

Subjectivity in Discourse: A CDA Approach to the Study of Adjectives in Two Political Speeches

Hela Ajmi

English Department, Faculty of Human and Social
Sciences of Tunis
University of Tunis I, Tunisia

Abstract

This paper studies the use of adjectives as subjectivity markers in one of former U.S. President George W. Bush's political speeches and another of the current U.S. President Barack H. Obama. Combining both quantitative as well as qualitative methods, the paper argues, from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective, that the use of adjectives as subjectivity markers can be better explained as reflecting their users' world views and bias. Having in essence a rhetorical function, these linguistic triggers namely possessive and descriptive adjectives help polarize representation, reconstruct identities and enhance the power relations of their users. Differences and similarities in use are investigated in both speeches. The analysis of possessive and descriptive adjectives in these two different speeches has revealed that there is a high level of similarity in their occurrence and frequency distribution. More importantly, the analysis has also revealed that most instances of similarity in use reflect similar ideological frames projected by both speakers in their discourse. More specifically, it is found that both speakers are most likely to echo the voice of one single political agenda over different periods of time in dealing with the same topic.

Keywords: subjectivity, possessive and descriptive adjectives, CDA, political speech, the Iraq war

Introduction

Subjectivity in discourse is widely believed to be an index to the speakers' world view(s) and/or version(s) of reality (e.g. Althusser, 1971). It is typically a characteristic of human language which reflects most often bias. In Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), subjectivity in discourse has to do with the way speakers produce and exploit discourse ideologically to achieve certain gains namely in the political sphere. More specifically, certain linguistic triggers such as possessive and descriptive adjectives, among many more, are exploited ideologically in production and perception. Thereafter, in an attempt to unveil the ideological underpinnings of these linguistic triggers, the research paper aims at showing that discourse is not immune of being subjective and biased. As such, the speeches of two key political figures that are known worldwide are selected to be investigated for the subjective use of the aforementioned adjectives. One speech belongs to the former American President George W. Bush; the other to the current American President Barack H. Obama in dealing with the issue of the Gulf War (2003). Combining both quantitative and qualitative methods, the paper raises, from a CDA perspective, the question of political power as central to the study of struggle for status. Given that language use either written or spoken has a rhetorical function, both speakers are found to polarize representation, enhance power relations, and reconstruct identities to justify the war against Iraq. Notably, the analysis of these adjectives in an intertextual chaining associated with the history of terrorism has revealed the extent to which discourse users can be crafted in veiling their subjectivity and bias by assimilating intertextual cues within discourse as member resources (MRs). Both speakers are found to hold similar assumptions about the world around them. Consequently, both of them are found to construct a discourse that goes hand in hand with the goals of their political agenda in dealing with the same topic.

Study Background

The notion of subjectivity as opposed to objectivity has been a major preoccupation in the field of semantics at least since Bréal (1964[1900]). It has been identified with the way humans perceive the world around them, and how they differ from one another in this respect. Unlike objectivity which is based on facts, subjectivity is based on one's own experience of life. Saying it differently, subjectivity is based on one's attitudes toward others hence one's evaluation of them. In fact, the notion of subjectivity has been well-investigated by Althusser (1971) who locates the study of ideology within the scope of the former. The term Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) emerged in Althusser's work to refer to religious as well as political institutions, the media, for instance, and other subtle social practices such as handshaking, linguistic forms of greeting, and politeness codes. ISA(s) are constant and eternal performances which embody the individual as the subject who cannot exist outside of these material manifestations. This means that ideology forms the subject while ideological practices are by no means inseparable from personal beliefs that are projected in such material manifestations.

Like Althusser (1971), Foucault (1984) highlights the ideological underpinnings of science. More than that, he shifts from ideology to power/ knowledge which he claims to be itself fictional and productive of subjects. That is to say, subject positions exist by virtue of certain co-ordinates of knowledge and discursive practices through which what he calls 'subjectification' is most likely to occur. Foucault (1984) links knowledge to power. For him, it is not the subject but discourse which is enmeshed with power in producing knowledge. In this line of thought, one would rather conclude that no 'Truth' of knowledge in the absolute sense exists, but there exists a regime of truth. Likewise, Fairclough (2001) assumes that the subject produces

and is produced by discourse. Similarly, Teo (2000, p. 11) states that "discourse does not merely reflect social processes and structures, but affirms, consolidates and...reproduces existing social structures". Teo's assumption goes hand in hand with Fairclough's view (2006) that social practices are networked in such away as to constitute social orders, while the semiotic element of a given social practice constitutes *orders of discourse* (Fairclough, 2006). The latter, first introduced by Foucault (1984), refers to the conventions underlying any discursive event.

Simply put, due to the mediating concept of *orders of discourse* the 'mapping' of connections between text and talk with their social order is realized. Nevertheless, social order is discursive and changing over time (Chiapello & Fairclough, 2002). In particular, power relations in any given society determine the way these *orders of discourse* function such as the power relations between men and women, for instance, or other social groups that are not confined to particular institutions (Fairclough 2001, p. 28). Moreover, drawing on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Fairclough (1993, p. 134) states that "Language use is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and beliefs." He basically investigates, to borrow his words, the way language is "socially shaped and socially shaping."

