Clinton's use of the FPPP to affiliate with her husband. Therefore, a comparable approach is needed to explore the use of the FPPP in the discourse of a number of other women politicians. A more important dimension to consider for future research is to apply the results and conclusions drawn as a result of this study to Clinton's linguistic behavior in 2016 in discourse from the same interactional genres in order to explore the differences, if any, and the potential factors behind any observed potential change.

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