For these theoretical considerations to be operational, Fairclough (2003) develops an analytical framework that attributes three dimensions to each discursive event. According to Fairclough (2003), a discursive event undergoes three levels of analysis. The first level of analysis is purely descriptive where the formal properties of the text need to be analyzed. At this level of analysis the verbalization of experiential, relational and expressive values in discourse need to be identified. The second level of analysis consists in analyzing the situational as well as the intertextual context in which the discourse event is situated and by which it is framed. The third level of analysis relates the textual and intertextual aspects of the discourse event under investigation with the wider socio-cultural context.

Research Questions and Assumptions

This research explores the use of certain types of adjectives as subjectivity markers. More specifically, it explores the way these linguistic phenomena can be exploited ideologically in production and perception (Fairclough, 2001). The present paper takes President Obama's words concerning the issue of the Iraq war (2003) as the starting point for analysis. He said:

(1) As we do, I am mindful that the Iraq War has been a contentious issue at home. Here, too, **it is time to turn the page**. This afternoon, I spoke to former President George W. Bush. It's well known that he and I disagreed about the war from its outset. Yet no one could doubt President Bush's support for our troops, or his love of country and commitment to our security. As I have said, there were patriots who supported this war, and patriots who opposed it. And all of us are united in appreciation for our servicemen and women, and our hope for Iraq's future. (L 25, 2010, emphasis added)

Hence, the argument raised in this research paper evolves round one focal point which highlights the ideological underpinnings of biased discourse. It sheds light on the role subjective discourse plays in the shaping of reality where power and control relations are enacted rather subtly. As such, three questions are raised as follows:

- Did President Obama manage to turn the page as he promised?
- What assumptions did both Presidents hold about the world around them?
- To what extent was subjectivity produced in, through and by their discourse?

Methodology

To answer the aforementioned research questions, Fairclough's approach to CDA is implemented. Implicit in this approach is the idea that "discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized" (Foucault, 1984, p. 110). In brief, Fairclough's approach to CDA rests on three-dimensions for text analysis. Nevertheless, in the interest of space and time, not all steps in this approach are followed. After all, Fairclough (1989) asserts that there is no reason to treat the procedure as holy writ because it serves as a guide rather than a 'blueprint.'

For more clarification, Janks (1997) describes Fairclough's model in terms of 'boxes nesting one inside the other' representing three interrelated dimensions of discourse. The first dimension relates to the discourse fragment; the second refers to where struggles over power relations are taking place in discourse; and the third to the power behind discourse (Janks, 1997). All dimensions are interdependent and 'mutually explanatory' (Janks, 1997, p. 27) though they embark on different types of analysis such as described below:

1. Description is a matter of dealing with the formal properties of the text in the verbalization of three values; experiential (text production experience), relational (the way the text structures social relations) and expressive (the subjects' positions in discourse) (Fairclough, 1989; now in a revised second edition 2001). A linguistic formal feature may simultaneously have two or three of the values as stated in Table 1:

Table 1. *Experiential, relational and expressive values of formal features (after Fairclough, 1989)*

Dimensions of meaning	Values of features	Structural effects
Contents →	Experiential →	Knowledge/beliefs
Relations →	Relational →	Social relations
Subjects →	Expressive →	Social identities

2. Interpretation is about discourse processes and their dependence on background assumptions (Fairclough, 2001, p. 17).

3. Explanation is concerned with the analysis of the wider socio-cultural context in relation with the textual as well as the intertextual context.

In the analysis, data collection consists in a large number of possessive and descriptive adjectives collected from two political speeches. The speeches were downloaded from the Internet (see Appendix 1 for the links to the websites). The speeches were analyzed using concordance software for text analysis. A free version of this software can be downloaded from this site: <http://www.concordancesoftware.co.uk/>

The concordance served as a time-saving instrument to help sort out feasible and reliable figures that can be analyzed at a regular and systematic basis. In addition, it enabled to generate word lists from the speeches by frequency and by alphabet. Moreover, it enabled to count words and make word lists which can be printed or saved to files. Word frequency lists were sorted out along with *KWIC* and line-based concordances of each of the targeted features for storage. By way of illustration see the example below:

Heroic.....1

Of course, the soldiers left much behind. Some were teenagers when the war began. Many have served multiple tours of duty, far from their families who bore a **heroic** burden of their own, enduring the absence of a husband's embrace or a mother's kiss.

47

'1' refers to word frequency.

'47' refers to the line-based concordance of the word.

This process of data collection was necessary to provide a clear picture of the frequency of occurrence of each of these formal features. After that, a set of possessive and descriptive adjectives that function as subjectivity markers in discourse were identified for investigation. In other words, quantifying the number of occurrence and frequency distribution of these linguistic triggers constitute the primary step in the analysis. However, in complementing the quantitative part of analysis, the exploitation of possessive and descriptive adjectives subjectively and ideologically was done on grounds of a qualitative basis.

Results and Discussion

Describing the Results

Generally speaking, both speeches share a great deal of similarity in many respects mainly in terms of bias and subjectivity. In particular, the set of adjectives having the function of subjectivity markers are found to enable their users to construct an ideological discourse. They served verbalize experiential, relational as well as expressive values. See Table 2. below for more details followed by diagrammatic representations:

Table 2. The number of occurrence of possessive adjectives per speech

Possessive adjectives	My	Your	His	Her	Its	Our	Their	
Number of occurrence	4	0	2	1	8	85	23	President Obama
	1	7	2	0	4	25	5	President Bush

Figure 1. A diagrammatic representation of the frequency distribution of possessive adjectives

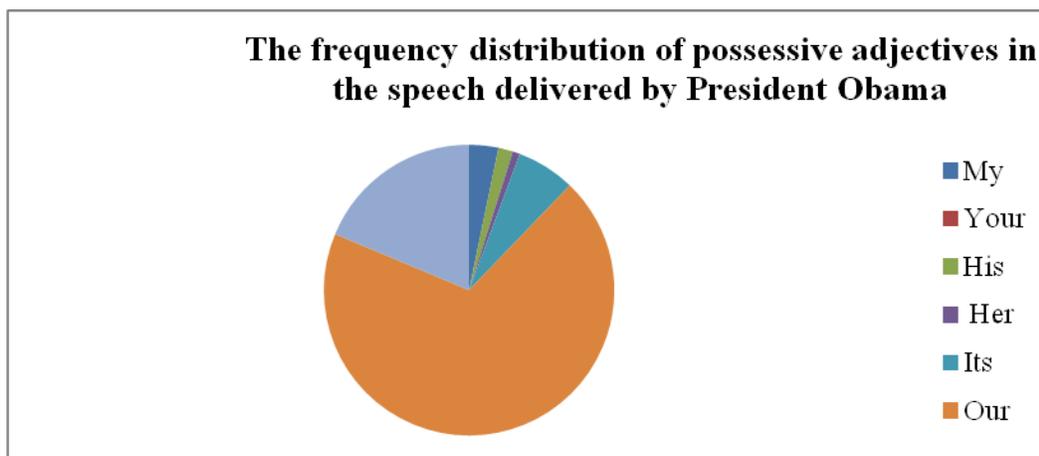
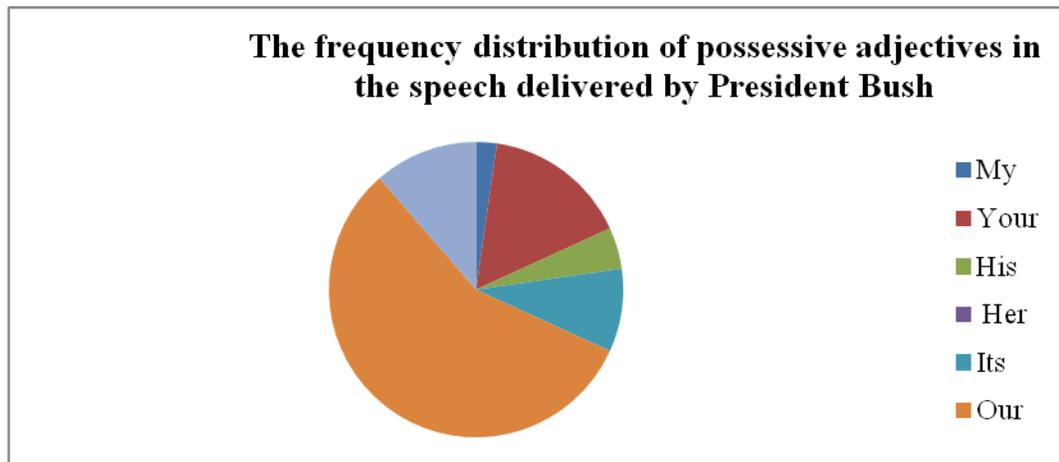


Figure 2. A diagrammatic representation of the frequency distribution of possessive adjectives

The findings show that the number of occurrence of **Our** in Obama's discourse is high (85) followed by **Their** (23), then **Its** (8) and **My** (4). **Your** has no occurrence while **His** is used twice and **Her** has one occurrence. Similarly, in Bush's discourse **Our** is remarkably used most (25 occurrences) followed by **Your** and **Their**. **Her** is not used at all while **Its** is used four times, **His** twice and **My** has one occurrence. In both speeches, **Their** is highly repetitive. This possessive adjective occupies the second position after **Our** in both speeches. However, its distribution is limited, compared to that of **Our**. This limited distribution seems to call for a nuanced account that both speakers were enabled to reproduce reality through an ideological investment of these linguistic triggers. Such ideological investments served as means of misrepresentation namely to draw boundaries of inclusion and exclusion concerning President Saddam Hussein and his regime.

These excerpts from both speeches have been selected to capture evidence from the data on how possessive adjectives are impregnated with ideology:

(2) The Americans who have served in Iraq completed every mission they were given. They defeated a regime that had terrorized **its** people. Together with Iraqis and coalition partners who made huge sacrifices of **their** own, **our** troops fought block by block to help Iraq seize the chance for a better future. They shifted tactics to protect the Iraqi people; trained Iraqi Security Forces; and took out terrorist leaders. Because of **our** troops and civilians -and because of the resilience of the Iraqi people - Iraq has the opportunity to embrace a new destiny, even though many challenges remain. (Obama, L 10, 2010)

(3) It is too late for Saddam Hussein to remain in power. It is not too late for the Iraqi military to act with honor and protect **your** country by permitting the peaceful entry of coalition forces to eliminate weapons of mass destruction. **Our** forces will give Iraqi military units clear instructions on actions they can take to avoid being attacked and destroyed. I urge every member of the Iraqi military and intelligence services, if war comes, do not fight for a dying regime that is not worth **your** own life. (Bush, L15, 2003)

Remarkably, the subjective use of possessive adjectives in collocation with other text properties such as nominalization, passivization and over-lexicalization enhanced the verbalization of experiential, relational and expressive values. Consequently, A distorted picture of people, actions, events and states is projected (e.g. 'terrorist leaders' and a 'dying regime' etc...). The organization of the speakers' social world, for instance, is framed more on a

collective basis than on an individual one, enhancing relations of solidarity and power (e.g. 'Together with Iraqis and coalition partners'). Besides, despite the strong position they hold at the institutional level, speakers are found to struggle in discourse to construct identities namely national identity. They are found to identify themselves with the social group to which they belong (the American society as a whole) as well as with the audience and people around the world for the sake of promoting commonality.

As far as descriptive adjectives are concerned, it is found that despite some differences in use, they are predominantly used as subjectivity markers in both speeches (see Appendix 2 for the data collected of descriptive adjectives as a whole). It is remarkable that most descriptive adjectives are used as subjectivity markers. Both Presidents are found to engage in exploiting discourse subjectively in their use not only of possessive adjectives but also of descriptive adjectives in order to manage the process of dichotomization in representation. By way of illustration, President Saddam Hussein and his regime are portrayed along a negative stereotyped image (e.g. 'aggressive dictators'). As a subsequent result upon the fact that representation is being polarized, two conflicting worlds emerge within a wider frame characterized by a dichotomy of terms; one negative (e.g. 'they can attack the innocent and destroy peace'), the other positive (e.g. 'America tried to work with the United Nations to address this threat because we wanted to resolve the issue peacefully'). By way of illustration, see the following excerpts from the two speeches in which experiential, relational and expressive values are verbalized.

(4) This new approach reflects **our long-term** partnership with Iraq-one based upon mutual interests, and mutual respect. Of course, violence will not end with **our** combat mission. Extremists will continue to set off bombs, attack Iraqi civilians and try to spark sectarian strife. But ultimately, these terrorists will fail to achieve their goals. Iraqis are a proud people. They have rejected **sectarian** war, and they have no interest in **endless** destruction. They understand that, in the end, only Iraqis can resolve their differences and police their streets. Only Iraqis can build a democracy within their borders. What America can do, and will do, is provide support for the Iraqi people as both a friend and a partner. (Obama, L 22, 2010)

(5) Many Iraqis can hear me tonight in a translated radio broadcast, and I have a message for them. If we must begin a military campaign, it will be directed against the **lawless** men who rule **your** country and not against you. As **our coalition** takes away their power, we will deliver the food and medicine you need. We will tear down the apparatus of terror and we will help you to build a new Iraq that is **prosperous** and **free**. In a free Iraq, there will be no more wars of aggression against **your** neighbors, **no more poison factories, no more executions of dissidents, no more torture chambers and rape rooms. The tyrant will soon be gone. The day of your liberation is near.** (Bush, L 14, 2003, emphasis added)

It is obvious that similar versions of reality and/ or ideologies are projected. These findings are also emphasized through the use of an intertextual chaining associated with the history of wars and terrorism as revealed in the interpretation section below.

Interpreting the Results

In this part of analysis, the interpretation of the results will consider only certain forms of intertextuality practices that are cited in Fairclough' work (1996). Among the intertextual cues used in discourse Fairclough (1996) identifies many forms of intertextuality including citations, quotations or references. However, in the interest of space and time, only references to past events will be considered partly because among the merits of exploring intertextuality in discourse is the ability to highlight the historicity of events in connection with the discursivity of discourse practices. Accordingly, all intertextual cues based on references to past events are investigated for ideological investments. The most striking excerpts depicted from the speeches concerning the use of an intertextual chaining based on past events are the following:

(6) Part of that responsibility is making sure that we honor **our** commitments to those who have served **our** country with such valor. *As long as I am President, we will maintain the finest fighting force that the world has ever known*, and do whatever it takes to serve **our** veterans as well as they have served us. This is a **sacred** trust. That is why we have already made one of the largest increases in funding for veterans in decades. We are treating the signature wounds of today's wars **post-traumatic stress and traumatic** brain injury, while providing the health care and benefits that all of our veterans have earned. And we are funding a *post-9/11 GI Bill* that helps our veterans and their families pursue the dream of a college education. Just as the GI Bill helped those who fought *World War II*- including **my grandfather**- become the backbone of **our** middle class, so today's servicemen and women must have the chance to apply their gifts to expand the American economy. **Because part of ending a war responsibly is standing by those who have fought it.** (Obama, L 44, 2010, emphasis added)

(7) The regime has **a history of reckless aggression in** the Middle East. It has a deep hatred of America and **our** friends. And it has aided, trained and harbored terrorists, including operatives of al Qaeda. (Bush, L 5, 2003, emphasis added)

Being aware of the significant effects of discourse on public reaction and attitudes, both Presidents feature to texture events associated with the history of terrorism into the original event (e.g. 'The regime has **a history of reckless aggression in** the Middle East'). Consequently, the topical chaining of terrorist attacks is conceptualized in terms of a dichotomous representation (e.g. reference to Osama bin Laden). On the one hand, President Bush is reported on many occasions, prior to the speech under investigation, to portray President Saddam Hussein as a criminal who has already committed genocide by means of Weapons of Mass Destruction (abbreviated WMD). On the other hand, the same image is projected in President Obama's discourse who manages to reinforce the underlying belief that Bush's commitment to the Iraq war though costly, was based on moral duty and obligation (e.g. 'This is a **sacred** trust').

Strikingly, the prevailing ideology imparted by the linguistic triggers under investigation is one that favors the *self* and condemns the *other*. This can be largely indicated by reference to other events that have historical associations with the notion of war and/ terrorism. More specifically, reference to the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington of September 11, 2001 is highly repetitive in their discourse.

Generally speaking, in imparting an ideological discourse which is overloaded with assumptions, the chief objectives of these speakers is to control the hearer's mind and justify unjustifiable actions through persuasion rather than force. In coloring discourse with subjectivity markers, which Fowler (1991) calls 'over-lexicalization,' they are but struggling in discourse to manage the projection of the image of the democratic leader. Needless to say, in their struggle for identity construction and self image protection, they are justifying the American influence around the world which necessitates the use of all sorts of power including an effective diplomacy and a strong economy.

Explaining the Results

After interpreting the results one needs to explain them. To this end, three aspects are essential at the explanatory level. These are, as stated by Fairclough, the social determinants of discourse, the manifestation of MR(s) as ideologies and the social effects of discourse. Firstly, according to Fairclough (2001, 2003) the connection of discourse to power relations represents its social determinants. Therefore, it could be said that the rhetoric used by both Presidents to control people's minds on the basis of rightness was much guided by their powerful institutional positions and as the leaders of the free world. Secondly, by means of the subjective use of the linguistic triggers under investigation both Presidents are found to exploit discourse ideologically

to project their world views and assumptions so as to justify unjustifiable actions on the basis of shared values and religious grounds (e.g. 'rightness', 'justice', 'brotherhood'...), to name but a few. Thirdly, both Presidents while underlying their authority/right to speak to others, they managed the role of the information provider effectively. In the following excerpts, for instance, both of them are found to reinforce the underlying belief that commitment to the war though costly, is based on moral duty and obligation.

(8) Today, old adversaries are at peace, and emerging democracies are potential partners. New markets for our goods stretch from Asia to the Americas. A new push for peace in the Middle East will begin here tomorrow. Billions of young people want to move beyond the shackles of poverty and conflict. As the leader of the free world, America will do more than just defeat on the battlefield those who offer hatred and destruction - **we will also lead among those who are willing to work together to expand freedom and opportunity for all people.** (Obama, L35, 2010)

(9) In the case of Iraq, the Security Council did act, in the early 1990s. Under Resolutions 678 and 687 - both still in effect - the United States and **our** allies are **authorized** to use force in ridding Iraq of weapons of mass destruction. This is not a question of authority, **it is a question of will.** (Bush, L 10, 2003)

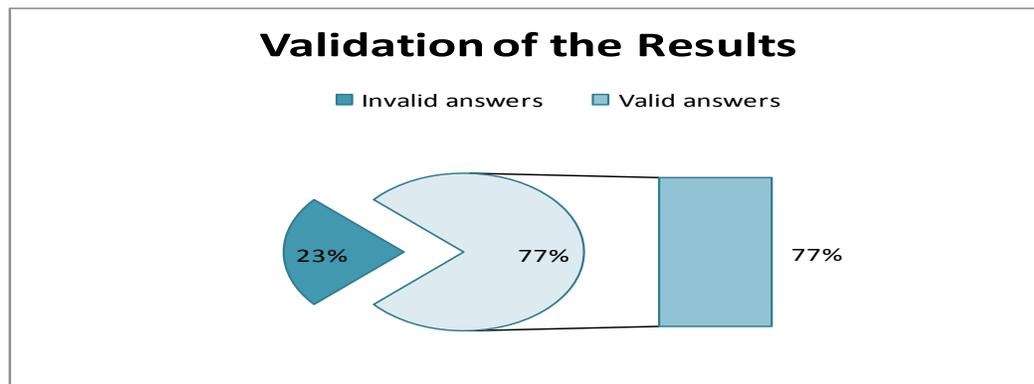
In these two speeches, adjectives are functioning as subjectivity markers enabling their users to polarize representation, formulate and attenuate claims to redefine the American identity not only for the American nation but also for the outside world (Rampton & Stauber, 2003). It is as asserted by Rampton and Stauber in their book *Weapons of mass deception* (2003) the reproductive effects of ideological/ subjective discourse has to do with contestation and struggle. In this respect, it could be said that both Presidents seem to be aware that the U.S. propaganda 'blitz' may be 'destined to fail' namely in the Muslim world (Rampton & Stauber, 2003, p. 13). It could be said also that this 'guerrilla war' and/ or 'propaganda war' as widely described was the drop that made the cup overflow.

Validating and Discussing the Results

Validating the results is an important step in carrying out this investigation. Therefore, a validation test was designed for each speech. A randomly selected list of items from the data collected was tested including two multiple-choice questions and a final open-ended question (see Appendix 3 for the statement of the validation test questions and sample items from the speeches used for validation). Most of the respondents to the tests were MA students of Linguistics from the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences of Tunis and the Faculty of Letters, Arts and Humanities, Manouba. The total number of respondents to the tests was 33 (12 males and 21 females). The results obtained from their answers were compared with the results obtained in this investigation. After that, two values were extracted; one refers to the number of valid answers; the other to the number of invalid answers. The difference between the two values was checked for significance. It was found that there is no significant difference between both values. This indicates that the results were valid.

Below is a diagrammatic representation for the two values one looked for in the validation test:

Figures 3. A *diagrammatic representation of the two values obtained in the validation of the results*



After validating the results it is noteworthy to discuss and conclude the findings in light of the research questions asked in the methodology section. The questions raised were about whether President Obama managed 'to turn the page' or not; did both Presidents hold similar assumptions about the natural world around them and to what extent subjectivity was reflected in, by and through their discourse.

In brief, it seems that President Obama did not manage 'to turn the page' as he promised. He appeared to continue President Bush's policy in dealing with the issue of the Gulf War (2003). Moreover, the assumptions about the natural world of the Ex US President and his successor are found to be similar. The adjectives investigated in this study were used subjectively to include various assumptions serving particular ideological ends; one of these aims is to maintain power namely on countries of the Middle East. By way of illustration, see the following excerpt from the data collected:

(10) Today, old adversaries are at peace, and emerging democracies are potential partners. New markets for our goods stretch from Asia to the Americas. A new push for peace in the Middle East will begin here tomorrow. Billions of young people want to move beyond the shackles of poverty and conflict. **As the leader of the free world**, America will do more than just defeat on the battlefield those who offer hatred and destruction -we will also lead among those who are willing to work together to expand freedom and opportunity for all people. (Obama, L35, 2010, emphasis added)

Noteworthy though, instances of struggle in, over and through discourse are prevailing not only promoting a strong nationalistic sentiment during the war time period and after but also signaling their involvement in positioning, stereotyping and evaluating people and events.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research paper has revealed the extent to which politicians can be skilled in using language as a weapon. It has shown that, like any piece of discourse, political speech is overloaded with assumptions and world views. Most often these world views are biased and subjective because as stated by Bolinger (1980) language is a 'loaded weapon'. It is also political in the broadest sense of the word in so far it serves its users' goals (Burton, 1982). Namely, struggle in, over and through discourse for control and manipulation (Fairclough, 1992) can serve as an evidence of how and why discourse users veil their intents and mystify their discourse objectives. Nevertheless, much can be said on other discourse strategies that help

politicians gain political skill through language skill. Among these strategies is the use of hedging in discourse which is absolutely subordinate to the study of subjectivity and bias, though little research has been done on it. The issue of Hedges and/ or hedging is a highly sophisticated object of enquiry. Furthermore, being defined as metadiscursive operators; hedges play an optimal role in the enactment of power and control relations in discourse metadiscursively.

About the author

Hela Ajmi currently teaches Language Skills at the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences of Tunis, Tunisia. She holds an M.A. in Applied Linguistics, and she is completing her PhD in Political and Media Studies. She is a member of Tunisia TESOL, and a member of TESOL International Association. Her areas of interest include ESP, Language Pedagogy, Pragmatics, and Critical Discourse Analysis.

References

- Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. In B. Brewster (ed.), *Lenin and Philosophy* (pp. 127-186). London: New Left Books.
- Bolinger, D. (1980). *Language, the loaded weapon: The use and abuse of language*. London: Longman.
- Bréal, M. (1964). *Semantics: Studies in the science of meaning*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Burton, D (1982). Through dark glasses, through glass darkly. In R. Carter (ed.), *Language and Literature* (pp.195- 214). London: Allen and Unwin.
- Chiapello, E., & Fairclough, N. (2002). Understanding the New Management Ideology: A transdisciplinary contribution from Critical Discourse Analysis and the new sociology of capitalism, *Discourse & Society*, 13 (2), 185-208.
- Foucault, M. (1984). 'The order of discourse'. In M. Shapiro (ed.), *Language and Politics* (pp. 108-38). New York: New York University Press.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the news: Discourse and ideology in the press*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1996). A reply to Henry Widdowson's 'Discourse analysis: A critical view', *Language and Literature*, 5 (1), 49-56.
- Fairclough, N. (1998). Political Discourse in the Media: An analytical framework. In B. Allan & P. Garrett (eds.), *Approaches To Media Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and Power* (2nd edition). London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (1993). Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse: The Universities, *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 133-168.
- Janks, H. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis as a research tool, *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education*, 18(3), 329-42.
- Rampton, S., & Stauber, J. (2003). *Weapons of Mass Deception: The uses of propaganda in Bush's war on Iraq*. New York: Penguin Group.

Appendices

Appendix A. Links to the websites for the speeches

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/08/31/obama-iraq-speech-read-ex_n_701197.html

(President Obama's Address to the Nation)

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/mar/18/usa.iraq>

(President George Bush's war ultimatum speech from the Cross Hall in the White House)

Appendix B. The data collected from both speeches of descriptive adjectives including their number of occurrence.

Descriptive adjectives in the speech delivered by President Obama	Number of occurrence		Descriptive adjectives in the speech delivered by President Obama
able	1	1	good
abroad	4	1	global
accountable	1	1	good
additional	1	17	Iraqi
afghan	3	1	Iraqi-led
alone	1	1	largest
American	6	1	lasting
anchored	2	1	limited
awed	1	1	limitless
based	3	3	long
better	4	3	long-term
born	1	1	longest
brave	1	1	lowest
central	2	1	manufacturing
common	1	3	military
considerable	1	1	mindful
consistent	1	2	mutual
constant	1	2	necessary
contentious	1	6	new
counter-terrorism	1	1	old
credible	1	1	ongoing
darkest	1	1	open-ended
dedicated	1	7	over
determined	1	3	political
different	1	1	post-9/11
difficult	1	1	post-traumatic
displaced	1	1	Potential
early	1	2	pre-dawn
economic	1	2	proud
emerging	1	1	real
encountered	1	1	remarkable

endless	1	1	representative
enormous	1	2	rough
essential	1	1	sacred
extremist	1	3	secure
faraway	1	1	strained
final	1	2	strong
financed	1	1	sure
finest	1	1	targeted
fired	1	2	terrorist
foreign	1	1	tested
former	1	1	tight
free	1	2	tough
general	1	1	transitional
given	1	1	traumatic
global	1	1	true
great	1	1	ultimate
grounded	1	1	unbroken
growing	1	6	united
harder	1	1	urgent
heroic	1	1	vast
historic	1	3	willing
huge	2	1	wounded
human	2	3	young
inclusive	1		

Descriptive adjectives in the speech delivered by President Bush	Number of occurrence		Descriptive adjectives in the speech delivered by President Bush
Additional	1	1	honorable
aggressive	1	2	human
allowed	1	1	inevitable
American	3	2	innocent
armed	1	1	intimidated
attacked	1	12	Iraqi
authorized	1	1	lawless
biological	2	1	lethal
broad	1	1	long
bugged	1	1	long-standing
capable	1	1	major
certain	1	5	mass
chemical	2	1	material
clear	2	7	military

creative	1	1	multiplied
critical	1	1	murderous
deadly	2	1	national
deceived	1	2	new
deep	1	2	nuclear
deepest	1	1	obtained
destroyed	1	5	peaceful
devised	1	1	permanent
diminished	1	1	Persian
directed	1	1	possible
disarmed	1	1	prepared
dying	1	1	private
early	1	1	prosecuted
fair	1	1	prosperous
fearful	1	1	public
felt	1	1	punished
final	1	2	recent
foreign	1	1	reckless
formal	1	1	removed
founded	1	1	self-governing
fragile	1	1	serious
free	5	1	stated
full	2	1	strongest
further	1	1	taken
gathered	1	3	terrorist
general	1	1	self-governing
global	1	1	threatened
gone	1	1	translated
good	2	1	undeniable
greater	1	11	united
greatest	1	1	violent
heightened	1	1	vital

Appendix C. Statement of the validation test questions

The aim of this validation test is to validate the data I collected from the speeches investigated for the analysis of the subjective use of possessive and descriptive adjectives in political discourse. It is my duty to keep your responses confidential and restricted in use to this investigation. Thank you very much for your collaboration.

1. Say whether the highlighted adjective is used subjectively in discourse or not (circle the right alternative).
 - a. Subjective
 - b. Objective
 - c. Other

2. Which prevailing value does this adjective convey (circle the right alternative)?

- a. Solidarity
 - b. Distance
 - c. Power
 - d. dichotomization
3. Which lexical items in collocation with this adjective helped you guess the right answer? (Questions 2 and 3 do not apply to adjectives which are used objectively)
-
-

Excerpts from the speeches	Questions
<p>Ending this war is not only in Iraq's interest- it is in our own. The United States has paid a huge price to put the future of Iraq in the hands of its people. We have sent our young men and women to make enormous sacrifices in Iraq, and spent vast resources abroad at a time of tight budgets at home. We have persevered because of a belief we share with the Iraqi people -a belief that out of the ashes of war, a new beginning could be born in this cradle of civilization. Through this remarkable chapter in the history of the United States and Iraq, we have met our responsibility. Now, it is time to turn the page. (line 23, Obama, 2010)</p>	<p>1. a, b, c</p> <p>2. a, b, c, d</p> <p>3. Selected lexical items:</p>
<p>Americans across the political spectrum supported the use of force against those who attacked us on 9/11. Now, as we approach our 10th year of combat in Afghanistan, there are those who are understandably asking tough questions about our mission there. But we must never lose sight of what's at stake. As we speak, al Qaeda continues to plot against us, and its leadership remains anchored in the border region of Afghanistan and Pakistan. We will disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda, while preventing Afghanistan from again serving as a base for terrorists. And because of our drawdown in Iraq, we are now able to apply the resources necessary to go on offense. In fact, over the last 19 months, nearly a dozen al Qaeda leaders -and hundreds of Al Qaeda's extremist allies- have been killed or captured around the world. (line 29, Obama, 2010)</p>	<p>1. a, b, c</p> <p>2. a, b, c, d</p> <p>3. Selected lexical items:</p>
<p>Those Americans gave their lives for the values that have lived in the hearts of our people for over two centuries. Along with nearly 1.5 million Americans who have served in Iraq, they fought in a faraway place for people they never knew. They stared into the darkest of human creations -war -and helped the Iraqi people seek the light of peace. (line 49, Obama, 2010)</p>	<p>1. a, b, c</p> <p>2. a, b, c, d</p> <p>3. Selected lexical items:</p>
<p>Two weeks ago, America's final combat brigade in Iraq -the Army's Fourth Stryker Brigade -journeyed home in the pre-dawn darkness. Thousands of soldiers and hundreds of vehicles made the trip from Baghdad, the last of them passing into Kuwait in the early morning hours. Over seven years before, American troops and coalition partners had fought their way across similar highways, but this time no shots were fired. It was just a convoy of brave Americans, making their way home. (line 46, Obama, 2010)</p>	<p>1. a, b, c</p> <p>2. a, b, c, d</p> <p>3. Selected lexical items:</p>

<p>The Iraqi regime has used diplomacy as a ploy to gain time and advantage. It has uniformly defied Security Council resolutions demanding full disarmament. Over the years, U.N. weapon inspectors have been threatened by Iraqi officials, electronically bugged, and systematically deceived. Peaceful efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime have failed again and again -- because we are not dealing with peaceful men. (line 3, Bush, 2003)</p>	<p>1. a, b, c 2. a, b, c, d 3. Selected lexical items: </p>
<p>Many Iraqis can hear me tonight in a translated radio broadcast, and I have a message for them. If we must begin a military campaign, it will be directed against the lawless men who rule your country and not against you. As our coalition takes away their power, we will deliver the food and medicine you need. We will tear down the apparatus of terror and we will help you to build a new Iraq that is prosperous and free. In a free Iraq, there will be no more wars of aggression against your neighbors, no more poison factories, no more executions of dissidents, no more torture chambers and rape rooms. The tyrant will soon be gone. The day of your liberation is near. (line 14, Bush, 2003)</p>	<p>1. a, b, c 2. a, b, c, d 3. Selected lexical items: </p>
<p>The cause of peace requires all free nations to recognize new and undeniable realities. In the 20th century, some chose to appease murderous dictators, whose threats were allowed to grow into genocide and global war. In this century, when evil men plot chemical, biological and nuclear terror, a policy of appeasement could bring destruction of a kind never before seen on this earth. (line 22, Bush, 2003)</p>	<p>1. a, b, c 2. a, b, c, d 3. Selected lexical items: </p>
<p>As we enforce the just demands of the world, we will also honor the deepest commitments of our country. Unlike Saddam Hussein, we believe the Iraqi people are deserving and capable of human liberty. And when the dictator has departed, they can set an example to all the Middle East of a vital and peaceful and self-governing nation. (line 24, Bush, 2003)</p>	<p>1. a, b, c 2. a, b, c, d 3. Selected lexical items: </p>

Thank you very much for your time and consideration

Full Name:

Signature: