

**A MICRO STRUCTURAL LEVEL OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
ON BARACK OBAMA'S POLITICAL SPEECHES**

THESIS

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**ENGLISH LETTERS AND LANGUAGE DEPARTMENT
HUMANITIES AND CULTURE FACULTY
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THESIS

Presented to
The State Islamic University of Malang
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by Syahril Siddik
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STATEMENT OF THE AUTHENTICITY

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declare that the thesis I wrote to fulfil the requirement for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra (SI)* in English Language and Letters Department, Humanities and Culture Faculty, the State Islamic University of Malang entitled *a Micro-Structural Level of Analysis of Discourse on an American Senator Barack Obama's Political Speeches* is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by another person except those indicated in quotations and bibliography. Due to this fact, I am the only person responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

Malang, 25th of June 2008

The Researcher

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APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that the *Sarjana's* thesis on the title *A Micro-Structural Level of Analysis of Discourse on an American Senator Barack Obama's Political Speeches* has been approved by the thesis advisor for further approval by the Board of Examiners.

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MOTTO

Be consistent, Work hard and Live well



DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to:

My beloved parents who always support my dreams.

My younger brother who always trusts me.

My advisor, Sakban Rosidi, M.Si who always supports me and has guided me to conduct this research.

My dearest friends of PKLI Pusat Bahasa Surabaya, the best friends I have.

Barack Obama and David Plouffe, his manager campaign who have sent me the data and news.

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I thank Allah SWT. for His blessing and mercy until I can accomplish my thesis entitled *A Micro Structural Level of Analysis of Discourse on an American Senator Barack Obama's Political Speeches* as the requirement for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra*. Solawat and Salam are delivered to the prophet, Muhammad saw. who has guided his followers to the right way.

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Malang, 30 May 2008
Author,

Syahril Siddik

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ABSTRACT

Siddik, Syahril. 2008. *A Micro Structural Level of Analysis of Discourse on an American Senator Barack Obama's Political Speeches*. Thesis, Linguistics, English Letters and Language Department, the State Islamic University of Malang.

Advisor : Sakban Rosidi, M.Si

Key words: Critical Discourse Analysis, Discursive tactics, Micro structural level.

Language is produced intentionally by human beings for particular goals in communication. It functions as a means to seek for self-interest and it is related to power relations among people. They, therefore, use strategies and tactics to influence other people in order their goals can be realized. It is very interesting to investigate and analyze the ways Barack Obama as the presidential nomination from Democratic Party in the United States uses discursive tactics to influence the audiences. How does Barack Obama use Micro structural level strategies of discourse in his political speeches? What are the tactics on word structure used by Barack Obama? What are the tactics on phrasal structure used by Barack Obama? What are the tactics on expression or oral structure used by Barack Obama? What are the tactics on sentential structure used by Barack Obama?

To answer the problems, the researcher adopts Critical Discourse Analysis introduced by Teun A. van Dijk about discourse structures as macro structure, super structure, and micro structure. The researcher, then, focuses on Micro structure. Methodologically, the researcher exerts descriptive qualitative study as his research design. The data are collected by skimming reading and analyzed by applying intensive reading.

From all three studied speeches, the findings show that Barack Obama uses Micro structural level strategies of discourse to enhance the cohesion and coherence of his political speeches. In the tactics on word structure, he uses pronoun, generalization, intensifiers, trivializing words, discourse markers, and sensory words. The tactics on phrasal structure consist of noun phrase, adjective phrase, and verb phrase. In the tactics on oral structure, there are oral discourse markers and ungrammatical sentence. At last, in the tactics on sentential structure, he chooses temporal sentence, passive voice, rhetorical question, and repetition.

Barack Obama frequently applies pronoun in word structure to induce the cohesion and coherence of the discourse. In phrasal structure, he often uses noun phrase combined with articles, possessive pronouns, and adjectives. He, furthermore, frequently stimulates his audiences to think of certain time through temporal sentences. This study supports van Dijk's discourse structures that are divided into macro structure, super structure, and micro structure.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter elaborates on the background of the study, problem statements, and objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitation of the study and clarification definition of the key terms.

1.1 Background of the Study

It is self-evident that language plays a very vital role in advancing human civilization. As a means to exchange message, language enables humans preserve and develop their civilization. By language, humans can transfer their ideas, share their thought, and create civilization. This is what makes human beings are different from other creatures in this world. According to Yule language is a complex system of meaningful vocal symbols.¹

Some linguists claim that although animals have a means to communicate among their groups but it does not belong to language because of several reasons. Firstly, animal's language can not develop like what humans have. Linguists, therefore, agree that animals do not have language but they have only "sign" that is used to interact among their groups. Secondly, other groups of animal can not learn and produce the other's language while human can speak more than one language. Lastly, several studies have been conducted to examine whether animals have language or not, but the results prove that they can not speak like

¹ George Yule. 1985. *The Study of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

human. For example, an experiment on chimpanzees, linguists have taught them language, but they can only speak what they have heard and can not develop it. In conclusion, they can only imitate.

The beginning of human language itself, however, is still in debate among linguists and language philosophers. There are no certain facts or data that can explain us scientifically of when firstly human language emerges. Most of linguists just assume it and it ends in controversies. In accordance with al-Qur'an, Surah al-Baqarah, verses 30—34, as one who lives and dedicates his life in the State Islamic University of Malang, Rahardjo, states that indeed language firstly emerged a long with the emergence of Adam, the father of human beings.²

يُفْسِدُ مَنْ فِيهَا اتَّجَعَلُ قَالُوا خَلِيفَةَ الْأَرْضِ فِي جَاعِلٌ إِيَّيَ لِلْمَلٰئِكَةِ رَبُّكَ قَالَ وَإِذْ وَعَلَّمَ ﴿٣٠﴾ تَعَلَّمُونَ لَا مَا أَعَلَّمَ إِيَّيَ قَالَ لَكَ وَتُقَدِّسُ بِحَمْدِكَ نُسَبِّحُ وَحَنُ الدِّمَاءِ وَدَسْفِكَ فِيهَا صَدِيقِينَ كُنْتُمْ إِنْ هَتُّوْلَاءِ بِأَسْمَاءِ أَنْبِيُونِي فَقَالَ الْمَلٰئِكَةِ عَلَى عَرْضِهِمْ ثُمَّ كُلَّهَا الْأَسْمَاءِ ءَادَمَ يَتَّادُمْ قَالَ ﴿٣١﴾ الْحَكِيمُ الْعَلِيمُ أَنْتَ إِنْكَ عِلْمَتِنَا مَا إِلَّا لَنَا عِلْمٌ لَا سُبْحَانَكَ قَالُوا ﴿٣٢﴾ وَالْأَرْضِ السَّهَوَاتِ غَيْبَ أَعَلَّمَ إِيَّيَ لَكُمْ أَقُلَ أَلَمْ قَالَ بِأَسْمَائِهِمْ أَنْبَاءَهُمْ فَلَمَّا بِأَسْمَائِهِمْ أَنْبِئَهُمْ إِبْلِيسَ إِلَّا فَسَجِدُوا لِأَادَمَ أَسْجُدُوا لِلْمَلٰئِكَةِ قُلْنَا وَإِذْ ﴿٣٣﴾ تَكْتَبُونَ كُنْتُمْ وَمَا تُبْدُونَ مَا وَأَعَلَّمَ ﴿٣٤﴾ الْكٰفِرِينَ مِنْ وَكَانَ وَأَسْتَكْبَرُ أَبَى

Behold, thy lord said to the angels: "I will create a vicegerent on earth". They said: "wilt Thou place therein one who will make mischief therein and shed blood? Whilst we do celebrate Thy praises and glorify Thy holy (name)?" He said: "I know what ye know not" (verse: 30).

² Mudjia Rahardjo. 2006. *Bahasa, Pemikiran dan Peradaban [Language, Thought, and Civilization]*. Malang: Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Malang. p. 4.

And He taught Adam the names of all things; then He placed them before the angels, and said: "Tell Me the names of these if ye are right" (verse: 31).

They said: "Glorify to thee: Of knowledge we have none, save what Thou hast taught us: in truth it is Thou who art perfect in knowledge and wisdom" (verse: 32).

He said: "O' Adam! Tell them their names". When he had told them their names, Allah said: "Did I not tell you that I know the secrets of heaven and earth, and I know what ye reveal, what ye conceal?" (verse: 33).

And behold, We said to the angels: "Bow down to Adam": and they bowed down: Not so Iblis (Satan): He refused and was haughty: He was of those who reject faith (verse: 34).³

Although the debate of the beginning of language still runs, it will not reduce the significance and the urgency of language in human life.

The use of language is not for communication only, but also it is used for other purposes. Some people, moreover, use language to achieve and reach an intention. Politicians use language to influence other's opinion to create an agreement or support to what they say and act or perhaps to control their power. A presidential candidate, for instance, uses language in his or her speeches to persuade and convince people that he or she is qualified to be the next president and what he or she asserts about some issues is true based on his or her arguments. Thus, language is a means to reach some purposes.⁴

Since language has a very important role in human life, some experts give more concerns with language. Afterward, there is a particular discipline that

³ *Qur'an, Karim*. Translated by Abdallah Yousouf Ali corrected and revised by F. Amira Zrein Matraji. 1999. Beirut: Dar el-Fikr.

⁴ Elaine Chaika. 1982. *Language the Social Mirror*. Massachusetts: Newbury House Publisher, Inc.

studies language that is recognized as Linguistics. Linguistics is the study of human language.⁵ More specific, Linguistics is the study of a systematic meaningful vocal symbol.

Discourse Analysis is one of Interdisciplinary Linguistics. There is recently a perspective of Discourse Analysis that is very well-known among Discourse Analysts. Critical Discourse Analysis is a new perspective in language studies in which it has main foundation that states language is a means to fulfil goal and interest and related to the power. It means that every people communicate and produce language to reach the aim of the communication at least and to influence other people.

There are several versions of Critical Discourse Analysis. One of the versions of Critical Discourse Analysis, that is more applicable and that provides complete version of discourse, is Discourse Structures that are introduced by Teun A. van Dijk. He declares that there is a complete version of discourse: Macro Structure, Micro Structure, and Super Structure.⁶ Macro Structure is a general or global meaning of a particular text that is examined by focusing on topics of the text, Super Structure is a sequence of a text such as how elements and structures of discourse are arranged in a full body of text, and Micro Structure is concerned with the meanings of discourse by investigating and analyzing words, sentences, propositions, and phrases.⁷

⁵ H. G. Widdowson. 1996. *Linguistics*. London: Oxford University Press. p. 3.

⁶ Tuen A. van Dijk. 2004. *from Text Grammar to Critical Discourse Analysis*. Working Paper. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Vol. 2.

⁷ Sakban Rosidi. 2007. *Analisis Wacana Kritis sebagai Ragam Paradigma Kajian Wacana [Critical Discourse Analysis as Variance of Paradigm of Inquiry on Discourse]*. Working Paper. Malang: Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Malang. p. 10.

In this research, the researcher investigates the phenomena of Micro-structural level of American Senator, Barack Obama's political speeches. This model of Critical Discourse Analysis is considered fit to this phenomenon of language because political speeches that are delivered by a presidential candidate of course have goals to influence other people. Eventually, this research attempts to answer the question about discursive tactics of Micro Structure which are used by Barack Obama in his political speeches.

Barack Husein Obama is one of American presidential candidates of Democrat party in the general election 2008. Barack Obama is a first-term senator from Illinois. Previously, he served in the Illinois state Legislature and worked as a civil rights attorney. He has proposed legislation that would create a new employment eligibility system for companies to verify if their employees are legal residents. Barack Obama, whose father is from Kenya, is considered by Americans to be the first African-American candidate with a reasonable chance of winning the presidency. He was born in forth of August 1961, in Hawaii and has ever lived in Indonesia to study in one of Junior High Schools in Menteng, Jakarta. He attended Columbia University in New York and earned a law degree at Harvard University in Massachusetts.

The researcher chooses four Barack Obama's speeches concerning with Iraqi war which are considered as the representation of his global ideas for overcoming Iraqi war because of several reasons. Firstly, this topic has great attention from Americans because he does not take a vote to support war in Iraq. Secondly, in his campaign, his opinion about war in Iraq is becoming a main gun

to get support from Americans and effectively it can fight other candidates opinion.⁸ Thirdly, as informed by most of mass media in the world, besides his struggle to build good politics, his words always inspire the audience who hear it.⁹ Lastly, after *Super Tuesday*, he has preceded his senior senator, Hillary Clinton in acquiring superdelegates who determine the president candidate from Democrat party in the general election through reclaiming again and again his opposition to the wrong war.¹⁰

We know all people recognize that all presidential candidates use language as a means to influence people, but what they know is not systematic. Therefore, this research attempts to analyze the political speeches systematically based discursive tactics on Micro Structure.

In conclusion, for its significance and with this specification that have been mentioned above, the researcher analyzes “*A Micro-Structural Level of Analysis of Discourse on Barack Husein Obama’s Political Speeches*”.

1.2 Problem Statements

This study focuses, in general, on how Barack Obama uses Micro-structural level strategies in his political speeches. This question, then, can be specified into four questions as follows:

1.2.1 What are the tactics on word structure used by Barack Obama?

⁸ Barack Obama. 2006. *Menerjang Harapan [The Audacity of Hope]*. Translated by Ruslani and Lulu Rahman. 2007. Jakarta: Ufuk Press. p. 13.

⁹ Juhairi Misrawi. 13th of February, 2008. *Penantian Obama [Obama’s Waiting]*. Jawa Pos. p. 4.

¹⁰ David Crary. 2008. *Black Americans Worried Obama’s Safety*. Working Paper. New York: National Writer.

1.2.2 What are the tactics on phrasal structure used by Barack Obama?

1.2.3 What are the tactics on expression or oral structure used by Barack Obama?

1.2.4 What are the tactics on sentential structure used by Barack Obama?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study in general is to produce descriptive knowledge on discursive tactics on a Micro-structural level of discourse that is used by Barack Obama in his political speeches. This objective can be specified into four specific objectives that are to produce the descriptive knowledge on the tactics on word structure, phrasal structure, expression or oral structure, and sentential structure that are used by Barack Obama.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This research is academically to enrich the study of discourse especially the variances of Critical Discourse Analysis and linguistically to recognize tactics on words, phrases, expressions and sentences that are used in discourse. In addition, practically it is very useful to recognize the Micro Structural level of Barack Obama's political speeches as the presidential candidate of the United States.

1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study

Barack Obama is an American Senator from Illinois with special skills and charisma. He is well-known as an incredible orator. There are many speeches he has delivered in front of Americans such as *A Change we can believe in*, *Politics of Conscience*, *Reclaiming American Dream*, and so on.

This study only focuses on Barack Obama's political speeches concerning with the issues about Iraqi war from November 2006 until the end of 2007. These speeches are chosen because these display his views on international relationships with other countries in the world especially a country that in fact against America like Iraq. Further, these speeches are also a step in which he started his success to continue his campaign until *Super Tuesday*. Furthermore, these speeches are expected too to give information how he look at Moslems who temporally are considered as terrorists in the world by most of Americans. The writer selects particular time of speeches from November 2006 until the end of 2007 because the issues are still interesting to discuss because at that time the Iraqi war still newly ended and there were many opinions discussing about it from other Senators.

I admit my disability in finding the original text of the speeches. The data in this study are taken from the internet in the website www.barackobama.com-speeches. All of the texts of his speeches are available. I copied them into my own documents. Although the data are from the internet, these can be justified as valid data as long as we can check them in its website. I admit, then, that the theory that is used in this study is still new because there are only several researchers who

have used it. The investigation on Micro-structural level is rarely done. Indeed, this opportunity becomes important chance for the researcher to study in order to extend the discourse studies.

1.6 Clarification Definition of the Key Terms

1.6.1 *Micro-structural level* is the degree of small units of discourse which are used to influence the recipients of discourse.

1.6.2 *Discursive tactics* is the way how discourse influences the recipients.

1.6.3 *Tactics on word structure* is a strategy of using certain words in the discourse to influence the recipients.

1.6.4 *Tactics on phrasal structure* is a strategy of using certain phrases in the discourse to influence the recipients.

1.6.5 *Tactics on oral structure* is a strategy of using oral expressions in the discourse to influence the recipients.

1.6.6 *Tactics on sentential structure* is a strategy of using certain sentences in the discourse to influence the recipients.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents some theories that are related to this study. The discussion covers Discourse, Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, some models of Critical Discourse Analysis. The detailed explanation is described in the following sub-headings.

2.1 Discourse

The word “discourse” is derived from Latin’s word “discursus” which has broad meanings firstly introduced according to Givon by Longacre as communication that occurs between addressers and addressees.¹¹ In our daily lives, it is familiar to hear people talk about discourse. Discourse is a term that is used not only in linguistics but also it is used in several disciplines like sociology, psychology, medical science, politics, and excreta. In linguistics, Oetomo and Kartomihardjo in Rahardjo define discourse as a verbal language sequence that is broader than a sentence.¹² Although discourse has a number of meanings, just like language in linguistics, it has the specific meanings in which it is always more than a sentence because most of discourse have an ideology and a purpose.

Discourse is a very complex part in linguistics. According to Sumarlam discourse is a complete unit of language that is stated orally such speeches and

¹¹ J. Gee. 1999. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*
London: Routledge.

¹² Mudjia Rahardjo. 2007. *Hermeneutika Gadamerian: Kuasa Bahasa dalam Wacana Politik Gus Dur*. Malang: UIN-Malang Press. p. 67.

dialogues or in written texts such as short story, novels, books, and written documents.¹³ Discourse is not only a complete unit but also it is the unity of meanings. As revealed by Yuwono, discourse is the unity of semantic meanings in language construction.¹⁴ Studying discourse, therefore, becomes valuable among linguists and language philosophers. In Linguistics, Widdowson defines Discourse as an area of the language study is concerned with how people make meaning and make out of meaning in texts and as social practice. All texts, whether simple or complex, are the uses of language which are produced with the interest to refer to something for some purpose.¹⁵ In this study, discourse is the structure of language that is more complex than a sentence.

As the unity of language in communication, discourse can be classified based on its part. Some linguists such as Jacobson and Harimurti Kridalaksana have attempted to classify discourse based on language function. According to Leech in Yuwono discourse can be classified based the function of language as follows:

2.1.1 Expressive discourse

If the discourse comes from the speaker's or writers opinion as a medium to express his or her ideas like speeches and some writing texts.

2.1.2 Opening discourse

¹³ Sumarlam. 1993. *Teori dan Praktik Analisis Wacana [Theory and Practice of Discourse Analysis]*. Surakarta: Pustaka Cakra Surakarta. p. 15.

¹⁴ Untung Yuwono. 2005. Wacana. In Kushartanti, Untung Yuwono and Multamia RMT Lauder (Ed.). *Pesona Bahasa: Langkah Awal Memahami Linguistik [Enchantment of Language: Introduction to understand Linguistics]* (p. 91—103). Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama. p. 92.

¹⁵ H. G. Widdowson. 2007. *Discourse Analysis*. London: Oxford University Press.

If the discourse is used for succeeding the communication in order the communication runs smoothly such as the discourse of introduction in the party.

2.1.3 Informational discourse

If the discourse is related to message or information that is delivered to the hearer or reader such as news discourse in mass media.

2.1.4 Aesthetic discourse

If the discourse is concerning with message with stressing on the beauty of the arrangement of the words like poems and songs.

2.1.5 Directive discourse

If the speaker or writer intends to change hearer's or reader's action and reaction such as speeches and advertisement.

As a mean of communication, discourse simply can be divided into oral and written discourse. verbal discourse covers speaker and hearer, language, turn taking which shows the exchange of speaking while written one involves writer, reader, language, and orthographic. Because of these two kinds of discourse, some people sometimes regard that discourse is a text. In fact, text and discourse are completely different. Written discourse is not similar with a text. A text will never be recognized as a discourse if it does not have purpose or ideology.

Halliday and Hasan distinguish discourse and text based on its length.

Discourse is longer than texts because a text can be very short.¹⁶ Widdowson asserted different opinion from Halliday and Hasan. According to Widdowson

¹⁶ Mudjia Rahardjo. 2007. *Hermeneutika Gadamerian: Kuasa Bahasa dalam*

discourse has cohesion and basic statement while van Dijk states that a text refers to an abstract theoretical construction which is manifested in a discourse.

Rahardjo emphasizes that in English practice, discourse refers to verbal language whereas text refers to written language. Although this distinction between text and discourse are not quite clear, in this study, discourse refers to both verbal and written language. Therefore, what is meant by discourse is that discourse is verbal or written sequence of language that is broader than a sentence.

Verbal discourse is used to be determined by other factors beside language such as situation and circumstance in which the discourse is communicated. Therefore, it frequently consists of short units, it is incomplete and ungrammatical. On the contrary, written discourse has complete information and correct grammar to avoid misinterpretation. Most of written discourse use standard language except a discourse that is written intentionally informal for certain purpose such as found in short story and novel while verbal discourse often use informal language.¹⁷

Based on the response of the receivers, discourse is classified into transactional and interactional discourse. Transactional discourse is the speaker or writer is satisfied with the hearer or reader because they fulfil the expectation of the speaker or writer. For example, the speaker is the manager who commands to his or her staff to represent him or her in a meeting. Interactional discourse is the

Wacana Politik Gus Dur [Gadamerian Hermeneutics: Language Power in Gus Dur's Political Discourse]. Malang: UIN-Malang Press. p. 68.

¹⁷ Mudjia Rahardjo. 2007. *Hermeneutika Gadamerian: Kuasa Bahasa dalam Wacana Politik Gus Dur [Gadamerian Hermeneutics: Language Power in Gus Dur's Political Discourse]*. Malang: UIN-Malang Press. p. 68.

discourse which has mutual interaction between the speaker and hearer, and the writer and the reader.

Based on the sequence of discourse, it is categorized into seven types.

There are narrative, descriptive, expository, argumentative, persuasive, hortatory, and procedural discourses. Narrative discourse has plot, events, and character in factual narration such as news and fictive narration like short story and novel. Descriptive discourse is known as the discourse which has detail explanation about certain case like profile. Expository discourse has strong explanation of information like in feature. Argumentative discourse presents strong argumentation which is supported by facts and evidences such thesis and dissertation. Persuasive discourse is the discourse which functions to persuade the hearer or reader in order they follow the speaker's or writer's intention. Hortatory discourse has strong order that is supported by language like sermon. The last is procedural discourse. It prioritizes process, techniques and steps like the instruction or a guide to use certain tools. Among those types of discourse, the most familiar types of discourse are narration, description, argumentation and persuasive discourse.

People use discourse for several purposes. In society, we can find discourse in daily life practice. For example, in wedding party especially in Islam tradition, a sequence of sentences which are revealed by the bride to marry the bridegroom is a discourse. In this case, discourse is to legitimate the relationship between a man and a woman. The discourse has a result in which a man can have an intimate relation with the woman and own her formally. In politics, politicians

use discourse to defend, legitimate, and control their power regardless other factors that involve to determine it.

There is no doubt that in an important political speech of a president or presidential candidate each word is chosen as a function of its ideologically and communicative presuppositions and implications. That is, when overall communicative control is strict, also ideological discourse expression will become more conscious. In some contexts, on the other hand, both discourse control and ideological control will be largely automatized.¹⁸

In this study, discourse refers to a speech in the form of written discourse that aims to persuade, influence, and change somebody's opinion and attitude in accordance with what speaker's intention and will.

The broad area of discourse in linguistics has invited linguists to investigate it through some disciplines. Linguistics has two kinds of branches that are specified to study discourse. Linguists can answer all discourse inquiries through Pragmatics, Hermeneutics, and Discourse Analysis. This study will use Critical Discourse Analysis. This new perspective of discourse analysis is introduced by Teun A. van Dijk.

2.2 Discourse Analysis

Discourse has a large domain which attaches to other disciplines such as political, philosophical and sociological domains. Discourse itself has number meanings that are more complicated in term of the existence of discourse in a number of areas of study. Because people use it not only for communication but also to influence other people to support their interest through ideological

purpose, discourse constrains the emergence of specific studies to typically concern with.

The emergence of discourse in social practice, afterwards, has encouraged the emergence of interdisciplinary studies that is concerned with the analysis of the relationship between discourse and social practice.

Language is social practice and not a phenomenon external to society to be adventitiously correlated with it, and that language seen as discourse rather than as accomplished text compels us to take account not only of the artefacts of language, the products that we hear and see, but also the conditions of production and interpretation of texts, in sum the process of communicating of which the text is only a part. This emphasis is of central importance of linguistics.¹⁹

In linguistics, the interdisciplinary study, therefore, which is concerned with this phenomenon is recognized as Discourse Analysis.

The term discourse analysis first entered general use as the title of a paper published by Zellig Harris in 1952, although that paper did not yet offer a systematic analysis of linguistic structures 'beyond the sentence level'. As a new interdisciplinary study, Discourse Analysis began to develop in the late 1960s and 1970s in most of the humanities and social sciences, more or less at the same time, and in relation to, other new branches of macro linguistics such as, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and pragmatics. Whereas earlier studies of discourse, for instance in text linguistics, often focused on the abstract structures of (written) texts, many contemporary approaches, especially those that are influenced by the social sciences, favour a more dynamic study of (spoken, oral) talk in interaction.

¹⁸ Teun A. van Dijk. 2004. *from Text Grammar to Critical Discourse Analysis*. Working Paper. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Vol. 2.

Brown and Yule assert that the analysis of discourse is necessarily the analysis of language in use.²⁰ Discourse Analysis has its own area in linguistics as interdisciplinary studies that attaches to other disciplines. Study on, therefore, discourse can not only be conducted through linguistics but it can be analyzed from others disciplines. Discourse Analyst is committed to the investigation of the relationships between forms and functions. Renkema confirmed that Discourse Studies is the discipline devoted to the investigation of the relationship between forms and functions in verbal communication.²¹ It is clear enough that indeed the area of Discourse Analysis focuses on the language in use.

The analysis of discourse covers spoken and written communication of what the speakers and writers have produced, and of what the hearers and readers think of and interpret, too. In written discourse, there are two main domains that can not be ignored by discourse analysts namely Cohesion and Coherence.

Ibrahim in Rahardjo revealed that Cohesion is concerned with Semantic areas of study which refers to the relationship of meanings in texts.²² Coherence is text and talk which typically consists of sequences of sentences that express sequences of propositions. The propositions of such sequences are multiply related each other.²³

Discourse Analysis, further, can be used to investigate words, sentences, expressions or meanings beyond people's expressions. Burke claimed that in

¹⁹ Norman Fairclough. 1989. *Language and Power*. Harlow: Longman.

²⁰ Gillian Brown and George Yule. 1989. *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²¹ Jan Renkema. 1993. *Discourse Studies: An Introductory Textbook*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

²² Mudjia Rahardjo. 2002. *Relung-Relung Bahasa [Aspects of Language]*. Yogyakarta: Aditya Media. p. 190.

²³ Teun A. van Dijk. *Analyzing Racism through Discourse Analysis: some methodological Reflection*. Work Paper. <http://www.daneprairie.com>.

communication people are used to choose words and the arrangement of sentences. Therefore, what words they produce, what symbols they give, and intonation is not merely as the way of individual expression or communication but intentionally people commit it for certain purpose. Discourse Analysis, in this study, is concerned with the study of written discourse which is intended to influence people to create supports, to convince that the opinion is true and valid, and to change their attitude to make action.

It seems very clear that like other human sciences discourse analysis has three paradigms that underline the analysis of phenomena in real world. First, Positivist Discourse Analysis claims that discourse consists of semantic and syntactic structures that establish and build up the meaning regardless of the subjectivity of whom produces language. Positivist Discourse Analysts then merely investigate the word and sentence without considering the subject which produces language. Second, Interpretive Discourse Analysis reveals that the meaning of language can not only be seen from the forms but it is also considered with the subject who produces language. The meaning, therefore, in accordance to interpretive discourse analysts is formed by the world of language and the producers of the language. The process of the production and the reproduction of language, afterwards, are very important. This consideration of the process becomes the main factor that Critical Discourse Analysis has more concern. Critical discourse analyst wants to understand the role of structures, strategies or

other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction and communicative events²⁴ in establishing and maintaining power relations between different groups in society.²⁵

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

One of approaches to discourse is through critical perspectives. Critical perspectives or Critical Discourse Analysis is a new paradigm of Discourse Analysis in which texts are to describe, explain, and interpret or to investigate them deeply by positioning the analyst.²⁶ According to Crystal Critical Discourse Analysis or recently CDA is a perspective which studies the relationship between discourse event and socio-political and cultural factors, especially the way discourse is ideologically influenced and can itself influence power relations in society.²⁷ All Critical Discourse Analysts agree that texts are related to ideologies which are usually connected to power as well.

Ideologies are closely linked to power, because the nature of ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions, and so the nature of those conventions themselves, depends on the power relations which underlie the conventions; and because they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted. Ideologies are closely linked to language, because using language in the commonest form of social behaviour and the form of social behaviour where we rely most on 'common sense' assumptions.²⁸

²⁴ Teun A. van Dijk. 1993. Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse and Society*. Vol. 4 : 249—283.

²⁵ Norman Fairclough. 1989. *Language and Power*. Harlow: Longman.

²⁶ Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and Power*. Harlow: Longman.

²⁷ David Crystal. 1997. *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 100.

²⁸ Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and Power*. Harlow: Longman. p. 3.

"Critical" means not taking things for granted, opening up complexity, challenging reductionism, dogmatism and dichotomies, being self-reflective in my research, and through these processes, making opaque structures of power relations and ideologies manifest. "Critical", thus, does not imply the common sense meaning of "being negative" rather "sceptical". Proposing alternatives is also part of being "critical".²⁹

Critical Discourse Analysis, moreover, might explore issues such as gender, ethnicity, cultural difference, and identity, and how these are reflected in particular texts. In doing this, it investigates ways in which language both constructs and is constructed by social relationships.³⁰ There are two major dimensions along which discourse is involved in dominance, namely through the enactment of dominance in text and talk in specific contexts, and more indirectly, through the influence of discourse on the minds of others.³¹

The norms and values that underlie texts often tend to be hidden rather than overtly stated. In relation to politics, Critical Discourse Analysis takes clearly socio-political stance in its investigations of the relationship among discourse, power, and social inequality. It takes the position that the relationship between language and meaning is never unintentional and arbitrary in that the choice of

²⁹ Gavin Kendall. 2007. What Is Critical Discourse Analysis? Ruth Wodak in Conversation with Gavin Kendall [Interview: 38 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 8(2), Art. 29, <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/2-07/07-2-29-e.htm>.

³⁰ Brian Paltridge. 2000. *Making Sense of Discourse Analysis*. Jill Burton (Ed.). Queensland: Gerd Stabler. p. 154.

³¹ Sakban Rosidi. 2004. *Musibah yang sesuai Prosedur: Analisis Wacana Kritis sebagai Piranti Pembebasan Manusia [A Procedure-based Accident: Critical Discourse Analysis as a means of Human Emancipation]*. Working Paper. Malang: College of Foreign Languages (STIBA) Malang.

particular genre, rhetorical strategy or use of vocabulary, for instance, carries it particular presuppositions, meanings and intentions.

Fairclough and Wodak describe Critical Discourse Analysis as being based on eight key principles as follows³²:

- 2.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis addresses social problems by examining the linguistic character of social and cultural progresses and structures. Thus, social and political progresses have a (partly) linguistic or discursive character that is reflected in the use of certain linguistic and discourse strategies and choices.
- 2.3.2 Power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse. Thus, power operates through language and is negotiated through language.
- 2.3.3. Discourse constitutes society and culture in that language not only reflects social relations but is a part of them and reproduces them.
- 2.3.4 Ideologies are very often produced through discourse. Their production includes ways of representing and constructing society such as relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation, and relations based on gender and ethnicity.
- 2.3.5 Discourse can not be considered separately from the discourses that have preceded it and that will follow it. Nor can it be produced, or understood without taking this intertextual relations and sociocultural knowledge into consideration.

³² Ruth Wodak. 2007. *Pragmatics and Critical Discourse Analysis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing Company.

2.3.6 Critical Discourse Analysis makes connections between social and cultural structures and processes and properties of texts. These connections are, however, complex, and more often indirect than direct: that is, they are very often mediated.

2.3.7 Critical Discourse Analysis goes beyond description and is both interpretive and explanatory. Furthermore, these interpretations and explanations are open and may be affected by new readings and contextual information.

2.3.8 Critical Discourse Analysis, by uncovering opaqueness and power relationships, is a form of social action that attempts to intervene and bring about change in communicative and socio-political practices.

Despite there are many variances of Discourse Analysis paradigms, in relation to this study in which discourse as language functions whether it is to control and defend power or to convince and influence people to hold up speakers' or writers' opinion. It, therefore, uses Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach to investigate texts of speeches.

2.4 Some Models of Critical Discourse Analysis

There are three models of critical discourse analysis which are always associated with the researchers such as Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk and Ruth Wodak. They essentially have the same idea of critical discourse analysis, but they have distinctive models of analysis. Broadly put, it is concerned to

analyse how social and political inequalities are manifested in and reproduced through discourse.³³

It is very brief among researchers that only Fairclough and van Dijk who have detailed model of critical discourse analysis. Wodak, by contrast, emphasises the importance of taking into account the wider context of discourse. To her, context has four levels: the actual or immediate use of language or text, the relationship between utterances, texts, discourses, and genres, the extra-linguistic sociological and institutional context of discourse, and socio-political and historical contexts. Her research seeks to identify the operation of power and dominance in discourse across these four contextual levels.³⁴

This study, therefore, elaborates the two of models of critical discourse analysis introduced by two researchers, Fairclough and van Dijk and at the end this study focuses on van Dijk's model of critical discourse analysis as an approach to answer the problem statements of the study.

2.4.1 Fairclough's Model of Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis first made its début in 1992 with the publication of discourse and social change. His approach was made more robust in a joined project with Lillie Chouliaraki in a 1999 publication *Discourse in Late Modernity - Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Here both himself and Chouliaraki outlined a more focused and substantive approach to the critical analysis of discourse which was further refined over the years through

³³ Robin Wooffitt. 2005. *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction*. London: Sage Publication. p. 136.

³⁴ Ruth Wodak. 2001. *Aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Working Paper. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science.

approximately 20 publications influenced by the application of the methodology within the discipline of government and politics as well as media. His most recent publication *Analyzing discourse: textual analysis for social research* is a culmination of more than a decade of theorizing about, experimenting with, and developing methodologies for critically analyzing discourse.³⁵

Fairclough begins his concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis by criticizing the famous work of the Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure that is about the distinction between *langue* and *parole*. Saussure asserts that *langue* is a system or code which is prior to actual language use, which is the same for all members of a language community, and which is the social side of language as opposed to *parole* that is individual utterance. *Parole* is actually verbal or written language which is determined by individual choices. He therefore assumes that Linguistics is primarily concerned with *langue*, not with *parole*.³⁶

According to Fairclough, in relation to discourse, indeed language use (*parole*) is not individual utterance regardless of the social side, but it is socially determined. He indeed concludes that discourse is a social practice.

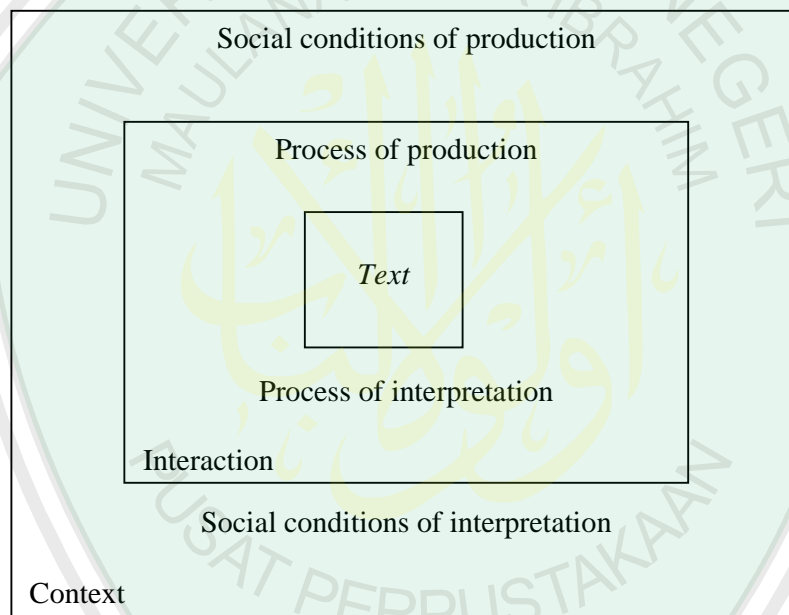
Parole is, as Saussure was aware, characterized by extensive linguistic variation, and it is the account of this variation given by modern sociolinguistics which has done most to undermine the Saussurean concept of *parole*. Sociolinguistics has shown that this variation is not, as Saussure thought, a product of individual choice, but a product of social differentiation-language varies according to the social identities of people in interactions, their socially defined purposes, social setting, and so on. So Saussure's individualistic notion of *parole* is unsatisfactory, and in

³⁵ G. Dann. 2004. Representing the other in the language of Tourism. *Journal of Eastern Caribbean Studies*, vol. 2: 76-97.

³⁶ Ferdinand de Saussure. 1966. *Course in General Linguistics*. Translated by W. Baskin. New York: McGraw-Hill.

preferring the term discourse I am firstly of all committing my self to the view that language use is socially determined.³⁷

In looking at language as discourse and social practice, someone can not analyse the text only, not just analysing the process of production and interpretation, but also to analyse the texts, processes, and their social conditions. Then, Fairclough illustrates the relationships between text, contexts and interactions in the following figure:



Discourse as a text, interaction and context.³⁸

Corresponding to these three dimensions of discourse, Fairclough distinguishes three dimensions or stages of Critical Discourse Analysis:

- a. Description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text.

³⁷ Norman Fairclough. 1989. *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

³⁸ Norman Fairclough. 1989. *Language and Power*. London: Longman

- b. Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation. Notice Fairclough uses the term interpretation for both the interactional process and a stage of analysis.
- c. Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects.

Fairclough develops his model of Critical Discourse Analysis by evolving that Critical Discourse Analysis is not only a description but also it is to be critical and analytic. “Critical” according to Fairclough is that critical discourse analysts have to put their position in analysis because he is convinced that his based assumption believe that every discourse is controlled socially by a group of society who have power based on his authority or wealth.

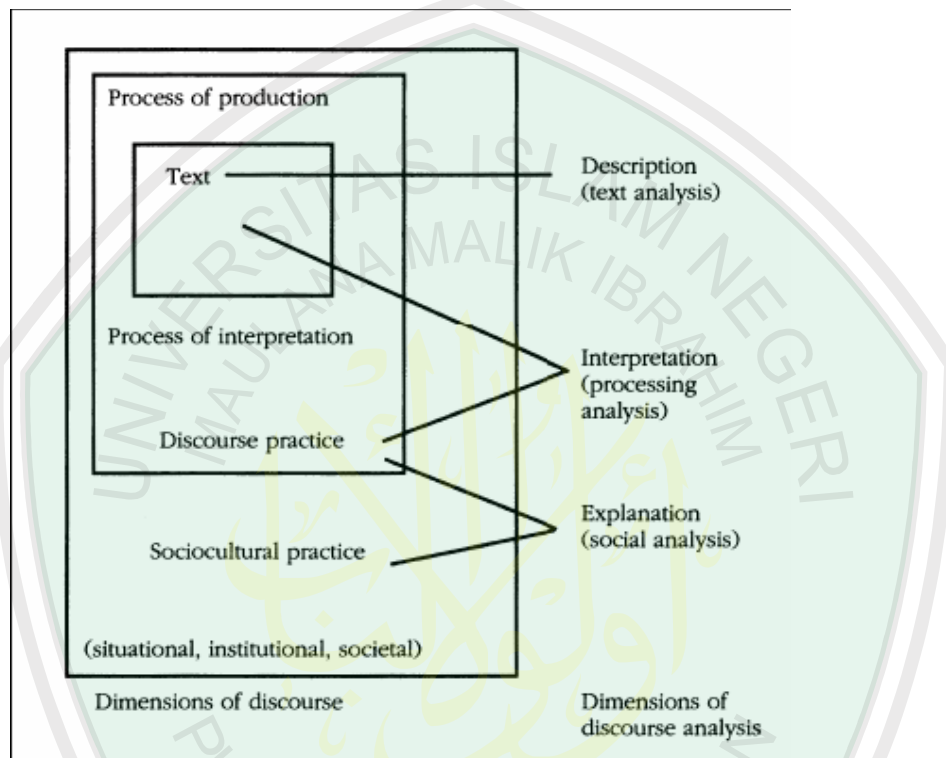
Fairclough and Wodak summarize the main tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis as follows:³⁹

- 2.4.1 CDA addresses social problems
- 2.4.2 Power relations are discursive
- 2.4.3 Discourse constitutes society and culture
- 2.4.4 Discourse does ideological work
- 2.4.5 Discourse is historical
- 2.4.6 The link between text and society is mediated

2.4.7 Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory

2.4.8 Discourse is a form of social action.

Norman Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis:⁴⁰



Fairclough adopts broadly Marxist perspective on social conflict which emphasises the importance of the means of production. For him, the task of critical discourse analysis is to identify how inequalities and conflicts which arise from the capitalist mode of production are manifest in discourse.⁴¹

³⁹ Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak. 1997. *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Teun van Dijk (Ed.). *Discourse as Social Interaction*. London: Sage Publications. Vol. 2.

⁴⁰ Norman Fairclough. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

⁴¹ Robin Wooffitt. 2005. *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction*. London: Sage Publication. p. 138.

2.4.2 Van Dijk's Model of Critical Discourse Analysis

Van Dijk provides clearer and more applicable model of Critical Discourse Analysis by presenting clear and more detailed structures of discourse. His thought has so special attention and concern from Critical Discourse Analysts because he can describe well about critical discourses analysis by sorting it into discourse structures that involves topics, sequences, and small domains of discourse such as word choice, verb tense and forth.⁴²

Empirical work from this perspective largely draws upon what van Dijk has called solid 'linguistics' basis, in that it often examines topics such as sentence structure, verb tense, syntax, lexical choice, the internal coherence of discourse, and so on. Unlike other approaches, critical discourse analysis extends its analytic focus to analyse broader features of the production and consumption of discourse.

Van Dijk is distinctive because he gives special attention the role of cognition in the understanding and interpretation of texts and discourse practices. He argues that we need to understand the role of social cognitions and representations—ways of thinking about the world which emerge from social activities—in order to understand how wider inequalities inform particular discursive or interpretive acts. Cognition is thus the theoretical interface between discourse and dominance.⁴³

In this study, the writer will use models of Discourse Analysis introduced by van Dijk in which he divides discourse into three main structures: Macro Structure is a general or global meaning of a particular text that is examined by focusing on topics of the text.

The meaning of discourse is not limited to the meaning of its words and sentences. Discourse also has more 'global' meanings, such as 'topics' or 'themes'. Such topics represent the gist or most important information of a discourse, and tell us what a discourse 'is about', globally speaking. We

⁴² Sakban Rosidi. 2007. *Analisis Wacana Kritis sebagai Ragam Paradigma Kajian Wacana [Critical Discourse Analysis as Variance of Paradigm of Inquiry on Discourse]*. Working Paper. Malang: Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Malang. p. 10.

⁴³ Robin Wooffitt. 2005. *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction*. London: Sage Publication. p. 138.

may render such topics in terms of (complete) propositions such as 'Neighbours attacked Moroccans'. Such propositions typically appear in newspaper headlines.⁴⁴

Super Structure is a sequence of a text such as how elements and structures of discourse are arranged in a full body of text.

Overall meanings, i.e. topics or macrostructures, may be organized by conventional schemata (superstructures), such as those that define an argument, a conversation or a news report. As is the case for all formal structures, schematic structures are not directly controlled by ideological variation. A reactionary and a progressive story are both stories and should both feature specific narrative categories to be a story in the first place.⁴⁵

Micro Structure is concerned with the local meanings of discourse by investigating and analyzing words, sentences, propositions, phrases, and paraphrases.⁴⁶

Once a topic is being selected, language users have another option in the realization of their mental model (= what they know about an event): To give many or few details about an event, or to describe it at a rather abstract, general level, or at the level of specifics. We may simply speak of 'police violence', that is, in rather general and abstract terms, or we may 'go down' to specifics and spell out what precisely the police did. And once we are down to these specifics, we may include many or few details.⁴⁷

The structures of discourse can be simplified in the following tables:

Structures	Investigation	Units of Analysis
	THEMATIC	
Macro Structure	(What is produced or said?)	Text

⁴⁴ Teun A. van Dijk. 2003. *Ideology and discourse: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Internet Course for the Oberta de Catalunya (UOC).

⁴⁵ Teun A. van Dijk. 2003. *Discourse analysis as Ideology analysis*. Internet Course for the Oberta de Catalunya (UOC).

⁴⁶ Teun A. van Dijk. 2004. *from Text Grammar to Critical Discourse Analysis*. Working Paper. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Vol. 2.

⁴⁷ Teun A. van Dijk. 2003. *Discourse analysis as Ideology analysis*. Internet Course for the Oberta de Catalunya (UOC).

	<i>Elements: Topics or Themes</i>	
Super Structure	<p>SCHEMATIC (How is opinion arranged in sequence?) <i>Element: Schema</i></p>	Text
Micro Structure	<p>SEMANTICS (What does opinion which is delivered mean?) <i>Elements: Surface or Background, Detail, Illustration, Intention, Assumption, and Reasoning.</i></p>	Paragraph
	<p>SYNTACTIC (How is opinion produced?) <i>Elements: Coherence, Nominalization, Abstract, Sentence, and Pronoun.</i></p>	Sentence, proposition
	<p>LEXICON (What are words choice used?)</p>	Word
	<p>RHETORIC (In what way opinion is delivered?) <i>Elements: Style, Interaction, Expression, Metaphor, and Visual image.</i></p>	Sentence, proposition

source: Eriyanto in Rahadjo.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Mudjia Rahardjo. 2002. *Relung-Relung Bahasa [Aspects of Language]*. Yogyakarta: Aditya Media. p. 192.

In general, all texts have those three structures which people can investigate and analyse. Although discourse consists of diverse elements, in fact, it is a unity which relates and supports one another. According to Littlejohn (Rahardjo, 2002: 193) van Dijk's approach is namely Coherence Theory. This analysis helps analysts to investigate how texts are constructed by smaller several elements, sequence of paragraph and reasoning, and words, sentences, phrases and expression. The writer does not only recognize what the intention of the speaker or writer, but how the communicator expresses and produces discourse in choice of language and words, also, how the communicator's intention is delivered in rhetoric.⁴⁹

Teun van Dijk conceives applying rhetoric, word, sentence as a strategy from the communicator that is strictly embedded to politic. The structure of discourse is an effective ways to see rhetoric and persuasion which is undertaken by speakers and writers when they transfer the messages. The president candidates, for example, choose certain words and style of sentential forms as strategies to create supports for their campaign and influence people through their language. In conclusion, discourse structures that have been proposed by van Dijk can effectively be useful to know the strategies of the speakers in reaching their political aims and interest.

⁴⁹ Mudjia Rahardjo. 2002. *Relung-Relung Bahasa [Aspects of Language]*. Yogyakarta: Aditya Media. p. 193.

2.5 Road to the White House

It is very convincing in the world that the United States is a Superpower country that dominates other countries especially in Economy and Politics. It always amplifies democracy as an ideal type of political system to make up the good governance and establish the clean government. Thus, the process of democracy in the United States attracts all people in the world. The most interesting agenda of democracy in the United States that people have more concerns is the general election in which Americans vote for their president.

There are six roads that the presidential candidates have to pass to the White House:

1. Primaries and Caucuses

Primary is an election in which members of a party choose candidates for the president candidate from the party. In a presidential election year, many candidates usually enter the race for president. Only one candidate from each political party, however, can be nominated to run for the presidency. It is usually held from February to June. The states hold elections called primaries or party meetings called caucuses to give voters a say in which candidates get nominated.

2. National Party Conventions

In late summer, the Democratic and Republican parties hold separate national conventions for their state delegates or party representatives. The delegates usually nominate the winner of the state primaries and caucuses to be their party's presidential candidate.

3. Presidential Campaigns

The presidential nominees, candidates who were nominated by their party, go on the campaign trail, travelling around the country. They try to win the support of voters by talking about how they would lead the country.

4. Election Day

The general election is always held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. On this day, millions of Americans vote for a president and vice president. The winner of the popular vote is usually declared by the end of the day.

5. Electoral College

Before the election results are final, officials called electors, who make up a body called the Electoral College, must cast their votes for president in December. The candidate who wins a majority of electoral votes officially wins the election. Each state has a certain number of electors. In most states, electors vote for the winner of their state's popular vote.

6. In the White House

The elected president is inaugurated on January 20. The president's four-year term begins on this date.

2.6 Related Studies

Sakban Rosidi in 2004 has analysed public discourse on the accident in Jagorawi Street by using van Dijk's discourse structures: Macro structure, Super

structure, and Micro structure.⁵⁰ He also, then, delved the relationship between language and violence in 2001. He has discovered that the major types of discourse are labeled as violence discourse, discursive violence, and counter-discursive violence.⁵¹ Santoso in 2001 analysed the variances of political language by the title *Political Discourse and Choice of words of Politicians* and discovered that in establishing political discourse, whether oral or written, politicians use three kinds of linguistic features: experience, relation, and expression feature.⁵²

⁵⁰ Sakban Rosidi. 2004. *Musibah sesuai Prosedur: Analisis Wacana Kritis sebagai Piranti Pembebasan Manusia [A Procedure-based Accident: Critical Discourse Analysis as a means of Human Emancipation]*. Working Paper. Malang: College of Foreign Languages Malang.

⁵¹ Sakban Rosidi. 2001. Violence Discourse or Discursive Violence? Toward a Reciprocal Model of Relationship between Discourse and Violence. *Poetica, Journal of Language and Literature*, Vol. 1-1.

⁵² Mudjia Rahardjo. 2007. *Hermeneutika Gadamerian: Kuasa Bahasa dalam Wacana Politik Gus Dur [Gadamerian Hermeneutics: Language Power in Gus Dur's Political Discourse]*. Malang: UIN-Malang Press.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter provides a detailed description of research design, data and data sources, data collecting, and data analysis processes as follows:

3.1 Research Design

A research design is a general plan that helps the researcher to conduct the study in reference to the objectives, the method of data gathering and analysis and the strategy to present the findings and conclusion.⁵³ Since language has been observable, most of linguistic studies are conducted by using qualitative research, a field of inquiry in its own right.⁵⁴ It is just because language studies are categorized as social science and most of social science prefers to choose qualitative as a methodology, a general approach used to explore the problems.⁵⁵ As a matter of fact, this research also includes to descriptive study because it produces descriptive knowledge of investigating and analyzing thoroughly certain phenomena of language.⁵⁶ The research design of this study is, eventually, descriptive qualitative because it intends to analyze a Micro Structural level of Barack Obama's political speeches.

⁵³ Sakban Rosidi. 2008b. *Research Methodology: A Brief Reminder for the Students of English Department*. Malang: The State Islamic University (UIN) of Malang.

⁵⁴ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln. 1994. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. California: Sage Publication.

⁵⁵ David Silverman. 1993. *Interpreting Qualitative Data*. London: Sage Publications.

⁵⁶ Sakban Rosidi. 2008b. *Research Methodology: A Brief Reminder for the Students of English Department*. Malang: The State Islamic University (UIN) of Malang.

3.2 Data and Data Source

This research focuses on the analysis of texts of remarks of Senator Barack Obama about War in Iraq. There are three speeches which mainly elaborate about War in Iraq: Turning the Page in Iraq, Lessons from Iraq, and a New Beginning. The researcher takes these speeches as the data source that is taken from Barack Obama's website, www.barackobama.com and some the researcher obtains those data source from emails sent by Barack Obama and David Plouffe, his manager campaign. From the data source, the researcher analyzes and investigates the words, phrases, sentences, and expressions which are classified as discursive tactics on a Micro-structural level as the data.

3.3 Reading Processes

The studied materials of this study are already available in text file. The researcher, therefore, defines the process of data gathering as reading process. On the other words, the researcher collects the data, aspects of discourse, by applying a relevant technique of reading process. In this study, the researcher defines skimming as the relevant technique of reading process because it focuses on gaining the specific information from the text.⁵⁷

In qualitative research, the researcher becomes the main instrument to collect and analyze the data. Lincoln and Guba in Bogdan also believed that qualitative researchers play in their inquiry because qualitative research studies human experiences and situations. Researchers need an instrument flexible

enough to capture the complexity of human experience. Only human instrument is capable of this task.⁵⁸

3.4 Data Analysis and Interpretation

This study uses intensive reading as the technique of data analysis in which it must be relevant to the technique of data gathering. Barry in Sakban Rosidi summarizes that the technique of intensive reading is well known as the technique of SQ3R (*Survey, Questions, Read, Recall, and Review*). This technique consists of five steps, as follows:

S - That is, *Survey* the whole chapter or section fairly rapidly, skimming though it to get a rough sense of the scope and nature of the argument. Remember that information is not evenly spread throughout a text. It tends to be concentrated in the opening and closing paragraphs (where you often get useful summaries of the whole), and the 'hinge points' of the argument are often indicated in the opening and closing sentences of paragraphs.

Q - Having skimmed the whole, set yourself some *Questions*, some things you hope to find out from what you are reading. This makes you an 'active' reader rather than a passive one, and gives your reading a purpose.

R1 - Now *Read* the whole piece. Use a pencil if the copy is your own to underline key points, query difficulties, circle phrases worth remembering, and so on. Don't just sit in front of the pages. If the book is not your own jot *something* down on paper as you read, however minimal.

R2 - Now, close the book and *Recall* what you have read. Jot down some summary points. Ask whether your starting questions have been answered, or at least clarified. Spell out some of the difficulties that remain. In this way, you record some concrete outcomes to your reading, so that your time doesn't simply evaporate uselessly once the book is closed.

R3 - This final stage is the *Review*. It happens after an interval has elapsed since the reading. You can experiment, but initially try doing it the following day. Without opening the book again, or referring back to your notes, review what you have gained from the reading; remind yourself of

⁵⁷ Sakban Rosidi. 2008b. *Research Methodology: A Brief Reminder for the Students of English Department*. Malang: The State Islamic University (UIN) of Malang.

⁵⁸ Robert Bogdan. 1998. *Qualitative Research for Education: an Introduction to Theory and Method (3rd ed)*. United States: Nancy Forsyth. p. 76.

the question you set yourself, the points you jotted down at the *Recall* stage, and any important phrases from the essay. If this produces very little, then refer back to your notes. If they make little sense, then repeat the *Survey* stage, and do an accelerated *Read*, by reading the first and last paragraphs of the essay, and skim-reading the main body assisted by your pencilled markings.⁵⁹

In qualitative data analysis, several simultaneous activities engage the attention of the researcher such as collecting information of the field, intensive reading, sorting the information into categories, classifying the findings, and then writing the qualitative text.⁶⁰ The research has, therefore, begun the research since the researcher attempt to find the data source.

There are several steps that the researcher conducts in analysing the discursive tactics on Micro Structural level of discourse. Firstly, the data are sorted into categories. Secondly, those are classified the findings. The results of analysis, then, are formed based on the data that represent all research findings. Finally, the researcher discusses the findings.

⁵⁹ Sakban Rosidi. 2008a. *Using Technique of Intensive*. Working Paper. The State Islamic University of Malang.

⁶⁰ John W. Creswell. 1994. *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. London: Sage Publications. p. 153.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings of the study that covers the discursive tactics on word, phrasal, expression or oral and sentential structure. The researcher, firstly, classifies the data description of the discursive tactics based on the research questions by providing the concepts and construction of each discursive tactics on word, phrasal, expression or oral and sentential structure. The labelling is using bold type. The data transcription of the study is not presented in this chapter, but it is provided on the page of appendix that comes up after fifth chapter. The result of the analysis, then, is discussed in the segment of discussion.

4.1 Research Findings

The findings are divided into data description, in which the researcher classifies the findings based on the research problems which involve discursive tactics on word, phrasal, oral, and sentential structure, and the result of analysis that provides categories of the discursive tactics on word, phrasal, oral, and sentential structure.

4.1.1 Data Description

4.1.1.1 Discursive Tactics on Word Structure

1. Pronoun

In discursive tactics of micro-structure, it is so clear that pronouns such as “*I, you, we and they*” are used to construct and support the cohesion and the

coherence of the discourse in order the recipients can easily understand what the speaker means. Moreover, these pronouns are not merely selected to put up the coherence and cohesion of the discourse but Barack Obama uses it as a tactic on word structure to influence the recipients as the way to fulfil his interest. Here are the examples:

Let **me** start by congratulating a great American, Al Gore, for being named this year's winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. Vice President Gore has been an extraordinary leader for this country. Through his many years of public service; his early and vocal opposition to the war in Iraq; and -- above all - - his singular leadership in drawing attention to the global climate crisis, Al Gore has advanced the cause of peace at home and around the world. This award is richly deserved.⁶¹

Let **me** be clear: there is no military solution in Iraq, and there never was. The best way to protect our security and to pressure Iraq's leaders to resolve their civil war is to immediately begin to remove our combat troops. Not in six months or one year - now.⁶²

Thank you, Ted. Ted Sorenson has been counsellor to a President in some of our toughest moments, and he has helped define our national purpose at pivotal turning points. Let **me** also welcome all of the elected officials from Illinois who are with us. Let **me** give a special welcome to all of the organizers and speakers who joined me to rally against going to war in Iraq five years ago. And I want to thank DePaul University and DePaul's students for hosting this event.⁶³

It is unusual that “*me*” appears after “*let*” because usually in the speech the word “*let*” appears together with “*us*”. The pronoun “*me*” refers to Barack Obama himself. This tactic is used by him to show his support to the peace in the world. This decision of course to influence and convince Americans that he stands for peace not for war.

⁶¹ Barack Obama (October, 12, 2007). *Lessons from Iraq*. Des Moines, Iowa.

⁶² Barack Obama (September, 12, 2007). *Turning the Page in Iraq*. Iowa.

⁶³ Barack Obama (October, 2, 2007). *A New Beginning*. DePaul University, Chicago.

You know, it was five years ago yesterday that the United States Senate voted to give President Bush the authority to wage war in Iraq. At the time, **I** was a candidate for the U.S. Senate and **I** spoke out strongly in opposition to going to war. Nearly all of **my** opponents for the Democratic nomination for President made a different choice, and voted to authorize the war.⁶⁴

I made a different judgment. **I** thought our priority had to be finishing the fight in Afghanistan. **I** spoke out against what **I** called "a rash war" in Iraq. **I** worried about, "an occupation of undetermined length, with undetermined costs, and undetermined consequences." The full accounting of those costs and consequences will only be known to history. But the picture is beginning to come into focus.⁶⁵

But **I** didn't see how Saddam Hussein posed an imminent threat. **I** was convinced that a war would distract us from Afghanistan and the real threat from al Qaeda. **I** worried that Iraq's history of sectarian rivalry could leave us bogged down in a bloody conflict. And **I** believed the war would fan the flames of extremism and lead to new terrorism. So **I** went to the rally. And **I** argued against a "rash war" -- a "war based not on reason, but on politics" -- "an occupation of undetermined length, with undetermined costs, and undetermined consequences."⁶⁶

Barack Obama uses a pronoun "I" as a discursive tactic on one of the word structures to show that he is the only one of president who opposes Iraq war since the beginning, when he became a senate. This becomes a special advantage for him because most of Americans have known that going to war is a wrong decision. This tactic is also found in other paragraphs.

These decisions aren't just Washington parlor games about who's up and who's down. These are life and death decisions. They impact **your** safety and security. Above all, they impact the soldier from Iowa, or the airman from Illinois, and every single one of our brave young men and women who are in harm's way, and all of their families and friends back home.

⁶⁴ *Lessons from Iraq*

⁶⁵ *Turning the Page in Iraq*

⁶⁶ *A New Beginning*

Five years ago, my friends warned me not to speak up against the war. Going to war was popular. So was President Bush. **You'll** be putting **your** political career on the line, they said.

Five years ago today, I was asked to speak at a rally against going to war in Iraq. The vote to authorize the war in Congress was less than ten days away and I was a candidate for the United States Senate. Some friends of mine advised me to keep quiet. Going to war in Iraq, they pointed out, was popular. All the other major candidates were supporting the war at the time. If the war goes well, they said, **you'll** have thrown your political career away.⁶⁷

The decision to select a pronoun “*you*” which refers to each single of Americans and Barack Obama is to represent a threat that is to emphasize that the war should never have happened. It is used to influence the coherence of the discourse so that this threat strengthens his opinion to convince the recipients. This tactic on one of the word structure is also found in several paragraphs of the speeches.

I don't want to give this President any excuse, or any opening for war. Because as we learned with the authorization of the Iraq War -- when **you** give this President a blank check, **you** can't be surprised when he cashes it.⁶⁸

Recent news only confirms this. The Administration points to selective statistics to make the case for staying the course. Killings and mortar attacks and car bombs in certain districts are down from the highest levels we've seen. But they're still at the same horrible levels they were at 18 months ago or two years ago. Experts will tell **you** that the killings are down in some places because the ethnic cleansing has already taken place. That's hardly a cause for triumphalism.⁶⁹

I want to be straight with **you**. If you want conventional Washington thinking, I'm not **your** man. If **you** want rigid ideology, I'm not **your** man.

⁶⁷ *A New Beginning*

⁶⁸ *Lessons from Iraq*

⁶⁹ *Turning the Page in Iraq*

If **you** think that fundamental change can wait, I'm definitely not **your** man. But if **you** want to bring this country together, if **you** want experience that's broader than just learning the ways of Washington, if **you** think that the global challenges we face are too urgent to wait, and if **you** think that America must offer the world a new and hopeful face, then I offer a different choice in this race and a different vision for our future.⁷⁰

The fact that the plural “*you*” is the same word in the singular and the plural makes for the clever affect that addressing a group as “*you*” can also add the powerful effect of seeming as if Barack Obama is talking with each person individually.

How **we** made that decision, and how **we** talk about it, is critical to understanding what **we** would do as President. Will **we** carefully evaluate the evidence and the consequences of action, or will **we** skip over the intelligence and scare people with the consequences of inaction? Will **we** make these decisions based on polls, or based on **our** principles? Will **we** have the courage to make the tough choice, or will **we** just choose the course that makes **us** look tough?⁷¹

I have her on my mind when I think about what **we've** gone through as a country and where **we** need to go. Because **we've** been holding our breath over Iraq for five years. As **we** go through yet another debate about yet another phase of this misguided war, **we've** got a familiar feeling. Again, we're told that progress is upon us. Again, we're asked to hold our breath a little longer. Again, **we're** reminded of what's gone wrong with our policies and our politics.⁷²

There are those who offer up easy answers. They will assert that Iraq is George Bush's war, it's all his fault. Or that Iraq was botched by the arrogance and incompetence of Donald Rumsfeld and Dick Cheney. Or that **we** would have gotten Iraq right if **we** went in with more troops, or if **we** had a different proconsul instead of Paul Bremer, or if only there were a stronger Iraqi Prime Minister.⁷³

The word “*we*” brings you and me together, bonding as a single unit and thus connecting thoughts and feelings. If Barack Obama thinks something to be

⁷⁰ *A New Beginning*

⁷¹ *Lessons from Iraq*

⁷² *Turning the Page in Iraq*

true, then the recipients have an obligation to consider it true also. It also creates a group, making boundaries within which a cohesive in group exists, within which each person must comply with group values and rules. “We” that refers to American people is to judge his opposition to Iraq war that George Bush as a president has taken the wrong way to go to war in Iraq and he simultaneously criticizes other presidential candidates who have authorized and supported the war. On the other hand, in relation to the socio-political circumstances, “we” is a tactic on word structure to prove that he, Barack Obama, is a member of society who disagrees with the war as if he has the same argument as Americans.

A couple of months ago, Senator Clinton called me "naïve and irresponsible" for taking this position, and said that **we** could lose propaganda battles if **we** met with leaders **we** didn't like. Just yesterday, though, she called for diplomacy with Iran without preconditions. So I'm not sure if any of us knows exactly where she stands on this. But I can tell you this: when I am President of the United States, the American people and the world will always know where I stand.⁷⁴

In this paragraph, Barack Obama a little bit different applying the pronoun “we”. It refers to him and his rival in Democrat, Hillary Clinton. It seems very simple that he intends to prove that Hillary’s decision to vote for war in Iraq in the congress has been mistake. In addition, he also wants to convince the recipients that the path to overcome the problem of the war he proposes is more applicable than Hillary does.

⁷³ *A New Beginning*

⁷⁴ *Lessons from Iraq*

These decisions aren't just Washington parlor games about who's up and who's down. These are life and death decisions. **They** impact your safety and security. Above all, **they** impact the soldier from Iowa, or the airman from Illinois, and every single one of our brave young men and women who are in harm's way, and all of **their** families and friends back home.⁷⁵

But conventional thinking in Washington lined up for war. The pundits judged the political winds to be blowing in the direction of the President. Despite - or perhaps because of how much experience **they** had in Washington, too many politicians feared looking weak and failed to ask hard questions. Too many took the President at his word instead of reading the intelligence for themselves. Congress gave the President the authority to go to war. Our only opportunity to stop the war was lost.⁷⁶

These are the easy answers. And like most easy answers, **they** are partially true. But they don't tell the whole truth, because **they** overlook a harder and more fundamental truth. The hard truth is that the war in Iraq is not about a catalog of many mistakes -- it is about one big mistake. The war in Iraq should never have been fought.⁷⁷

The plural third party "*they*" shows a group of others to be separated from us, emphasizing our similarity though implication of Out-Group Homogeneity. This allows you to push away others who do not conform as you build a more cohesive in group. "*They*" in this case refers to any one of George Bush's government and presidential candidates including Americans, who authorize the Iraq war. This pronoun is mainly to influence Americans who agree with the war that they had taken the wrong decision and attract Americans all at once to stand to oppose the war with him.

As I travel around the country, so many Americans ask me: how did we go so wrong in Iraq? And **they're** not just asking because **they** want to understand the past -- **they're** asking because **they** don't want their

⁷⁵ *Lessons from Iraq*

⁷⁶ *Turning the Page in Iraq*

leaders to make the same mistakes again in the future. **They** don't want leaders who will bog us down in unnecessary wars; **they** don't want leaders who allow America to lose its standing; and **they** don't want leaders who tell the American people anything less than the full truth about where **they** stand and what **they**'ll do.⁷⁸

The tactic of word structure in this paragraph is by using “*they*” which refers to some of Americans. Barack Obama decides this as if there are many Americans who agree and stand behind to support him in opposing the Iraq war.

There is no doubt that President Bush failed us in the run-up to war. But the American people weren't just failed by the President -- **they** were failed by the Congress. Too many members of Congress failed to ask hard questions. Too many members of Congress, including some of my opponents in this race, failed to read the National Intelligence Estimate for themselves -- an intelligence report that was so unconvincing, and so filled with qualifications, that the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee decided to vote against the war when he read it for himself. Too many Democrats fell in line with George Bush, and voted to give him the open-ended authority to wage war that he uses to this day. So let's be clear: without that vote, there would be no war.⁷⁹

Barack Obama make “*they*” instead of “*we*” in this paragraph to create deeper emphasise that the consequences of waging the war in Iraq do not only inflict him and his supporters but all of Americans in general also.

2. Generalization

⁷⁷ *A New Beginning*

⁷⁸ *Lessons from Iraq*

⁷⁹ *Lessons from Iraq*

In discursive tactics of abstract syntactic tool on word structure, Barack Obama frequently uses generalization in mentioning the side of Americans who authorize the war. Even though it is exactly known that not all presidential candidates agree with George Bush's way because Hillary Clinton and John Edwards eventually clarified that the war should have happened, Barack Obama generalize it. It is of course intended to influence the meaning that he is the only one of the presidential candidates who opposes the war.

You know, it was five years ago yesterday that the **United States Senate** voted to give President Bush the authority to wage war in Iraq. At the time, I was a candidate for the U.S. Senate and I spoke out strongly in opposition to going to war. Nearly all of my **opponents** for the Democratic nomination for President made a different choice, and voted to authorize the war.

Now is not the time to give George Bush and Dick Cheney any excuse to escalate this war. Now is not the time for the **Congress** to send mixed messages. That's why my position today is the same as it was when I stood up in Iowa on September 12 and said: "George Bush and Dick Cheney must hear -- loud and clear -- from the **American people** and the **Congress**: you don't have our support, and you don't have our authorization for another war."

Five years after that vote for war, we should all have learned the lesson that the cowboy diplomacy of not talking to **people** we don't like doesn't work. We do need tougher diplomacy with Iran. But the way to support tough diplomacy is not to vote for reckless amendments -- the way to support diplomacy is to actually pursue it. That's what I've called for throughout this campaign -- direct diplomacy, without preconditions. And that's what I'll do as President. Not the Bush-Cheney diplomacy of talking to our **friends** and ignoring our **enemies**. Real, direct, and sustained diplomacy.

Even though not all of senate agree with the decision to go to war in Iraq and not all of his opponents support war in Iraq, like Hillary Clinton and John Edwards who have clarified their statements of being supporters for the war, Barack Obama generalizes that all of United States Senate including his opponents agree with George Bush's opinion to wage war. The tactic of generalization is aimed at influence the coherence of the discourse to convince and stimulate the recipients to conclude the mass of group of society.

3. Intensifiers

In lexicon aspect of the word structure, Barack Obama reinforces his statements by intensifiers, a word that intensifies other words, such as “*always, never, very and superlative degree*”. The following quotation describes the role of each intensifier.

And what I **always** say is this -- this isn't just about the past, it's about the future. I don't talk about my opposition to the war to say "I told you so." I wish the war had gone differently. But the reason I talk about it is because I **truly** believe that the judgment, and the conviction, and the accountability that each of us showed on the **most important** foreign policy decision of our lives is the **best indicator** you have of how each of us will make those decisions going forward.

But I take a different view. I think the problem isn't just *how* we've fought the war -- it's that we fought the war in the first place. Because the truth is, the war in Iraq should **never** have been authorized, and it should **never** have been waged. The Iraq War had nothing to do with al Qaeda or 9/11. It was based on exaggerated fears and unconvincing intelligence. And it has left America less safe and less respected around the world.

These decisions aren't just Washington parlor games about who's up and who's down. These are life and death decisions. They impact your safety and security. Above all, they impact the soldier from Iowa, or the airman from Illinois, and **every** single one of our brave young men and

women who are in harm's way, and all of their families and friends back home.

The intensifiers can be an adjective or an adverb. Beside to strengthen the statement, using intensifiers is also to amplify the effect of a verb by using an adverb that intensifies the meaning and particularly the emotional content. Barack Obama uses the intensifier to subtly suggest to the other person what emotions they should feel. In the same way, he also uses adverbs to reduce the natural emotional content of a verb or a noun.

4. Trivializing words

The next discursive tactic on the word structure that is used by Barack Obama is trivializing words. Some words have an effect of deflating, of making something smaller and less important than it really is. Such words can be used both to defend and to attack. Trivialization is often used in negotiations to make what you want seem smaller.

And what I always say is this -- this isn't **just** about the past, it's about the future. I don't talk about my opposition to the war to say "I told you so." I wish the war had gone **differently**. But the reason I talk about it is because I truly believe that the judgment, and the conviction, and the accountability that each of us showed on the most important foreign policy decision of our lives is the best indicator you have of how each of us will make those decisions going forward.

But I take a different view. I think the problem isn't **just** *how* we've fought the war -- it's that we fought the war in the first place. Because the truth is, the war in Iraq should never have been authorized, and it should never have been waged. The Iraq War had nothing to do with al Qaeda or 9/11. It was based on exaggerated fears and **unconvincing** intelligence. And it has left America **less** safe and **less** respected around the world.

These decisions aren't **just** Washington parlor games about who's up and who's down. These are life and death decisions. They impact your

safety and security. Above all, they impact the soldier from Iowa, or the airman from Illinois, and every single one of our brave young men and women who are in harm's way, and all of their families and friends back home.

The tactic on the word structure of trivializing words is used by Barack Obama to deflate times “this isn't *just* about the past”, opinion “. I wish the war had gone *differently*”, and people “And it has left America *less* safe and *less* respected around the world”.

5. Sensory Words

In choice of words, Barack Obama uses what I call Sensory word. Sensory word is a word that evokes senses. The titles like “*Lessons* from Iraq”, “*Turn in the Page in Iraq*”, and “*A New Beginning*” signal that how language has an urgent role to influence meaning of the discourse and attract people to pay more attention to the words. The choice of word of sensory word can possibly evokes whether positive or negative sense.

Now, it's easy to oppose a war after it has gone wrong. It's easy to say -- years later -- that the war shouldn't have happened, given what we know now about how **badly** it has turned out. But every single one of us running for President only had one chance to make a **judgment** about whether or not to go to war.

It was five years ago today - on September 12, 2002 - that President Bush made his case for war at the United Nations. Standing in front of a world that stood with us after 9/11, he said, "In the **attacks** on America a year ago, we saw the **destructive** intentions of our **enemies**.' Then he talked about Saddam Hussein - a man who had **nothing** to do with 9/11. But citing the lesson of 9/11, he and others said we had to act. "To suggest otherwise,' the President said, "is to hope against the evidence.'

When I said that we should take out high-level **terrorists** like Osama bin Laden if we have actionable intelligence about their whereabouts, I was **lectured** by legions of Iraq War supporters. They said we can't take out bin Laden if the country he's hiding in won't. A few weeks later, the co-chairmen of the 9/11

Commission -- Tom Kean and Lee Hamilton -- agreed with my position. But few in Washington seemed to notice.

Barack Obama uses the words “*badly*” and “*judgement*” to affect the meaning of the sentence especially and the discourse in general. The emergence of “*badly*” in the sentence is very important for him to stress that the war was wrong. The second word, “*judgement*”, is stronger than other words such as “*decision*” and “*lectured*” despite both of words have a close meaning.

I made a different judgment. I thought our priority had to be finishing the **fight** in Afghanistan. I spoke out against what I called "a **rash war**' in Iraq. I worried about, "an occupation of **undetermined** length, with **undetermined** costs, and **undetermined** consequences.' The full accounting of those costs and consequences will only be known to history. But the picture is beginning to come into focus.

The choice of using “*fight*” is to emphasize that what happened in Afghanistan has been endless and it has inflicted a financial loss for the United States. On the other word, Barack Obama wants to illustrate that what has happened in Afghanistan will happen with the war in Iraq. The word, “*undetermined*”, more and more infers how disadvantageous war for Americans. The government lost a lot of funds and lost its standing in the world.

DePaul is now filled with students who have not spent a single day on campus without the reality of a war in Iraq. Four classes have **matriculated** and four classes have graduated since this war began. And we are reminded that America's sons and daughters in uniform, and their families, **bear** the heavy burden. The wife of one soldier from Illinois wrote to me and said that her husband "feels like he's **stationed** in Iraq and **deploys** home." That's a **tragic** statement. And it could be **echoed** by families across our country who have seen loved ones deployed to tour after tour of duty.

It seems very clear that the language is always produced and reproduced as the fulfilment of human's interest. The selected language can influence the meaning and people who perceive it. The selected words above is not merely to transfer messages, but more than to influence the coherence of the discourse to emphasize the arguments.

6. Discourse Markers

The last syntactic aspect of the tactic on word structure is Discourse Marker. Barack Obama supports the cohesion and coherence of the discourse in order it can be easily understood through discourse markers. The Discourse Markers such as “*and*”, “*but*”, and “*because*” have been selected to unify the message of the discourse.

But I take a different view. I think the problem isn't just how we've fought the war -- it's that we fought the war in the first place. **Because** the truth is, the war in Iraq should never have been authorized, **and** it should never have been waged. The Iraq War had nothing to do with al Qaeda or 9/11. It was based on exaggerated fears and unconvincing intelligence. **And** it has left America less safe, and less respected around the world.

Well, I'm not running to conform to Washington's conventional thinking -- I'm running to challenge it. That's what I did in 2002. That's what I did in 2004. **And** that's what I will do as President of the United States.

I have her on my mind when I think about what we've gone through as a country and where we need to go. **Because** we've been holding our breath over Iraq for five years. **As** we go through yet another debate about yet another phase of this misguided war, we've got a familiar feeling. **Again**, we're told that progress is upon us. **Again**, we're asked to hold our breath a little longer. **Again**, we're reminded of what's gone wrong with our policies and our politics.

In three speeches of Barack Obama, the tactic of discourse markers has been frequently used to construct a good discourse. Moreover, it can influence the meaning.

4.1.1.2 Discursive Tactics on Phrasal Structure

1. Noun Phrase

The discursive tactic on phrase of micro-structural level is noun phrase in which the unity of the word arrangement contributes a significant modification of the discourse. The combination of articles, pronoun and adjective with a noun such as “*a great American, Al Gore*”, “*the war*”, and “*my opponents*” is conducted to induce the meaning of the noun itself in accordance with Barack Obama’s interest. He alloys those combinations in one phrase sometimes. The following quotations explain the discursive tactics on noun phrases.

Let me start by congratulating **a great American, Al Gore**, for being named this year's winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. Vice President Gore has been **an extraordinary leader** for this country. Through his many years of public service; his early and vocal opposition to the war in Iraq; and -- above all -- his singular leadership in drawing attention to **the global climate crisis**, Al Gore has advanced the cause of peace at home and around the world. This award is richly deserved.

Barack Obama combines an article “*a*”, and an adjective “*great*” to modify a noun to influence the meaning of the noun. He assumes that the referent is not accessible to the recipients. He, therefore, uses an article “*a*” and a proper noun “*Al Gore*” to accompany the noun.

It was five years ago today - on September 12, 2002 - that President Bush made **his case** for war at the United Nations. Standing in front of a world

that stood with us after 9/11, he said, "In the attacks on America a year ago, we saw **the destructive intentions of our enemies.**' Then he talked about Saddam Hussein - a man who had nothing to do with 9/11. But citing **the lesson** of 9/11, he and others said we had to act. "To suggest otherwise,' **the President** said, "is to hope against **the evidence.**'

On the contrary, Barack Obama combines an article "*the*" with noun when the referent is generally known to the recipients because it has been introduced previously. "*The*" is also used if the something is uniquely identifiable even though it is new to the recipients.

There are those who offer up **easy answers.** They will assert that Iraq is **George Bush's war,** it's all **his fault.** Or that Iraq was botched by **the arrogance and incompetence** of Donald Rumsfeld and Dick Cheney. Or that we would have gotten Iraq right if we went in with more troops, or if we had a different proconsul instead of Paul Bremer, or if only there were **a stronger Iraqi Prime Minister.**

It is very simple discursive tactic that when his phrasal structures come up the combination of possessive pronouns and nouns, Barack Obama through his words influence the coherence of the discourse so that it evokes a stress on the meaning of the noun as if like in "George Bush's war" and "his fault" mistakes belong to him and as the consequences of his decision to go to war in Iraq.

2. Adjective Phrase

In his discursive tactic on phrasal structure, Barack Obama presents adjective phrase as one of the discursive tactics on micro-structural level of the discourse by unifying adjective with determiner such as "*every single one of us*", the combination of adjective and adjective like "*little longer*", and the combination of adverb and adjective "*partially true*".

Now, it's easy to oppose a war after it has gone wrong. It's easy to say -- years later -- that the war shouldn't have happened, given what we know now about how badly it has turned out. But **every single one** of us running

for President only had one chance to make a judgment about whether or not to go to war.

I have her on my mind when I think about what we've gone through as a country and where we need to go. Because we've been holding our breath over Iraq for five years. As we go through yet another debate about yet another phase of this misguided war, we've got a familiar feeling. Again, we're told that progress is upon us. Again, we're asked to hold our breath a **little longer**. Again, we're reminded of what's gone wrong with our policies and our politics.

These are the easy answers. And like most easy answers, they are **partially true**. But they don't tell the whole truth, because they overlook a harder and more fundamental truth. The hard truth is that the war in Iraq is not about a catalog of many mistakes -- it is about one big mistake. The war in Iraq should never have been fought.

Now, some have asked me, "Why are you always reminding us that you opposed the war? Isn't that yesterday's news? Is that experience **really relevant**?"

This discursive tactic is to emphasize the meaning of the head, a main word, in which adjective can be modified by one or more determiners, adverbs and even adjective itself. Barack Obama very seldom uses this discursive tactic in his three speeches. It is used when he attempts to focus a case of social aspects.

3. Verb Phrase

It seems very different when a speaker or writer produces verbs with or without being integrated with adverb. In relation to this modification, Barack Obama uses verb phrases frequently in his speeches to influence the meaning of the verb itself such as "I wish the war had *gone differently*", "I *always say*", and "We've *had enough* of a war that should *never* have been *authorized* and should *never* have been *waged*".

I would not be on this stage today if the promise of America had not brought my father across an ocean. I would not be on this stage if generations of Americans had not fought before me so that the American

dream could be extended to a man named Barack Obama. That's why I have spent my own life fighting for that dream, no matter how difficult it's been, no matter how tough it was to take a stand. That's why I will **always tell** you where I stand and what I believe. And when I am President, that is how we will meet the hard challenges, and reclaim that dream, and **make** the United States of America a light to the world **once more**.

The American people have **had enough** of the shifting spin. We've **had enough** of extended deadlines for benchmarks that go unmet. We've **had enough** of mounting costs in Iraq and missed opportunities around the world. We've **had enough** of a war that should **never** have been **authorized** and should **never** have been **waged**.

I am not a perfect man and I won't be a perfect President. But my own American story tells me that this country **moves forward** when we cast off our doubts and seek new beginnings.

In these paragraphs, Barack Obama strongly emphasizes what he will do if he is the president by combining the verb modified by the adverb to influence the meaning and simultaneously to convince the recipients in order they vote for him to become the next president of the United States.

4.1.1.3 Discursive Tactics on Oral Structure

In maintaining the coherence of the discourse, Barack Obama decides to implement some expressions that do not include to mechanism of written discourse. Some expression such as “yes”, “well”, and “you know” which the researcher labels as oral discourse markers used in his speeches as an effort to evoke more sense of the serious problem of the war in Iraq. It, moreover, is just a tactic of Barack Obama to take time to think before delivering the arguments. Even the researcher found some structures that can not be categorized as a sentence in term of written discourse. However, those structures are acceptable in term of oral discourse. The researcher labels those as ungrammatical sentence All of the discursive tactics on oral or expression structure are to induce the coherence of the discourse.

1. Discourse Marker

You know, it was five years ago yesterday that the United States Senate voted to give President Bush the authority to wage war in Iraq. At the time, I was a candidate for the U.S. Senate and I spoke out strongly in opposition to going to war. Nearly all of my opponents for the Democratic nomination for President made a different choice, and voted to authorize the war.

You know, I welcome all of the folks who have changed their position on the war over these last months and years. And we need more of those votes to change if we're going to change the direction of this war. That is why I will keep speaking directly to my colleagues in the Congress, both Republican and Democratic. Historically, we have come together in a bipartisan way to deal with our most monumental challenges. We should do so again. We have the power to do this - not as Republicans or Democrats, but as Americans. We don't have to wait until George Bush is gone from office - we can begin to end this war today, right now.

“*You know*” is categorized as discourse marker in oral structure. Barack Obama uses it as a tactic to pause his words before the arguments and emphasize his opposition to the decision to wage war in Iraq and show that five years ago he is the only person who opposes the war even among Democratic presidential candidates. In fact, two of Democratic presidential candidates, Hillary Clinton and John Edwards also oppose the war not, but Barack Obama tries to convince Americans that he has opposed against the war since the beginning so that Americans know which presidential candidate is consistent.

This is about what we stand for as Democrats. But much more than that -- it's about what we stand for as Americans. Because there are plenty of Democrats and plenty of Independents and, **yes**, plenty of Republicans out there who are ready to turn the page on the broken politics and blustering foreign policy coming from Washington. That's how we're going to bring this country together. That's how we're going to restore our security and renew our standing in the world. Not by shifting with the political winds, but by standing strong in any storm, and standing up for what we believe.

Yes, it's easy to be cynical. But right now, somewhere in Iraq, there's someone about your age. He's maybe on his second or third tour. It's hot. He would rather be at home. But he's in his uniform, got his combat gear on. He's getting in a Humvee. He's going out on patrol. He's lost a buddy in this war, maybe more. He risked his life yesterday, he's risking his life today, and he's going to risk it tomorrow.

The word “*yes*” actually is frequently found after questions because it is a key to answer yes/no question. In contrast, Barack Obama uses it as a discursive tactic on oral structure to influence the coherence of the discourse so that in the first quotation, he uses to gain support for any groups of American society. This is of course to convince them that he as presidential candidates welcomes all of Americans without considering their political background. In addition, this discursive tactic is also to strengthen his statement as in the second quotation.

Well, I'm not running to conform to Washington's conventional thinking -- I'm running to challenge it. That's what I did in 2002. That's what I did in 2004. And that's what I will do as President of the United States.

Vice President talk about Iran. They conflate Iran and al Qaeda, ignoring the violent schism that exists between Shiite and Sunni militants. They issue veiled threats. They suggest that the time for diplomacy and pressure is running out when we haven't even tried direct diplomacy. **Well** George Bush and Dick Cheney must hear - loud and clear - from the American people and the Congress: you don't have our support, and you don't have our authorization for another war.

Well I'm not running for President to conform to Washington's conventional thinking -- I'm running to challenge it. I'm not running to join the kind of Washington groupthink that led us to war in Iraq -- I'm running to change our politics and our policy so we can leave the world a better place than our generation has found it.

Barack Obama selects a discourse marker “*well*” to maintain the cohesion and the coherence of the discourse in which it is used to pause before the important argument. It is, therefore, to make the recipients ready to pay more attention to the argument after “*well*”.

2. Ungrammatical Sentence

Five years after that vote for war, we should all have learned the lesson that the cowboy diplomacy of not talking to people we don't like doesn't work. We do need tougher diplomacy with Iran. But the way to support tough diplomacy is not to vote for reckless amendments -- the way to support diplomacy is to actually pursue it. That's what I've called for throughout this campaign -- direct diplomacy, without preconditions. And that's what I'll do as President. Not the Bush-Cheney diplomacy of talking to our friends and ignoring our enemies. **Real, direct, and sustained diplomacy.**

When all is said and done, the price-tag will run over a trillion dollars. **A trillion dollars.** That's money not spent on homeland security and counter-terrorism; on providing health care to all Americans and a world-class education to every child;

on investments in energy to save ourselves and our planet from an addiction to oil. That is a cost of this war.

The aforementioned structure of words with bold type is not a sentence even though it is ended by full stop marker. This one of the discursive tactics on oral structure is used because this kind of structure is acceptable only oral discourse. This tactic is selected by Barack Obama to influence the meaning and the coherence of the discourse as if what he proposes about the resolution of Iran crisis is more applicable that George Bush did. This kind of tactic on oral structure is also found in other paragraphs of his speeches.

4.1.1.4 Discursive Tactics on Sentential Structure

1. Temporal Language

When Barack Obama requires tenses is not merely as the need of building cohesion and the coherence of the discourse. It is much more one of discursive tactics on sentential structure to influence his recipients. It forces the recipients to cognitively move to the time indicated. He uses all tenses especially by adorning them by the time signals such as “*today*”, “*now*”, and “*future*”. In addition, the time-zones are used to persuade the recipients. The categorization is based on the time-zone. Those which include, therefore, present, past and future.

Present:

Now, it's easy to oppose a war after it has gone wrong. It's easy to say -- years later -- that the war shouldn't have happened, given **what we know now about how badly it has turned out**. But every single one of us running for President only had one chance to make a judgment about whether or not to go to war.

You know, I welcome all of the folks who have changed their position on the war over these last months and years. And we need more of those votes to change if we're going to change the direction of this war. That is

why I will keep speaking directly to my colleagues in the Congress, both Republican and Democratic. Historically, we have come together in a bipartisan way to deal with our most monumental challenges. We should do so again. We have the power to do this - not as Republicans or Democrats, but as Americans. We don't have to wait until George Bush is gone from office - **we can begin to end this war today, right now.**

Yes, it's easy to be cynical. **But right now, somewhere in Iraq, there's someone about your age.** He's maybe on his second or third tour. It's hot. He would rather be at home. But he's in his uniform, got his combat gear on. He's getting in a Humvee. He's going out on patrol. He's lost a buddy in this war, maybe more. He risked his life yesterday, **he's risking his life today**, and he's going to risk it tomorrow.

Barack Obama uses words such as “*now*”, “*today*” and “*right now*” to give immediacy and urgency, making the present more important. This can be used to encourage decision-making without further thinking. We know from these selected quotations that Barack Obama stresses the urgency and immediacy of going to war in Iraq to convince the recipients from any elements of American society that the war has scarified Americans and entrusted American standing in the world.

Past:

But the conventional thinking in Washington lined up for war. The President and his advisors told us that the only way to stop Saddam Hussein from getting a nuclear weapon was to go to war, that we couldn't let the smoking gun be a mushroom cloud. Leading Democrats -- including Senator Clinton -- echoed the erroneous line that there was a connection between Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda. We were counselled by some of the most experienced voices in Washington that the only way for Democrats to look tough was to talk, act, and vote like Republicans.

A few months ago, I met a woman who told me her nephew was leaving for Iraq. As she started to tell me about how much she'd miss him and how worried she was about him, she began to cry. "I can't

breathe,' she said. "I want to know when I am going to be able to breathe again.'

There are those who offer up easy answers. They will assert that Iraq is George Bush's war, it's all his fault. **Or that Iraq was botched by the arrogance and incompetence of Donald Rumsfeld and Dick Cheney. Or that we would have gotten Iraq right if we went in with more troops, or if we had a different proconsul instead of Paul Bremer, or if only there were a stronger Iraqi Prime Minister.**

Through past tense sentences of a discursive tactic on sentential structure, Barack Obama attempts to relive past experiences. It also causes the recipients to re-experience the emotions associated with the past memories. He tries to remind all recipients as if George Bush and all American governments who voted for the war in Iraq have made wrong decision and it according to him should have never happened.

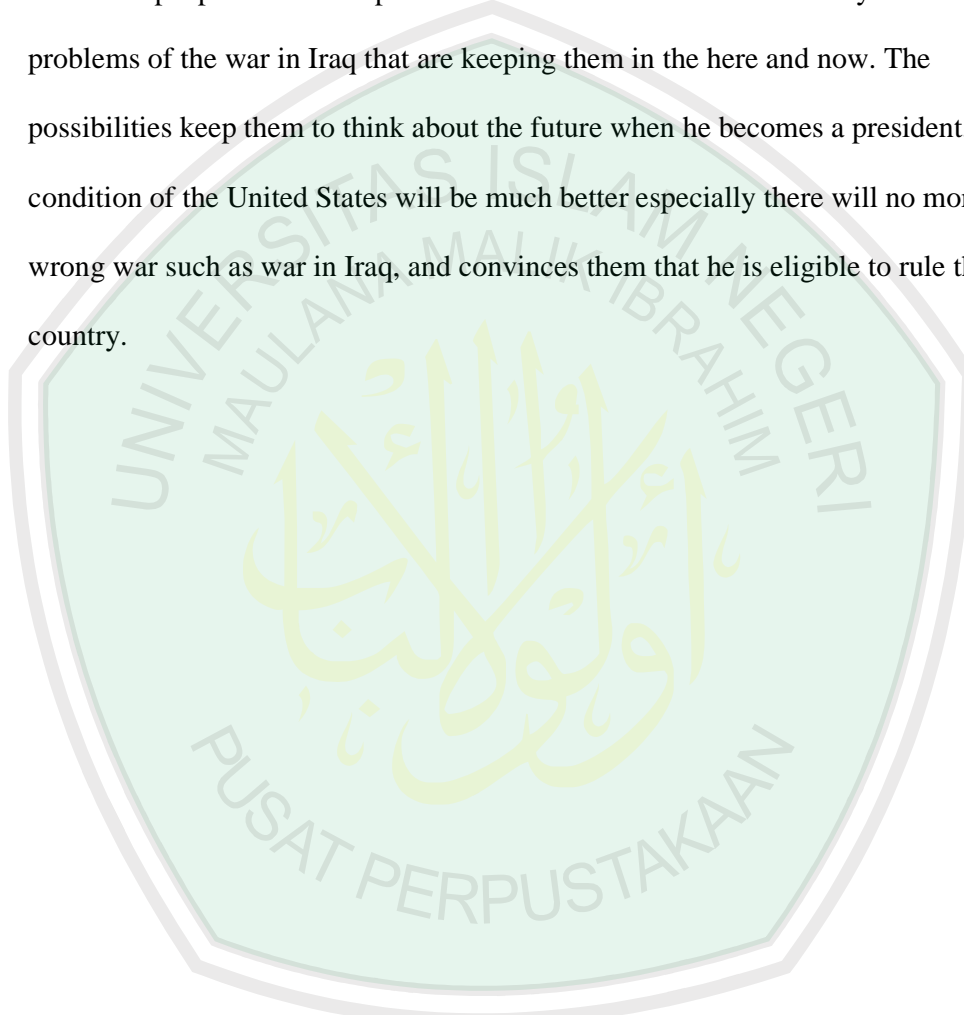
Future:

I would not be on this stage today if the promise of America had not brought my father across an ocean. I would not be on this stage if generations of Americans had not fought before me so that the American dream could be extended to a man named Barack Obama. That's why I have spent my own life fighting for that dream, no matter how difficult it's been, no matter how tough it was to take a stand. That's why **I will always tell you** where I stand and what I believe. And when I am President, that is how **we will meet the hard challenges**, and reclaim that dream, and make the United States of America a light to the world once more.

When we end this war, we can recapture our unity of effort as Americans. The American people have the right instincts on Iraq. It's time to heed their judgment. It's time to move beyond Iraq so that we can move forward together. **I will be a President** who listens to the American people, not a President who ignores them.

As we do this, **we'll be in a better position to lead the world in enforcing the rules of the road** if we firmly abide by those rules. It's time to stop giving countries like Iran and North Korea an excuse. It's time for America to lead. When I'm President, **we'll strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty** so that nations that don't comply will automatically face strong international sanctions.

The discursive tactic on sentential structure by implementing future tense is to influence the meaning of the discourse. Barack Obama uses it to get American people to think of possibilities. This can distract them away from problems of the war in Iraq that are keeping them in the here and now. The possibilities keep them to think about the future when he becomes a president, the condition of the United States will be much better especially there will no more wrong war such as war in Iraq, and convinces them that he is eligible to rule the country.



Time Switching:

Senator Clinton is the only Democratic candidate for president who supports this amendment. **She said, like she did five years ago, that it is a way to support diplomacy.** I disagree. We all know that Iran poses a threat. We do need to mount international pressure to stop Iran's nuclear program. We do need to tighten sanctions on the Iranian regime -- particularly on Iran's Revolutionary Guard, which supports terrorism. But this must be done separately from any saber-rattling about checking Iranian influence with our military presence in Iraq.

When all is said and done, the price-tag will run over a trillion dollars. A trillion dollars. That's money not spent on homeland security and counter-terrorism; on providing health care to all Americans and a world-class education to every child; on investments in energy to save ourselves and our planet from an addiction to oil. That is a cost of this war.

When I said that as President I would lead direct diplomacy with our adversaries, I was called naïve and irresponsible. **But how are we going to turn the page on the failed Bush-Cheney policy of not talking to our adversaries if we don't have a President who will lead that diplomacy?**

The strategy to switch the time-zone such as from past to future or from present to future can have multiple effects. First, it causes confusion, which can lead to openness to persuasion. It also merges together past, present and future, giving a sense of continuity and timelessness. Barack Obama uses the time switching to persuade and convince the recipients about his arguments. Usually he use past to future to emphasizes what happened in the past then he convinces by the argument what will happen in the future. For instance, he states that Hillary Clinton has taken wrong decision by giving support to the war in Iraq. She, then, changes to oppose the war. Thus, Barack Obama uses the future time to convince the recipients as if Hillary Clinton has not been consistent about her standing whether to support or oppose the war. In the contrary, he convinces them once

more than all Americans, when he becomes a president, will know his standing and consistency. The discursive tactic is used by Barack Obama to assert it by using future.

2. Passive Sentence

In Barack Obama's political speeches, I found passive sentences as a discursive tactic on sentential structure in which they are used for focus on different participants in an event. The use of passive sentences in his speeches is a strategy to accentuate to the object that in passive sentence becomes the subject. There are two kinds of passive sentences in his speeches which involve passive sentences by first subject or without first subject, a subject in active sentence.

Senator Edwards voted for the war in 2002. He has renounced that vote, instead of pretending that it was a vote for anything but war. But Senator Clinton makes a different argument. She says that she wasn't really voting for war back in 2002, she was voting for more inspections, or she was voting for more diplomacy. But all of us know **what was being debated in the Congress in the fall of 2002**. We didn't need to authorize a war in order to have United Nations weapons inspections. No one thought Congress was debating whether or not to conduct diplomacy. The headlines on October 12, 2002 did not read: "Congress authorizes diplomacy with Iraq" -- the headlines on October 12, 2002 read "Congress backs war."

The example of the quotation of Barack Obama's speech above shows how he makes the first subject of the passive sentence does not necessarily exist in the sentence because indeed the object is more important as represented by "*what*" that refers to the war in Iraq. Through this discursive tactic, Barack Obama attempts to influence the meaning of the discourse in order the recipients focus more to the object that is debated in the congress than to the subject who debates it.

America's standing has suffered. **Our diplomacy has been compromised by a refusal to talk to people we don't like. Our alliances have been compromised by bluster. Our credibility has been compromised by a faulty case for war. Our moral leadership has been compromised by Abu Ghraib.** That is a cost of this war.

Barack Obama uses passive sentences which are completed with the first subject has two intentions to show the cause of an event by mentioning the first subject and to influence the recipients to focus to object of the event. When mentioning the first subject, Barack Obama can give positive and negative effect to the meaning. It seems clear that Barack Obama uses the first subject in passive sentences to show as if the United States government and all American people who support the war are responsible for the consequences that Americans must receive because of the war in Iraq.

3. Rhetorical Question

A claim is more convincing when it is formulated in a rhetorical question. The discursive tactics on sentential structure by formulating a rhetorical question invites the intended answer by the questioners. The rhetorical questions such as “*Will we make these decisions based on polls, or based on our principles?*” and “*Why is this amendment so dangerous?*” are used by Barack Obama after he delivers the arguments. These rhetorical questions function to present strong arguments or to strengthen the argument and sometimes associated with forceful arguments. In this case, it functions as peripheral cues and increases the persuasiveness of the discourse regardless the argument strength. If the rhetorical question is about yes/no question, it produces the intended answer by the

questioners. However, if the type of question is about why, the answer varies among the recipients.

And when I said that we can rule out the use of nuclear weapons to take out a terrorist training camp, it was immediately branded a "gaffe" because I did not recite the conventional Washington-speak. **But is there any military planner in the world who believes that we need to drop a nuclear bomb on a terrorist training camp?**

In his speech, Barack Obama uses rhetorical question after the argument to influence the coherence of the discourse and the message which are transferred to the recipients. Rhetorical question evokes a judgement, but this judgement is not founded in the argument. Barack Obama puts the rhetorical question after he explained that to go to war in Iraq is not a resolution for capturing the terrorist base because in fact the nuclear weapon is not proven.

How we made that decision, and how we talk about it, is critical to understanding what we would do as President. **Will we carefully evaluate the evidence and the consequences of action, or will we skip over the intelligence and scare people with the consequences of inaction? Will we make these decisions based on polls, or based on our principles? Will we have the courage to make the tough choice, or will we just choose the course that makes us look tough?**

It seems very unique when Barack Obama uses rhetorical questions by providing the choices for the recipients even though it is clear that that rhetorical question before "or" is the intended goal by Barack Obama while the rhetorical question after "or" is to indicate the wrong decision made by the government today. It functions to distinguish that his resolution for the country who conduct nuclear program proposed by him is better than what George Bush did.

So **why do we reject the cynicism?** We reject it because of men and women like him. We reject it because the legacy of their sacrifice must be a better America. We reject it because they embody the spirit of those who

fought to free the slaves and free a continent from a madman; who rebuilt Europe and sent Peace Corps volunteers around the globe; because they are fighting for a better America and a better world.

The discursive tactic of Barack Obama as he uses the rhetorical question “*why*” always precedes the argument because the answer varies when someone uses it. It means that he uses it just to ask for the more attention of the recipients to the reasons that he reveals.

4. Repetition

Repetition functions as persuasive language to attract the recipients and to give impressive meaning to the statement. Barack Obama uses it to end the argument and to stimulate the recipients to think more about the statement.

Nearly 4,000 Americans have been killed in Iraq. Five times that number have suffered horrible wounds, seen and unseen. Loved ones have been lost, dreams denied. Children will grow up without fathers and mothers. Parents have outlived their children. **That is a cost of this war.**

When all is said and done, the price-tag will run over a trillion dollars. A trillion dollars. That's money not spent on homeland security and counter-terrorism; on providing health care to all Americans and a world-class education to every child; on investments in energy to save ourselves and our planet from an addiction to oil. **That is a cost of this war.**

The excellence of our military is unmatched. But as a result of this war, our forces are under pressure as never before. Our National Guard and reserves have half of the equipment they need to respond to emergencies at home and abroad. Retention among West Point graduates is down. Our powers of deterrence and influence around the world are down. **That is a cost of this war.**

4.1.2 Result of Analysis

The result of analysis provides some categories of the representative data. All of the categories are in accordance with the research findings and data descriptions above. To make it easier and more simple, the researcher decides to

take the amount from each categories of discursive tactics based on the result data analysis that are enclosed in the second appendix.



4.1.2.1 The Tactics on Word Structure

Title	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	DM	Sensory
Lessons From Iraq	145	22	19	22	86	78
Turning the Page in Iraq	164	25	19	23	91	60
A New Beginning	170	17	22	23	118	71

4.1.2.2 The Tactics on Phrasal Structure

Title of Speech	Noun Phrase				Adjective Phrase	Verb Phrase
	Art + N	Pro + N	Adj + N	Mixing		
Lessons from Iraq	70	17	21	55	3	22
Turning the Page in Iraq	95	45	40	60	6	25
A New Beginning	110	22	29	81	5	20

4.1.2.3 The Tactics on Oral Structure

No.	Discourse Markers	Ungrammatical Sentence
1	Well	Real, direct and sustained diplomacy
2	You know	A trillion dollar
3	Yes	-
4	Thank you	-

4.1.2.4 The Tactics on Sentential Structure

Title of Speech	Temporal Sentence				Passive Voice		Rhetorical Question		Sentential Repetition
	Present	Past	Future	Switch	Comp.	Incomp.	Yes/no	Others	
Lessons from Iraq	34	26	3	20	3	3	5	2	4
Turning the Page in Iraq	85	38	6	8	6	18	-	-	13
A New Beginning	61	34	8	19	4	12	2	2	6

4.2 Discussion

It is very clear based on the data description and result of analysis that in discourse of his political speeches, Barack Obama uses in general discursive tactics to influence the cohesion and the coherence of the discourse to attract the recipients and change the attitude of the recipients. The discursive tactics that are investigated in specific consist of four discursive tactics that are the tactics on word, phrasal, oral, and sentential structure.

The tactics on word structure involves *pronoun*, *generalization*, *intensifier*, *trivializing word*, *discourse marker*, and *sensory word*. Pronoun is a word used to influence the cohesion and the coherence of the discourse in line with the context of the discourse such as the choice of “*I*” instead of “*we*” and forth.

Generalization is a word used to influence the meaning of discourse event.

Intensifier is a word used to amplify the effect of another word that intensifies the meaning and particularly the emotional content. Trivializing word is a word which has an effect of deflating and making something smaller and less important than it really is. Discourse marker is a word that signals the cohesion of the discourse in order the discourse can be easily understood by the recipients. The last of the tactics on word structure is sensory word, a word which evokes sense that semantically can give more effect to the recipients whether positive or negative.

Secondly, the tactics on phrasal structure are divided into *noun phrase*, *adjective phrase*, and *verb phrase*. In political discourse, noun phrase is a modification of two or more words that function as a tactic to affect the meaning of the noun itself. Adjective phrase is a unification of adjective to emphasize the

meaningful sense of the discourse which can semantically stimulate the recipients to involve their emotions. Moreover, verb phrase is a modification of a verb to strengthen the meaning of the verb that can support the coherence of the discourse.

Thirdly, the tactics on oral or expression structure just perform the tactics through *discourse markers* and *ungrammatical sentence*. The researcher distinguishes the discourse markers in word structure and what he called as Oral Discourse Markers. It is a part of the discourse that functions as a pause before the important statements to ask for the more attention from the recipients while ungrammatical sentence is a sentence that can not be categorized as a sentence in term of written discourse, but it is used as a stress to the sentence before.

The next discursive tactic is the tactics on sentential structure that cover *temporal sentence*, *passive voice*, *rhetorical question*, and *repetition*. Temporal sentence is a sentence that contains the particular time event that can cognitively force the recipients to move to the time indicated. This tactic on sentential structure emphasizes to the main tenses such as present, past, and future. Sometimes the mixed tenses are manifested to give more effect to the recipients. Passive sentence is a strategy to accentuate to the object that in passive sentence becomes the subject. There are two kinds of passive sentence: complete passive sentence and incomplete one. Some passive sentences without its "subject" is called as incomplete passive sentence and conversely. It depends on the speaker's or writer's interest. Rhetorical question is a question which functions to strengthen the argument. Usually it emerges after the arguments. If the speaker or writer is

convinced that the argument is strong enough, it might come first before the argument. Repetition is a tactic on sentence to persuade the recipients to be more concerned with what is delivered by the speaker or writer. It can happen in term of the arrangement of the sentence and pattern of the sentence.

Some findings of the study actually have been ever investigated by other researchers. In the tactics on word structure, Sakban Rosidi has found pronoun, discourse markers and generalization as the strategy of the discourse while in the tactics on sentential structure, there are several researchers such as Daniel Howard who analyzed the rhetorical questions. He, however, used pragmatics as an approach to investigate the rhetorical question. This study, therefore, enriches some theories that have existed.

It seems very effective when Barack Obama uses the discursive tactics to influence the cohesion and the coherence of the discourse because it enables him to persuade his recipients to trust him and convince them as if he is very qualified to be the president of the United States. He frequently uses temporal sentence especially future tense in his speeches and the combination of words in phrasal structure to give more effects on the meanings and the discourse events.

Barack Obama's victory in primaries and caucuses on June 3, 2008 confirms that he has powerful words and charisma comparing with other candidates especially Hillary Clinton who has sufficient experience but she failed to win the nomination. It is what can make sense that Barack Obama wins the primaries and caucuses because his powerful speeches.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

This chapter consists of conclusion and suggestions that are related to the research findings.

5.1 Conclusion

In all of studied speeches, Barack Obama uses micro-structural level strategies to enhance the cohesion and coherence of his political discourse. Furthermore, he uses those strategies to ensure the audiences that he is eligible to lead the American people and government for the better future. At last, he lets the people to vote him for the next president of the United States. The table below shows the detailed Discursive Tactics at Micro Structural level of discourse.

Discursive Tactics	Kinds of Tactics	Functions	Examples
Word Structure	Pronoun	Forming the cohesion and the coherence to attract the receivers.	Select “we” instead of “I”
	Generalization	Influencing the meaning of the discourse.	Americans, United State Senate, enemies.
	Intensifier	Reinforcing the meaning of the discourse.	Very, always, and never.
	Trivializing Word	Deflating and making something smaller or less than it really is.	Just, differently, less.
	Discourse Markers	Supporting the cohesion and coherence of the discourse to make it easily understood.	Because, but, and, however, excreta.
			Evoking sense of

	Sensory Word	words in the discourse.	judgement, and badly.
Phrasal Structure	Noun Phrase	Inducing the meaning of the noun in the discourse.	A president, the vote, and a new beginning.
	Adjective Phrase	Reinforcing the meaning of the adjective in discourse.	Partially true, very important.
	Verb Phrase	Supporting the meaning of the verb in discourse.	Badly need, have enough, really understand
Oral Structure	Discourse Markers	Attracting the recipients to pay more attention to the arguments.	<i>Yes and well</i>
	Ungrammatical Sentence	Influencing the coherence of discourse.	
Sentential Structure	Temporal Sentence	Persuading the recipients to think to particular time and adorning the meaning of discourse.	
	Passive Voice	Emphasizing certain events in discourse and inducing the coherence of discourse.	
	Rhetorical Question	Reinforcing the arguments and stimulating people to think about what speaker or writer mean.	
	Repetition	Reinforcing the statements and reminding people to the discourse events.	

Barack Obama's discursive tactics can be specified as word structures that include pronoun, generalization, intensifier, trivializing word, discourse marker, and sensory word. He, then, uses the discursive tactics on phrasal structure that consist of noun phrase, adjective phrase, and verb phrase. The next micro-structural level strategy is the using of oral structure: oral discourse markers and ungrammatical sentences. The last, he uses the tactics on sentential structures which involve temporal sentence, passive voice, rhetorical question, and repetition.

In conclusion, this study produces the descriptive knowledge of the micro-structural level strategies that are used by an American Senator Barack Obama in his speeches. Those tactics cover on word, phrasal, oral, and sentential structures. Finally, the research findings support van Dijk's model of Critical Discourse Analysis.

5.2 Suggestions

After doing this research, the researcher admits that there are some weaknesses and limitation of this study because political speeches are full of certain goals and self-interests. The researcher, therefore, suggests the next researchers to study more deeply and more focus, especially to the discourse markers, rhetorical questions, passive voice, and repetition because theses findings of sentential structure have more significant contribution and influence to the whole discourse.

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A New Beginning

DePaul University
Barack Obama
October 2, 2007

Thank you, Ted. Ted Sorenson has been counselor to a President in some of our toughest moments, and he has helped define our national purpose at pivotal turning points. Let me also welcome all of the elected officials from Illinois who are with us. Let me give a special welcome to all of the organizers and speakers who joined me to rally against going to war in Iraq five years ago. And I want to thank DePaul University and DePaul's students for hosting this event.

We come together at a time of renewal for DePaul. A new academic year has begun. Professors are learning the names of new students, and students are reminded that you actually do have to attend class. That cold is beginning to creep into the Chicago air. The season is changing.

DePaul is now filled with students who have not spent a single day on campus without the reality of a war in Iraq. Four classes have matriculated and four classes have graduated since this war began. And we are reminded that America's sons and daughters in uniform, and their families, bear the heavy burden. The wife of one soldier from Illinois wrote to me and said that her husband "feels like he's stationed in Iraq and deploys home." That's a tragic statement. And it could be echoed by families across our country who have seen loved ones deployed to tour after tour of duty.

You are students. And the great responsibility of students is to question the world around you, to question things that don't add up. With Iraq, we must ask the question: how did we go so wrong?

There are those who offer up easy answers. They will assert that Iraq is George Bush's war, it's all his fault. Or that Iraq was botched by the arrogance and incompetence of Donald Rumsfeld and Dick Cheney. Or that we would have gotten Iraq right if we went in with more troops, or if we had a different proconsul instead of Paul Bremer, or if only there were a stronger Iraqi Prime Minister.

These are the easy answers. And like most easy answers, they are partially true. But they don't tell the whole truth, because they overlook a harder and more fundamental truth. The hard truth is that the war in Iraq is not about a catalog of many mistakes -- it is about one big mistake. The war in Iraq should never have been fought.

Five years ago today, I was asked to speak at a rally against going to war in Iraq. The vote to authorize the war in Congress was less than ten days away and I was a candidate for the United States Senate. Some friends of mine advised me to keep quiet. Going to war in Iraq, they pointed out, was popular. All the other major candidates were supporting the war at the time. If the war goes well, they said, you'll have thrown your political career away.

But I didn't see how Saddam Hussein posed an imminent threat. I was convinced that a war would distract us from Afghanistan and the real threat from al Qaeda. I worried that Iraq's history of sectarian rivalry could leave us bogged down in a bloody conflict. And I believed the war would fan the flames of extremism and lead to new terrorism. So I went to the rally. And I argued against a "rash war" -- a "war based not on reason, but on politics" -- "an occupation of undetermined length, with undetermined costs, and undetermined consequences."

I was not alone. Though not a majority, millions of Americans opposed giving the President the authority to wage war in Iraq. Twenty-three Senators, including the leader of the Senate Intelligence Committee, shared my concerns and resisted the march to war. For us, the war defied common sense. After all, the people who hit us on 9/11 were in Afghanistan, not Iraq.

But the conventional thinking in Washington has a way of buying into stories that make political sense even if they don't make practical sense. We were told that the only way to prevent Iraq from getting nuclear weapons was with military force. Some leading Democrats echoed the Administration's erroneous line that there was a connection between Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda. We were counseled by some of the most experienced voices in Washington that the only way for Democrats to look tough was to talk, act and vote like a Republican.

As Ted Sorensen's old boss President Kennedy once said -- "the pursuit of peace is not as dramatic as the pursuit of war -- and frequently the words of the pursuer fall on deaf ears." In the fall of 2002, those deaf ears were in Washington. They belonged to a President who didn't tell the whole truth to the American people; who disdained diplomacy and bullied allies; and who squandered our unity and the support of the world after 9/11.

But it doesn't end there. Because the American people weren't just failed by a President -- they were failed by much of Washington. By a media that too often reported spin instead of facts. By a foreign policy elite that largely boarded the bandwagon for war. And most of all by the majority of a Congress -- a coequal branch of government -- that voted to give the President the open-ended authority to wage war that he uses to this day. Let's be clear: without that vote, there would be no war.

Some seek to rewrite history. They argue that they weren't really voting for war, they were voting for inspectors, or for diplomacy. But the Congress, the Administration, the media, and the American people all understood what we were debating in the fall of 2002. This was a vote about whether or not to go to war. That's the truth as we all understood it then, and as we need to understand it now. And we need to ask those who voted for the war: how can you give the President a blank check and then act surprised when he cashes it?

With all that we know about what's gone wrong in Iraq, even today's debate is divorced from reality. We've got a surge that is somehow declared a success even though it has failed to enable the political reconciliation that was its stated purpose. The fact that violence today is only as horrific as in 2006 is held up as progress. Washington politicians and pundits trip over each other to debate a newspaper advertisement while our troops fight and die in Iraq.

And the conventional thinking today is just as entrenched as it was in 2002. This is the conventional thinking that measures experience only by the years you've been in Washington, not by your time spent serving in the wider world. This is the conventional thinking that has turned against the war, but not

against the habits that got us into the war in the first place -- the outdated assumptions and the refusal to talk openly to the American people.

Well I'm not running for President to conform to Washington's conventional thinking -- I'm running to challenge it. I'm not running to join the kind of Washington groupthink that led us to war in Iraq -- I'm running to change our politics and our policy so we can leave the world a better place than our generation has found it.

So there is a choice that has emerged in this campaign, one that the American people need to understand. They should ask themselves: who got the single most important foreign policy decision since the end of the Cold War right, and who got it wrong. This is not just a matter of debating the past. It's about who has the best judgment to make the critical decisions of the future. Because you might think that Washington would learn from Iraq. But we've seen in this campaign just how bent out of shape Washington gets when you challenge its assumptions.

When I said that as President I would lead direct diplomacy with our adversaries, I was called naïve and irresponsible. But how are we going to turn the page on the failed Bush-Cheney policy of not talking to our adversaries if we don't have a President who will lead that diplomacy?

When I said that we should take out high-level terrorists like Osama bin Laden if we have actionable intelligence about their whereabouts, I was lectured by legions of Iraq War supporters. They said we can't take out bin Laden if the country he's hiding in won't. A few weeks later, the co-chairmen of the 9/11 Commission -- Tom Kean and Lee Hamilton -- agreed with my position. But few in Washington seemed to notice.

Some people made a different argument on this issue. They said we can take out bin Laden, we just can't say that we will. I reject this. I am a candidate for President of the United States, and I believe that the American people have a right to know where I stand.

And when I said that we can rule out the use of nuclear weapons to take out a terrorist training camp, it was immediately branded a "gaffe" because I did

not recite the conventional Washington-speak. But is there any military planner in the world who believes that we need to drop a nuclear bomb on a terrorist training camp?

We need to question the world around us. When we have a debate about experience, we can't just debate who has the most experience scoring political points. When we have a debate about experience, we can't just talk about who fought yesterday's battles -- we have to focus on who can face the challenges and seize the opportunities of tomorrow. Because no matter what we think about George Bush, he's going to be gone in January 2009. He's not on the ballot. This election is about ending the Iraq War, but even more it's about moving beyond it. And we're not going to be safe in a world of unconventional threats with the same old conventional thinking that got us into Iraq. We're not going to unify a divided America to confront these threats with the same old conventional politics of just trying to beat the other side.

In 2009, we will have a window of opportunity to renew our global leadership and bring our nation together. If we don't seize that moment, we may not get another. This election is a turning point. The American people get to decide: are we going to turn back the clock, or turn the page?

I want to be straight with you. If you want conventional Washington thinking, I'm not your man. If you want rigid ideology, I'm not your man. If you think that fundamental change can wait, I'm definitely not your man. But if you want to bring this country together, if you want experience that's broader than just learning the ways of Washington, if you think that the global challenges we face are too urgent to wait, and if you think that America must offer the world a new and hopeful face, then I offer a different choice in this race and a different vision for our future.

The first thing we have to do is end this war. And the right person to end it is someone who had the judgment to oppose it from the beginning. There is no military solution in Iraq, and there never was. I will begin to remove our troops from Iraq immediately. I will remove one or two brigades a month, and get all of our combat troops out of Iraq within 16 months. The only troops I will keep in

Iraq will perform the limited missions of protecting our diplomats and carrying out targeted strikes on al Qaeda. And I will launch the diplomatic and humanitarian initiatives that are so badly needed. Let there be no doubt: I will end this war.

But it's also time to learn the lessons of Iraq. We're not going to defeat the threats of the 21st century on a conventional battlefield. We cannot win a fight for hearts and minds when we outsource critical missions to unaccountable contractors. We're not going to win a battle of ideas with bullets alone.

Make no mistake: we must always be prepared to use force to protect America. But the best way to keep America safe is not to threaten terrorists with nuclear weapons -- it's to keep nuclear weapons and nuclear materials away from terrorists. That's why I've worked with Republican Senator Dick Lugar to pass a law accelerating our pursuit of loose nuclear materials. And that's why I'll lead a global effort to secure all loose nuclear materials during my first term in office.

But we need to do much more. We need to change our nuclear policy and our posture, which is still focused on deterring the Soviet Union -- a country that doesn't exist. Meanwhile, India and Pakistan and North Korea have joined the club of nuclear-armed nations, and Iran is knocking on the door. More nuclear weapons and more nuclear-armed nations mean more danger to us all.

Here's what I'll say as President: America seeks a world in which there are no nuclear weapons.

We will not pursue unilateral disarmament. As long as nuclear weapons exist, we'll retain a strong nuclear deterrent. But we'll keep our commitment under the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty on the long road towards eliminating nuclear weapons. We'll work with Russia to take U.S. and Russian ballistic missiles off hair-trigger alert, and to dramatically reduce the stockpiles of our nuclear weapons and material. We'll start by seeking a global ban on the production of fissile material for weapons. And we'll set a goal to expand the U.S.-Russian ban on intermediate-range missiles so that the agreement is global.

As we do this, we'll be in a better position to lead the world in enforcing the rules of the road if we firmly abide by those rules. It's time to stop giving

countries like Iran and North Korea an excuse. It's time for America to lead. When I'm President, we'll strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty so that nations that don't comply will automatically face strong international sanctions.

This will require a new era of American diplomacy. To signal the dawn of that era, we need a President who is willing to talk to all nations, friend and foe. I'm not afraid that America will lose a propaganda battle with a petty tyrant -- we need to go before the world and win those battles. If we take the attitude that the President just parachutes in for a photo-op after an agreement has already been reached, then we're only going to reach agreements with our friends. That's not the way to protect the American people. That's not the way to advance our interests.

Just look at our history. Kennedy had a direct line to Khrushchev. Nixon met with Mao. Carter did the hard work of negotiating the Camp David Accords. Reagan was negotiating arms agreements with Gorbachev even as he called on him to "tear down this wall."

It's time to make diplomacy a top priority. Instead of shuttering consulates, we need to open them in the tough and hopeless corners of the world. Instead of having more Americans serving in military bands than the diplomatic corps, we need to grow our foreign service. Instead of retreating from the world, I will personally lead a new chapter of American engagement.

It is time to offer the world a message of hope to counter the prophets of hate. My experience has brought me to the hopeless places. As a boy, I lived in Indonesia and played barefoot with children who could not dream the same dreams that I did. As an adult, I've returned to be with my family in their small village in Kenya, where the promise of America is still an inspiration. As a community organizer, I worked in South Side neighborhoods that had been left behind by global change. As a Senator, I've been to refugee camps in Chad where proud and dignified people can't hope for anything beyond the next handout.

In the 21st century, progress must mean more than a vote at the ballot box -- it must mean freedom from fear and freedom from want. We cannot stand for the freedom of anarchy. Nor can we support the globalization of the empty stomach. We need new approaches to help people to help themselves. The United

Nations has embraced the Millennium Development Goals, which aim to cut extreme poverty in half by 2015. When I'm President, they will be America's goals. The Bush Administration tried to keep the UN from proclaiming these goals; the Obama Administration will double foreign assistance to \$50 billion to lead the world to achieve them.

In the 21st century, we cannot stand up before the world and say that there's one set of rules for America and another for everyone else. To lead the world, we must lead by example. We must be willing to acknowledge our failings, not just trumpet our victories. And when I'm President, we'll reject torture -- without exception or equivocation; we'll close Guantanamo; we'll be the country that credibly tells the dissidents in the prison camps around the world that America is your voice, America is your dream, and America is your light of justice.

We cannot -- we must not -- let the promotion of our values be a casualty of the Iraq War. But we cannot secure America and show our best face to the world unless we change how we do business in Washington.

We all know what Iraq has cost us abroad. But these last few years we've seen an unacceptable abuse of power at home. We face real threats. Any President needs the latitude to confront them swiftly and surely. But we've paid a heavy price for having a President whose priority is expanding his own power. The Constitution is treated like a nuisance. Matters of war and peace are used as political tools to bludgeon the other side. We get subjected to endless spin to keep our troops at war, but we don't get to see the flag-draped coffins of our heroes coming home. We get secret task forces, secret budgeting, slanted intelligence, and the shameful smearing of people who speak out against the President's policies.

All of this has left us where we are today: more divided, more distrusted, more in debt, and mired in an endless war. A war to disarm a dictator has become an open-ended occupation of a foreign country. This is not America. This is not who we are. It's time for us to stand up and tell George Bush that the government in this

country is not based on the whims of one person, the government is of the people, by the people and for the people.

We thought we learned this lesson. After Vietnam, Congress swore it would never again be duped into war, and even wrote a new law -- the War Powers Act -- to ensure it would not repeat its mistakes. But no law can force a Congress to stand up to the President. No law can make Senators read the intelligence that showed the President was overstating the case for war. No law can give Congress a backbone if it refuses to stand up as the co-equal branch the Constitution made it.

That is why it is not enough to change parties. It is time to change our politics. We don't need another President who puts politics and loyalty over candor. We don't need another President who thinks big but doesn't feel the need to tell the American people what they think. We don't need another President who shuts the door on the American people when they make policy. The American people are not the problem in this country -- they are the answer. And it's time we had a President who acted like that.

I will always tell the American people the truth. I will always tell you where I stand. It's what I'm doing in this campaign. It's what I'll do as President. I'll lead a new era of openness. I'll give an annual "State of the World" address to the American people in which I lay out our national security policy. I'll draw on the legacy of one our greatest Presidents -- Franklin Roosevelt -- and give regular "fireside webcasts," and I'll have members of my national security team do the same.

I'll turn the page on a growing empire of classified information, and restore the balance we've lost between the necessarily secret and the necessity of openness in a democratic society by creating a new National Declassification Center. We'll protect sources and methods, but we won't use sources and methods as pretexts to hide the truth. Our history doesn't belong to Washington, it belongs to America.

I'll use the intelligence that I do receive to make good policy -- I won't manipulate it to sell a bad policy. We don't need any more officials who tell the

President what they want to hear. I will make the Director of National Intelligence an official with a fixed term, like the Chairman of the Federal Reserve -- not someone who can be fired by the President. We need consistency and integrity at the top of our intelligence agencies. We don't need politics. My test won't be loyalty -- it will be the truth.

And I'll turn the page on the imperial presidency that treats national security as a partisan issue -- not an American issue. I will call for a standing, bipartisan Consultative Group of congressional leaders on national security. I will meet with this Consultative Group every month, and consult with them before taking major military action. The buck will stop with me. But these discussions have to take place on a bipartisan basis, and support for these decisions will be stronger if they draw on bipartisan counsel. We're not going to secure this country unless we turn the page on the conventional thinking that says politics is just about beating the other side.

It's time to unite America, because we are at an urgent and pivotal moment.

There are those who suggest that there are easy answers to the challenges we face. We can look, they say, to Washington experience -- the same experience that got us into this war. Or we can turn the page to something new, to unite this country and to seize this moment.

I am not a perfect man and I won't be a perfect President. But my own American story tells me that this country moves forward when we cast off our doubts and seek new beginnings.

It's what brought my father across an ocean in search of a dream. It's what I saw in the eyes of men and women and children in Indonesia who heard the word "America" and thought of the possibility beyond the horizon. It's what I saw in the streets of the South Side, when people who had every reason to give in decided to pick themselves up. It's what I've seen in the United States Senate when Republicans and Democrats of good will do come together to take on tough issues. And it's what I've seen in this campaign, when over half a million Americans have come together to seek the change this country needs.

Now I know that some will shake their heads. It's easy to be cynical. When it comes to our foreign policy, you get it from all sides. Some folks on the right will tell you that you don't love your country if you don't support the war in Iraq. Some folks on the left will tell you that America can do no right in the world. Some shrug their shoulders because Washington says, "trust us, we'll take care of it." And we know happened the last time they said that.

Yes, it's easy to be cynical. But right now, somewhere in Iraq, there's someone about your age. He's maybe on his second or third tour. It's hot. He would rather be at home. But he's in his uniform, got his combat gear on. He's getting in a Humvee. He's going out on patrol. He's lost a buddy in this war, maybe more. He risked his life yesterday, he's risking his life today, and he's going to risk it tomorrow.

So why do we reject the cynicism? We reject it because of men and women like him. We reject it because the legacy of their sacrifice must be a better America. We reject it because they embody the spirit of those who fought to free the slaves and free a continent from a madman; who rebuilt Europe and sent Peace Corps volunteers around the globe; because they are fighting for a better America and a better world.

And I reject it because I wouldn't be on this stage if, throughout our history, America had not made the right choice over the easy choice, the ambitious choice over the cautious choice. I wouldn't be here if I didn't think we were ready to move past the fights of the 1960s and the 1990s. I wouldn't be here if, time and again, the torch had not been passed to a new generation -- to unite this country at home, to show a new face of this country to the world. I'm running for the presidency of the United States of America so that together we can do the hard work to seek a new dawn of peace and prosperity for our children, and for the children of the world.

Senator Barack Obama: Lessons from Iraq

Des Moines, IA | October 12, 2007

Let me start by congratulating a great American, Al Gore, for being named this year's winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. Vice President Gore has been an extraordinary leader for this country. Through his many years of public service; his early and vocal opposition to the war in Iraq; and -- above all -- his singular leadership in drawing attention to the global climate crisis, Al Gore has advanced the cause of peace at home and around the world. This award is richly deserved.

You know, it was five years ago yesterday that the United States Senate voted to give President Bush the authority to wage war in Iraq. At the time, I was a candidate for the U.S. Senate and I spoke out strongly in opposition to going to war. Nearly all of my opponents for the Democratic nomination for President made a different choice, and voted to authorize the war.

Now, some have asked me, "Why are you always reminding us that you opposed the war? Isn't that yesterday's news? Is that experience really relevant?"

And what I always say is this -- this isn't just about the past, it's about the future. I don't talk about my opposition to the war to say "I told you so." I wish the war had gone differently. But the reason I talk about it is because I truly believe that the judgment, and the conviction, and the accountability that each of us showed on the most important foreign policy decision of our lives is the best indicator you have of how each of us will make those decisions going forward.

How we made that decision, and how we talk about it, is critical to understanding what we would do as President. Will we carefully evaluate the evidence and the consequences of action, or will we skip over the intelligence and scare people with the consequences of inaction? Will we make these decisions based on polls, or based on our principles? Will we have the courage to make the tough choice, or will we just choose the course that makes us look tough?

These decisions aren't just Washington parlor games about who's up and who's down. These are life and death decisions. They impact your safety and security. Above all, they impact the soldier from Iowa, or the airman from Illinois, and every single one of our brave young men and women who are in harm's way, and all of their families and friends back home.

Now, it's easy to oppose a war after it has gone wrong. It's easy to say -- years later -- that the war shouldn't have happened, given what we know now about how badly it has turned out. But every single one of us running for President only had one chance to make a judgment about whether or not to go to war.

As I travel around the country, so many Americans ask me: how did we go so wrong in Iraq? And they're not just asking because they want to understand the past -- they're asking because they don't want their leaders to make the same mistakes again in the future. They don't want leaders who will bog us down in unnecessary wars; they don't want leaders who allow America to lose its standing; and they don't want leaders who tell the American people anything less than the full truth about where they stand and what they'll do.

That is a big part of what this campaign is about. Because we need to learn the painful lessons of the Iraq War if we're going to secure this country and renew America's leadership.

The first thing we have to understand is what happened in Iraq. Because there are two ways to look at this. The first way is to say that Iraq is a disaster because of George Bush's mismanagement. Or because of the arrogance and incompetence of Dick Cheney or Donald Rumsfeld in prosecuting the war. Or because Iraq's Prime Minister just hasn't been up to the job.

But I take a different view. I think the problem isn't just *how* we've fought the war -- it's that we fought the war in the first place. Because the truth is, the war in Iraq should never have been authorized, and it should never have been waged. The Iraq War had nothing to do with al Qaeda or 9/11. It was based on exaggerated fears and unconvincing intelligence. And it has left America less safe, and less respected around the world.

Five years ago, my friends warned me not to speak up against the war. Going to war was popular. So was President Bush. You'll be putting your political career on the line, they said. But I just didn't see how Saddam Hussein posed an imminent threat. I was convinced that a war would distract us from Afghanistan and al Qaeda, and fan the flames of extremism and terrorism. And I didn't get into politics to stay silent on the tough issues, or to tailor my positions to the polls. I didn't want to look back, after an unnecessary war had been waged, and regret that I didn't speak out against going to war just because going to war was popular. So I spoke out against what I called a "rash war" -- a "war based not on reason but on politics."

But the conventional thinking in Washington lined up for war. The President and his advisors told us that the only way to stop Saddam Hussein from getting a nuclear weapon was to go to war, that we couldn't let the smoking gun be a mushroom cloud. Leading Democrats -- including Senator Clinton -- echoed the erroneous line that there was a connection between Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda. We were counseled by some of the most experienced voices in Washington that the only way for Democrats to look tough was to talk, act, and vote like Republicans.

There is no doubt that President Bush failed us in the run-up to war. But the American people weren't just failed by the President -- they were failed by the Congress. Too many members of Congress failed to ask hard questions. Too many members of Congress, including some of my opponents in this race, failed to read the National Intelligence Estimate for themselves -- an intelligence report that was so unconvincing, and so filled with qualifications, that the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee decided to vote against the war when he read it for himself. Too many Democrats fell in line with George Bush, and voted to give him the open-ended authority to wage war that he uses to this day. So let's be clear: without that vote, there would be no war.

Senator Edwards voted for the war in 2002. He has renounced that vote, instead of pretending that it was a vote for anything but war. But Senator Clinton makes a different argument. She says that she wasn't really voting for war back in

2002, she was voting for more inspections, or she was voting for more diplomacy. But all of us know what was being debated in the Congress in the fall of 2002. We didn't need to authorize a war in order to have United Nations weapons inspections. No one thought Congress was debating whether or not to conduct diplomacy. The headlines on October 12, 2002 did not read: "Congress authorizes diplomacy with Iraq" -- the headlines on October 12, 2002 read "Congress backs war."

In the course of this campaign, we haven't just seen different candidates talk about their vote in different ways -- we've seen how different candidates have drawn different lessons from their experience of the Iraq War.

Five years later, we should all have learned the lessons of that vote -- we should all have learned that you can't give this Administration an excuse to wage war. But just last month, the Senate voted for an amendment that raises the risk that we could repeat the mistake of Iraq.

Here is why this amendment is so reckless. It opens with seventeen findings that highlight Iran's influence inside of Iraq. Then it says we have to structure our military presence inside Iraq to counter Iran. It goes on to say that it is "a critical national interest of the United States" to prevent the Iranian government from exerting influence inside Iraq. Why is this amendment so dangerous? Because George Bush and Dick Cheney could use this language to justify keeping our troops in Iraq as long as they can point to a threat from Iran. And because they could use this language to justify an attack on Iran as a part of the ongoing war in Iraq.

I don't want to give this President any excuse, or any opening for war. Because as we learned with the authorization of the Iraq War -- when you give this President a blank check, you can't be surprised when he cashes it.

Senator Clinton is the only Democratic candidate for president who supports this amendment. She said, like she did five years ago, that it is a way to support diplomacy. I disagree. We all know that Iran poses a threat. We do need to mount international pressure to stop Iran's nuclear program. We do need to tighten sanctions on the Iranian regime -- particularly on Iran's Revolutionary

Guard, which supports terrorism. But this must be done separately from any saber-rattling about checking Iranian influence with our military presence in Iraq.

We should not be arguing that our troops have to stay in Iraq to counter Iran. Now is the time to end the war in Iraq. Now is the time to start bringing our troops out of Iraq -- immediately. That's why I have a plan to remove one or two combat brigades a month so that we get all of our combat troops out of Iraq within 16 months -- that's as quickly and responsibly as we can do this. The only troops I will keep in Iraq for a limited time will protect our diplomats and carry out targeted strikes on al Qaeda -- not sustained combat. And I will launch the diplomatic and humanitarian initiatives that are so badly needed. So let there be no doubt: I will end this war.

Now is not the time to give George Bush and Dick Cheney any excuse to escalate this war. Now is not the time for the Congress to send mixed messages. That's why my position today is the same as it was when I stood up in Iowa on September 12 and said: "George Bush and Dick Cheney must hear -- loud and clear -- from the American people and the Congress: you don't have our support, and you don't have our authorization for another war."

Five years after that vote for war, we should all have learned the lesson that the cowboy diplomacy of not talking to people we don't like doesn't work. We do need tougher diplomacy with Iran. But the way to support tough diplomacy is not to vote for reckless amendments -- the way to support diplomacy is to actually pursue it. That's what I've called for throughout this campaign -- direct diplomacy, without preconditions. And that's what I'll do as President. Not the Bush-Cheney diplomacy of talking to our friends and ignoring our enemies. Real, direct, and sustained diplomacy.

A couple of months ago, Senator Clinton called me "naïve and irresponsible" for taking this position, and said that we could lose propaganda battles if we met with leaders we didn't like. Just yesterday, though, she called for diplomacy with Iran without preconditions. So I'm not sure if any of us knows exactly where she stands on this. But I can tell you this: when I am President of

the United States, the American people and the world will always know where I stand.

I don't see how we can rally the world unless we have a President who is willing to lead. I'm not afraid that America will lose a propaganda battle with a petty tyrant -- we need to go before the world and win those battles. And as President, I will.

You know, the cautious, conventional thinking in Washington says that Democrats can't take these positions. Or that we need to say one thing in a caucus and primary campaign, but another in a general election. This is the conventional thinking that said that Democrats had to vote for war in 2002 because there was an election coming up -- an election that we lost. The conventional thinking that says that Democrats can't win elections, unless they talk, act and vote like Republicans when it comes to foreign policy and national security.

Well, I'm not running to conform to Washington's conventional thinking -- I'm running to challenge it. That's what I did in 2002. That's what I did in 2004. And that's what I will do as President of the United States.

Because I think the pundits have it wrong. I think the American people have had enough of politicians who go out of their way to look tough, who say one thing in a caucus and another in a general election. When I am the nominee of our party, the choice will be clear. My Republican opponent won't be able to say that we both supported this war in Iraq. He won't be able to say that we really agree about using the war in Iraq to justify military action against Iran, or about the diplomacy of not talking and saber-rattling. He won't be able to say that I haven't been open and straight with the American people, or that I've changed my positions. And you know what? The American people want that choice. Because I believe that's what we need in our next President.

We've had enough of a misguided war in Iraq that never should have been fought -- a war that needs to end.

We've had enough of Presidents who put tough talk ahead of real diplomacy.

And we've had enough of politicians who put power over principle, of a government in Washington that shuts you out, and of presidents who don't hold themselves accountable.

This is about what we stand for as Democrats. But much more than that - it's about what we stand for as Americans. Because there are plenty of Democrats and plenty of Independents and, yes, plenty of Republicans out there who are ready to turn the page on the broken politics and blustering foreign policy coming from Washington. That's how we're going to bring this country together. That's how we're going to restore our security and renew our standing in the world. Not by shifting with the political winds, but by standing strong in any storm, and standing up for what we believe.

I would not be on this stage today if the promise of America had not brought my father across an ocean. I would not be on this stage if generations of Americans had not fought before me so that the American dream could be extended to a man named Barack Obama. That's why I have spent my own life fighting for that dream, no matter how difficult it's been, no matter how tough it was to take a stand. That's why I will always tell you where I stand and what I believe. And when I am President, that is how we will meet the hard challenges, and reclaim that dream, and make the United States of America a light to the world once more.

Senator Barack Obama: Turning the Page in Iraq

Clinton, IA | September 12, 2007

A few months ago, I met a woman who told me her nephew was leaving for Iraq. As she started to tell me about how much she'd miss him and how worried she was about him, she began to cry. "I can't breathe," she said. "I want to know when I am going to be able to breathe again."

I have her on my mind when I think about what we've gone through as a country and where we need to go. Because we've been holding our breath over Iraq for five years. As we go through yet another debate about yet another phase of this misguided war, we've got a familiar feeling. Again, we're told that progress is upon us. Again, we're asked to hold our breath a little longer. Again, we're reminded of what's gone wrong with our policies and our politics.

It was five years ago today - on September 12, 2002 - that President Bush made his case for war at the United Nations. Standing in front of a world that stood with us after 9/11, he said, "In the attacks on America a year ago, we saw the destructive intentions of our enemies." Then he talked about Saddam Hussein - a man who had nothing to do with 9/11. But citing the lesson of 9/11, he and others said we had to act. "To suggest otherwise," the President said, "is to hope against the evidence."

George Bush was wrong. The people who attacked us on 9/11 were in Afghanistan, not Iraq. Al Qaeda in Iraq didn't exist before our invasion. The case for war was built on exaggerated fears and empty evidence - so much so that Bob Graham, the Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, decided to vote against the war after he read the National Intelligence Estimate.

But conventional thinking in Washington lined up for war. The pundits judged the political winds to be blowing in the direction of the President. Despite - or

perhaps because of how much experience they had in Washington, too many politicians feared looking weak and failed to ask hard questions. Too many took the President at his word instead of reading the intelligence for themselves. Congress gave the President the authority to go to war. Our only opportunity to stop the war was lost.

I made a different judgment. I thought our priority had to be finishing the fight in Afghanistan. I spoke out against what I called "a rash war" in Iraq. I worried about, "an occupation of undetermined length, with undetermined costs, and undetermined consequences." The full accounting of those costs and consequences will only be known to history. But the picture is beginning to come into focus.

Nearly 4,000 Americans have been killed in Iraq. Five times that number have suffered horrible wounds, seen and unseen. Loved ones have been lost, dreams denied. Children will grow up without fathers and mothers. Parents have outlived their children. That is a cost of this war.

When all is said and done, the price-tag will run over a trillion dollars. A trillion dollars. That's money not spent on homeland security and counter-terrorism; on providing health care to all Americans and a world-class education to every child; on investments in energy to save ourselves and our planet from an addiction to oil. That is a cost of this war.

The excellence of our military is unmatched. But as a result of this war, our forces are under pressure as never before. Our National Guard and reserves have half of the equipment they need to respond to emergencies at home and abroad. Retention among West Point graduates is down. Our powers of deterrence and influence around the world are down. That is a cost of this war.

America's standing has suffered. Our diplomacy has been compromised by a refusal to talk to people we don't like. Our alliances have been compromised by bluster. Our credibility has been compromised by a faulty case for war. Our moral leadership has been compromised by Abu Ghraib. That is a cost of this war.

Perhaps the saddest irony of the Administration's cynical use of 9/11 is that the Iraq War has left us less safe than we were before 9/11. Osama bin Ladin and his top lieutenants have rebuilt a new base in Pakistan where they freely train recruits, plot new attacks, and disseminate propaganda. The Taliban is resurgent in Afghanistan. Iran has emerged as the greatest strategic challenge to America in the Middle East in a generation. Violent extremism has increased. Terrorism has increased. All of that is a cost of this war.

After 9/11, instead of the politics of unity, we got a political strategy of division with the war in Iraq as its centerpiece. The only thing we were asked to do for our country was support a misguided war. We lost that sense of common purpose as Americans. And we're not going to be a truly united and resolute America until we can stop holding our breath, until we can come together to reclaim our foreign policy and our politics and end this war that has cost us so much.

So there is something unreal about the debate that's taking place in Washington.

With all that our troops and their families have sacrificed, with all this war has cost us, and with no discernible end in sight, the same people who told us we would be greeted as liberators, about democracy spreading across the Middle East, about striking a decisive blow against terrorism, about an insurgency in its last throes - those same people are now trumpeting the uneven and precarious containment of brutal sectarian violence as if it validates all of their failed decisions.

The bar for success is so low that it is almost buried in the sand.

The American people have had enough of the shifting spin. We've had enough of extended deadlines for benchmarks that go unmet. We've had enough of mounting costs in Iraq and missed opportunities around the world. We've had enough of a war that should never have been authorized and should never have been waged.

I opposed this war from the beginning. I opposed the war in 2002. I opposed it in 2003. I opposed it in 2004. I opposed it in 2005. I opposed it in 2006. I introduced a plan in January to remove all of our combat brigades by next March. And I am here to say that we have to begin to end this war now.

My plan for ending the war would turn the page in Iraq by removing our combat troops from Iraq's civil war; by taking a new approach to press for a new accord on reconciliation within Iraq; by talking to all of Iraq's neighbors to press for a compact in the region; and by confronting the human costs of this war.

First, we need to immediately begin the responsible removal of our troops from Iraq's civil war. Our troops have performed brilliantly. They brought Saddam Hussein to justice. They have fought for over four years to give Iraqis a chance for a better future. But they cannot - and should not - bear the responsibility for resolving the grievances at the heart of Iraq's civil war.

Recent news only confirms this. The Administration points to selective statistics to make the case for staying the course. Killings and mortar attacks and car bombs in certain districts are down from the highest levels we've seen. But they're still at the same horrible levels they were at 18 months ago or two years ago. Experts will tell you that the killings are down in some places because the ethnic cleansing has already taken place. That's hardly a cause for triumphalism.

The stated purpose of the surge was to enable Iraq's leaders to reconcile. But as the recent report from the Government Accountability Office confirms, the Iraqis are not reconciling. Our troops fight and die in the 120 degree heat to give Iraq's leaders space to agree, but they aren't filling it. They are not moving beyond their centuries-old sectarian conflicts, they are falling further back into them.

We hear a lot about how violence is down in parts of Anbar province. But this has little to do with the surge - it's because Sunni tribal leaders made a political decision to turn against al Qaeda in Iraq. This only underscores the point - the solution in Iraq is political, it is not military.

Violence is contained in some parts of Baghdad. That's no surprise. Our troops have cleared these neighborhoods at great costs. But our troops cannot police Baghdad indefinitely - only Iraqis can. Rather than use our presence to make progress, the Iraqi government has put off taking responsibility - that's the finding of a Commission headed by General Jim Jones. And our troop presence cannot be sustained without crippling our military's ability to respond to other contingencies.

Let me be clear: there is no military solution in Iraq, and there never was. The best way to protect our security and to pressure Iraq's leaders to resolve their civil war is to immediately begin to remove our combat troops. Not in six months or one year - now.

We should enter into talks with the Iraqi government to discuss the process of our drawdown. We must get out strategically and carefully, removing troops from secure areas first, and keeping troops in more volatile areas until later. But our drawdown should proceed at a steady pace of one or two brigades each month. If we start now, all of our combat brigades should be out of Iraq by the end of next year.

We will need to retain some forces in Iraq and the region. We'll continue to strike at al Qaeda in Iraq. We'll protect our forces as they leave, and we will continue to protect U.S. diplomats and facilities. If - but only if - Iraq makes political progress and their security forces are not sectarian, we should continue to train and equip those forces. But we will set our own direction and our own pace, and our direction must be out of Iraq. The future of our military, our foreign policy, and our national purpose cannot be hostage to the inaction of the Iraqi government.

Removing our troops is part of applying real pressure on Iraq's leaders to end their civil war. Some argue that we should just replace Prime Minister Maliki. But that wouldn't solve the problem. We shouldn't be in the business of supporting coups. And remember - before Maliki, we said that we just needed to replace the last Prime Minister to make everything all right. It didn't work.

The problems in Iraq are bigger than one man. Iraq needs a new Constitutional convention that would include representatives from all levels of Iraqi society - in and out of government. The United Nations should play a central role in convening and participating in this convention, which should not adjourn until a new accord on national reconciliation is reached. To reconcile, the Iraqis must also meet key political benchmarks outside of the Constitutional process, including new local elections and revising debat hification.

Now the Iraqis may come out of this process choosing some kind of soft partition into three regions - one Sunni, one Shia, one Kurd. But it must be their choice. America should not impose the division of Iraq.

While we change the dynamic within Iraq, we must surge our diplomacy in the region.

At every stage of this war, we have suffered because of disdain for diplomacy. We have not brought allies to the table. We have refused to talk to people we don't like. And we have failed to build a consensus in the region. As a result, Iraq is more violent, the region is less stable, and America is less secure.

We need to launch the most aggressive diplomatic effort in recent history to reach a new compact in the region. This effort should include all of Iraq's neighbors, and we should also bring in the United Nations Security Council. All of us have a stake in Iraq's stability. It's time to make this less about what America is trying to do for Iraq, and more about what the world can do with Iraq.

This compact must secure Iraq's borders, keep neighbors from meddling, isolate al Qaeda, and support Iraq's unity. That means helping our Turkish and Kurdish friends reach an understanding. That means pressing Sunni states like Saudi Arabia to stop the flow of foreign fighters into Iraq, increase their financial support of reconstruction efforts, and encourage Iraqi Sunnis to reconcile with their fellow Iraqis. And that means turning the page on the Bush-Cheney policy of not talking to Syria and Iran.

Conventional thinking in Washington says Presidents cannot lead this diplomacy. But I think the American people know better. Not talking doesn't make us look tough - it makes us look arrogant. And it doesn't get results. Strong Presidents tell their adversaries where they stand, and that's what I would do. That's how tough and principled diplomacy works. And that's what we need to press Syria and Iran to stop being part of the problem in Iraq.

Iran poses a grave challenge. It builds a nuclear program, supports terrorism, and threatens Israel with destruction. But we hear eerie echoes of the run-up to the war in Iraq in the way that the President and Vice President talk about Iran. They conflate Iran and al Qaeda, ignoring the violent schism that exists between Shiite and Sunni militants. They issue veiled threats. They suggest that the time for diplomacy and pressure is running out when we haven't even tried direct diplomacy. Well George Bush and Dick Cheney must hear - loud and clear - from the American people and the Congress: you don't have our support, and you don't have our authorization for another war.

George Bush suggests that there are two choices with regard to Iran. Stay the course in Iraq or cede the region to the Iran. I reject this choice. Keeping our troops tied down in Iraq is not the way to weaken Iran - it's precisely what has strengthened it. President Ahmadinejad may talk about filling a vacuum in the region after an American drawdown, but he's badly mistaken. It's time for a new and robust American leadership. And that should begin with a new cooperative security framework with all of our friends and allies in the Persian Gulf.

Now is the time for tough and sustained diplomacy backed by real pressure. It's time to rally the region and the world to our side. And it's time to deliver a direct message to Tehran. America is a part of a community of nations. America wants peace in the region. You can give up your nuclear ambitions and support for terror and rejoin the community of nations. Or you will face further isolation, including

much tighter sanctions. As we deliver this message, we will be stronger - not weaker - if we are disengaging from Iraq's civil war.

The final part of my plan is a major international initiative to address Iraq's humanitarian crisis.

President Bush likes to warn of the dire consequences of ending the war. He warns of rising Iranian influence, but that has already taken place. He warns of growing terrorism, but that has already taken place. And he warns of huge movements of refugees and mass sectarian killing, but that has already taken place. These are not the consequences of a future withdrawal. They are the reality of Iraq's present. They are a direct consequence of waging this war. Two million Iraqis are displaced in their own country. Another two million Iraqis have fled as refugees to neighboring countries. This mass movement of people is a threat to the security of the Middle East and to our common humanity. We have a strategic interest - and a moral obligation - to act.

The President would have us believe there are two choices: keep all of our troops in Iraq or abandon these Iraqis. I reject that choice. We cannot continue to put this burden on our troops alone. I'm tired of this notion that we either fight foolish wars or retreat from the world. We are better than that as a nation.

There's no military solution that can reunite a family or resettle an orphaned child. It's time to form an international working group with the countries in the region, our European and Asian friends, and the United Nations. The State Department says it has invested \$183 million on displaced Iraqis this year -- but that is not nearly enough. We can and must do more. We should up our share to at least \$2 billion to support this effort; to expand access to social services for refugees in neighboring countries; and to ensure that Iraqis displaced inside their own country can find safe-haven.

Iraqis must know that those who engage in mass violence will be brought to justice. We should lead in forming a commission at the U.N. to monitor and hold

accountable perpetrators of war crimes within Iraq. We must also put strict conditions on U.S. assistance to direct our support to those who want to hold Iraq together - not those who are tearing it apart. The risk of greater atrocities in the short-term cannot deter us from doing what we must to minimize violence in the long-term. Yet as we drawdown, we must declare our readiness to intervene with allies to stop genocidal violence.

We must also keep faith with Iraqis who kept faith with us. One tragic outcome of this war is that the Iraqis who stood with America - the interpreters, embassy workers, and subcontractors - are being targeted for assassination. An Iraqi named Laith who worked for an American organization told a journalist, 'Sometimes I feel like we're standing in line for a ticket, waiting to die.' And yet our doors are shut. In April, we admitted exactly one Iraqi refugee - just one!

That is not how we treat our friends. That is not how we take responsibility for our own actions. That is not who we are as Americans. It's time to at least fill the 7,000 slots that we pledged to Iraqi refugees and to be open to accepting even more Iraqis at risk. It's also time to go to our friends and allies - and all the members of our original coalition in Iraq - to find homes for the many Iraqis who are in desperate need of asylum.

Keeping this moral obligation is a key part of how we turn the page in Iraq. Because what's at stake is bigger than this war - it's our global leadership. Now is a time to be bold. We must not stay the course or take the conventional path because the other course is unknown. To quote Dr. Brzezinski - we must not allow ourselves to become 'prisoners of uncertainty.'

George Bush is afraid of this future. That is why all he can do is drag up the past. After all the flawed justifications for his failed policy, he now invokes Vietnam as a reason to stay in Iraq. Let's put aside the strange reasoning - that all would have been well if we had just stayed the course in Vietnam. Let's put it aside and leave it where it belongs - in the past.

Now is not the time to reargue the Vietnam War - we did that in the 2004 election, and it wasn't pretty. I come from a new generation of Americans. I don't want to fight the battles of the 1960s. I want to reclaim the future for America, because we have too many threats to face and too many opportunities to seize. Just think about what we can accomplish together when we end this war.

When we end this war in Iraq, we can finally finish the fight in Afghanistan. That is why I propose stepping up our commitment there, with at least two additional combat brigades and a comprehensive program of aid and support to help Afghans help themselves.

When we end this war in Iraq, we can more effectively tackle the twin demons of extremism and hopelessness that threaten the peace of the world and the security of America. That is why I have proposed a program to spread hope - not hate - in the Islamic world, to build schools that teach young people to build and not destroy, to support the rule of law and economic development, and to launch a program of outreach to the Islamic world that I will lead as President.

When we end this war in Iraq, we can once again lead the world against the common challenges of the 21st century. Against the spread of nuclear weapons and climate change. Against genocide in Darfur. Against ignorance and intolerance. Corruption and greed. Poverty and despair. When we end this war, we can reclaim the cause of freedom and democracy. We can be that beacon of hope, that light to all the world.

When we end this war, we can recapture our unity of effort as Americans. The American people have the right instincts on Iraq. It's time to heed their judgment. It's time to move beyond Iraq so that we can move forward together. I will be a President who listens to the American people, not a President who ignores them.

And when we end the war in Iraq, we can come together to give our full attention to advancing the cause of health care for every American, an energy policy that

does not bankroll hostile nations while we melt the polar ice caps, and a world class education for our children. Above all, we can turn the page to a new kind of politics of unity, not division; of hope, not fear.

You know, I welcome all of the folks who have changed their position on the war over these last months and years. And we need more of those votes to change if we're going to change the direction of this war. That is why I will keep speaking directly to my colleagues in the Congress, both Republican and Democratic. Historically, we have come together in a bipartisan way to deal with our most monumental challenges. We should do so again. We have the power to do this - not as Republicans or Democrats, but as Americans. We don't have to wait until George Bush is gone from office - we can begin to end this war today, right now. But if we have learned anything from Iraq, it is that the judgment that matters most is the judgment that is made first.

Martin Luther King once stood up at Riverside Church and said, "In this unfolding conundrum of life and history, there is such a thing as being too late.' We are too late to stop a war that should never have been fought; too late to undo the pain of battle, the anguish of so many families, or the price of the fight; too late to redo the years of division and distraction at home and abroad.

But I'm here today because it's not too late to come together as Americans. Because we're not going to be able to deal with the challenges that confront us until we end this war. What we can do is say that we will not be prisoners of uncertainty. That we reject the conventional thinking that led us into Iraq and that didn't ask hard questions until it was too late. What we can say is that we are ready for something new and something bold and something principled.

It's time for us to breathe again. That begins with ending this war - but it does not end there. It's time to reclaim our foreign policy. It's time to reclaim our politics. And it's time to lead this country - and this world - again, to a new dawn of peace and unity.



APPENDIX II

1. The Tactics on Word Structure

1. Lessons from Iraq

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	✓	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	✓
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	✓	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	✓
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	✓	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	✓
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	✓	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	✓	-

48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	✓	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	-	-	-	-	✓	-
70	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	-	-
76	-	-	-	-	-	✓
77	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 2

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	✓	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	✓	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	✓	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-

19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	✓	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	✓	-
35	✓	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	✓
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	✓	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	✓	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	✓
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	✓	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	✓
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 3

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Marker	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	✓	-
2	✓	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-

4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	✓	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	✓	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	✓	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	✓	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	✓	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	✓	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 4

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	✓	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	✓	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	✓	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	✓	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	✓	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	✓	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	✓	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-

26	✓	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	✓	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	✓	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	✓
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	✓	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	✓	-
45	✓	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	✓
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	✓	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	✓
51	-	-	-	-	✓	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	✓	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	✓	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	✓	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	✓	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	✓	-	-	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	✓	-	-	-
72	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	✓	-	-	-	-	-
76	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	-

78	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	-	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	-
81	✓	-	-	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	-	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	-	-
84	-	-	-	-	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	-
86	-	-	-	-	-	-
87	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 5

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Marker	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	✓	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	✓	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	✓	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	✓	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	✓
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	✓	-	-	-	-	-
17	✓	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	✓	-	-	-	-	✓
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	✓	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	✓	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	✓	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	✓	-

39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	✓	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	✓	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	✓	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	✓	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	✓
67	-	-	-	-	✓	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	✓	-	-	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	✓	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	✓	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	-	-
76	✓	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	-	✓

Paragraph 6

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	✓	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-

8	-	-	-	-	-	✓
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	✓	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	✓
18	-	-	-	-	✓	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	✓
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	✓	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	✓	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	✓	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	✓	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	✓	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	✓	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	✓	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	✓	-
41	-	-	✓	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	✓	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	✓	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	✓
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	✓	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	✓	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-

61	-	-	-	-	✓	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 7

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	✓	-
2	✓	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	✓
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	✓	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	✓
13	✓	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	✓
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	✓	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	✓
33	✓	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	✓	-
39	-	-	✓	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	✓	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-

45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	✓	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	✓
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	✓	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 8

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	✓	-
2	✓	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	✓	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	✓	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	✓	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	✓
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	✓	-
21	✓	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	✓	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	✓	-
26	✓	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	✓	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	✓	-

35	✓	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	✓	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	✓	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	✓	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	✓	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	✓
55	✓	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	✓
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	✓	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	✓	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	✓	-	-	-	-	-
69	-	-	-	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	-	✓	-
71	✓	-	-	-	-	-
72	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	-	✓	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	-	-
76	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	-	✓	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	-
81	-	-	-	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	✓	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	✓	-
84	-	-	-	-	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	✓
86	-	-	-	-	-	-
87	-	-	-	-	-	-

88	-	-	-	-	-	-
89	✓	-	-	-	-	-
90	-	-	-	-	-	-
91	-	-	-	-	✓	-
92	-	-	-	-	-	-
93	✓	-	-	-	-	-
94	-	-	-	-	-	-
95	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 9

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	✓	-
13	✓	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	✓
18	-	-	-	-	-	✓
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	✓	-
24	✓	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	✓	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 10

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-

3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	✓	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	✓	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	✓	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	✓
30	-	-	-	-	✓	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	✓	-
35	-	-	-	-	✓	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	✓
39	-	-	-	-	✓	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	✓
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	✓	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	✓	-
50	-	-	-	-	✓	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	✓	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-

56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 11

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	✓	-
2	✓	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	✓
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	✓	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	✓	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	✓	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	✓	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	✓	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	✓	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	✓	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	✓
43	-	-	-	-	✓	-
44	✓	-	-	-	-	-

45	-	-		-	-	-
46	-	-	✓	-	-	-
47	-	-		-	-	-
48	-	-		-	-	-
49	-	-		-	-	-
50	-	-		-	-	-
51	-	-		-	-	-
52	-	-		-	-	-
53	-	-		-	-	-
54	-	-		-	-	-
55	-	-		-	-	-
56	-	-		-	-	-
57	-	-		-	-	-
58	-	-		-	✓	-
59	-	-		-	-	-
60	✓	-		-	-	-
61	-	-		-	-	-
62	-	-		-	-	-
63	-	-		-	-	-
64	-	-		-	-	✓
65	-	-		-	-	-
66	-	-		-	✓	-
67	-	-		-	-	✓
68	-	-		-	-	-
69	-	-		-	✓	-
70	✓	-		-	-	-
71	-	-		-	-	-
72	-	-		-	-	-
73	-	-		-	-	-
74	-	-		-	✓	-
75	-	-		-	-	-
76	-	-		-	✓	-
77	-	-		✓	-	-
78	-	-		-	-	✓
79	-	-		-	-	-
80	-	-		-	-	-
81	-	-		-	-	-
82	-	-		-	-	-
83	-	-		-	-	-

Paragraph 12

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	✓	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	✓	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	✓
7	✓	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-

10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	✓	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	✓	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	✓	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	✓	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	✓	-
35	✓	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	✓	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	✓
44	-	-	-	-	-	✓
45	✓	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	✓
53	✓	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	✓	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	✓	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-

63	-	-	-	-	-	✓
64	-	-	-	-	✓	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	✓
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	-	-	-	✓	-
68	✓	-	-	-	-	-
69	-	-	-	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	-	-
76	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	✓
78	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	-	-	-	-	✓	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	-
81	✓	-	-	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	-	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	-	-
84	-	-	-	-	-	-
85	✓	-	-	-	-	-
86	-	-	-	-	-	-
87	-	-	-	-	-	-
88	-	-	-	-	-	-
89	-	-	-	-	-	-
90	-	-	-	-	-	-
91	-	-	-	-	-	-
92	-	-	-	✓	-	-
93	-	-	-	-	-	-
94	-	-	-	-	-	-
95	-	-	-	-	-	-
96	-	-	-	-	-	-
97	-	-	-	-	✓	-
98	-	-	-	-	-	✓
99	-	-	-	-	-	-
100	✓	-	-	-	-	-
101	-	-	-	-	-	-
102	-	-	-	-	-	-
103	-	-	-	-	-	-
104	-	-	-	-	-	-
105	-	-	-	-	-	-
106	-	-	-	-	-	-
107	-	-	-	-	-	-
108	-	-	-	✓	-	-
109	-	-	-	-	✓	-
110	-	-	-	-	-	-
111	-	-	-	-	-	-
112	-	-	-	-	-	-
113	-	-	-	-	-	-
114	-	-	-	-	-	-
115	-	-	-	-	✓	-

116	✓	-	-	-	-	-
117	-	-	-	-	-	-
118	-	-	-	-	-	-
119	-	-	-	-	-	-
120	-	-	-	-	-	-
121	✓	-	-	-	-	-
122	-	-	-	-	-	-
123	-	-	-	-	-	-
124	-	-	-	-	-	✓
125	-	-	-	-	-	-
126	-	-	-	-	-	-
127	-	-	-	-	-	-
128	-	-	-	-	-	-
129	-	-	-	-	-	-
130	-	-	-	-	-	-
131	-	-	-	-	✓	-
132	-	-	-	-	-	-
133	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 13

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	✓	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	✓	-
14	✓	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	✓	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	✓	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	✓	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-

31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	✓	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	✓
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	✓
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	✓	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	✓	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	-	-	✓	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	-	-
76	-	-	-	✓	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	-	✓	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	-
81	-	-	-	-	-	✓
82	-	-	-	-	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	-	-

84	-	-	-	-	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	✓	-
86	-	-	-	-	-	-
87	-	-	-	-	-	-
88	-	✓	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 14

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	✓
9	✓	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	✓	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	✓	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	✓	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	✓
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	✓	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	✓
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	✓	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	✓	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	✓
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	✓
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	✓	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-

42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	✓	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	✓	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	✓
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	✓	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	-	✓	-	-	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	✓
69	-	-	-	-	✓	-
70	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	-	-
76	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	-	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	-
81	-	-	-	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	-	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	-	-
84	-	-	-	-	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	-
86	✓	-	-	-	-	-
87	-	-	-	-	-	-
88	✓	-	-	-	-	-
89	-	-	-	-	-	-
90	✓	-	-	-	-	-
91	-	-	✓	-	-	-
92	-	-	-	-	-	-
93	-	✓	-	-	-	-
94	-	-	-	-	-	-

95	-	-	-	-	-	-
96	-	-	-	-	-	-
97	-	-	-	-	-	-
98	-	-	-	-	-	-
99	-	-	-	-	✓	-
100	-	-	-	-	-	-
101	-	-	-	-	-	-
102	✓	-	-	-	-	-
103	-	-	-	-	-	-
104	-	-	-	-	-	✓
105	-	-	-	-	-	✓
106	-	-	-	-	-	-
107	-	-	-	-	-	-
108	-	-	-	-	-	-
109	✓	-	-	-	-	-
110	-	-	-	-	-	-
111	-	-	-	-	-	-
112	-	-	-	-	-	-
113	-	-	-	-	-	-
114	-	-	-	-	-	-
115	-	-	-	-	-	-
116	-	-	-	-	-	-
117	-	-	-	-	-	-
118	-	-	-	-	✓	-
119	-	-	-	-	-	-
120	-	-	-	-	-	-
121	-	-	-	-	-	-
122	-	-	-	-	-	-
123	-	-	-	-	-	-
124	-	-	-	-	-	-
125	-	-	-	-	-	-
126	-	-	-	-	-	-
127	-	-	-	-	-	-
128	-	-	-	-	-	-
129	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 15

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	✓	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-

12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	✓	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	✓	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	✓	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	✓	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	✓	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	✓	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	✓	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	✓	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	✓	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	✓	-
51	✓	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	✓	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	✓	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	✓	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-

65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	-	-	-	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	✓	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	-	✓
76	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	-	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	-
81	-	-	-	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	-	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	-	-
84	-	✓	-	-	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	-
86	-	-	-	-	-	-
87	-	-	-	-	-	-
88	-	✓	-	-	-	-
89	-	-	-	-	-	-
90	-	-	-	-	✓	-
91	-	-	-	-	✓	-
92	-	-	-	-	-	-
93	-	-	-	-	-	-
94	-	-	-	-	-	-
95	-	-	-	-	-	-
96	-	-	-	-	-	-
97	-	-	-	-	-	-
98	-	-	-	-	-	-
99	-	-	-	-	-	-
100	-	✓	-	-	-	-
101	-	-	-	-	-	✓
102	-	-	-	-	-	-
103	-	-	-	-	-	-
104	-	-	-	-	-	-
105	-	-	-	-	-	-
106	-	-	-	-	-	-
107	-	-	-	-	-	-
108	-	-	-	-	-	-
109	-	-	-	-	-	-
110	-	-	-	-	-	-
111	-	-	-	-	-	-
112	-	✓	-	-	-	-
113	-	-	-	-	-	-
114	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 15

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	✓	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	✓	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	✓
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	✓	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	✓	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	✓	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	✓
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	✓
30	-	-	-	-	-	✓
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	✓	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 16

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	✓	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	✓
11	-	-	-	-	-	-

12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	✓	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	✓	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	✓
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	✓	-
29	-	-	-	✓	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	✓	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 17

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	✓	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	✓
9	✓	-	-	-	-	-

10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	✓	-
22	✓	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	✓	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	✓	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	✓	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	✓	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	✓
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	✓	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-

63	-	-	✓	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	✓
65	-	-	-	-	✓	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	-	-	-	✓	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	-	-	-	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	✓
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	✓	-	-	-	-	-
76	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	-	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	-
81	-	-	-	-	-	-
82	✓	-	-	-	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	-	-
84	-	-	-	-	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	-
86	-	-	-	-	-	-
87	-	-	-	-	-	✓
88	-	-	-	-	-	-
89	-	-	-	-	-	-
90	-	-	-	-	✓	-
91	-	-	-	-	✓	-
92	✓	-	-	-	-	-
93	-	-	-	-	-	-
94	-	-	-	-	-	-
95	-	-	-	-	-	-
96	-	-	-	-	-	-
97	-	-	-	-	-	✓
98	-	-	-	-	-	-
99	-	-	-	-	-	✓
100	-	-	-	-	-	-
101	-	-	-	-	-	-
102	-	-	-	-	-	-
103	-	-	-	-	-	-
104	-	-	-	-	-	-
105	-	-	-	-	-	-
106	-	-	-	-	-	✓
107	-	-	-	-	-	-
108	-	-	-	-	-	-
109	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 18

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓	-	-	-	-	-

2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	✓
10	-	-	-	-	✓	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	✓	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	✓	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	✓
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	✓	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	✓
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	✓	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	✓	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	✓	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 19

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	✓	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-

10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	✓	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	✓	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	✓	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	✓	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	✓	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	✓
39	✓	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	✓	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	✓	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	✓	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-

64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	✓	-
67	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	-	-	-	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	-	-	-	✓	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	-	-
76	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	-	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	-
81	✓	-	-	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	-	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	-	-
84	-	-	-	-	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	-
86	-	-	-	-	-	-

2. Turning the Page in Iraq

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	✓	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	✓	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	✓	-	-	-	-	-
12	✓	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	✓	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	✓	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	✓	-	-	-

26	✓	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	✓
29	✓	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	✓	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	✓
33	✓	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	✓	-	-	-	-	-
37	✓	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	✓	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	✓	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	✓	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	✓	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 2

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	✓	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	✓	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	✓	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	✓	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-

19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	✓	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	✓	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	✓	-
26	✓	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	✓	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	✓	-
38	✓	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	✓
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	✓	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	✓	-
60	✓	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	✓	-	-	-	-	-
68	-	-	-	-	✓	-
69	✓	-	-	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	-	-

72	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	✓	-	-	-	-	-
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	-	-
76	-	-	-	✓	-	-
77	-	-	-	✓	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	✓	-
79	✓	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	-
81	-	-	-	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	-	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	-	-
84	-	-	-	-	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	-
86	-	-	-	✓	-	-
87	-	-	-	-	-	-
88	✓	-	-	-	-	-
89	-	-	-	-	-	-
90	-	-	-	-	✓	-
91	✓	-	-	-	-	-
92	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 3

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	✓	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-

28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	✓	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	✓	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	✓	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	✓
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	✓	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	✓	-
52	✓	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	✓	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	✓	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	-	-	-	-	-	-
70	✓	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	✓	-
72	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	✓	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	-	-
76	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	-	-	-	-	✓	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	-

81	-	-	-	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	-	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	-	-
84	-	-	-	-	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	-
86	-	-	-	-	-	-
87	-	-	-	-	-	-
88	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 4

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	✓
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	✓	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	✓	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	✓	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	✓
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	✓	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	✓
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	✓	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	✓
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-

41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	✓	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 5

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	✓	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	✓	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	✓
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	✓	-
23	-	-	-	-	✓	-
24	-	-	-	✓	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	✓	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	✓
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	✓	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-

31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	✓	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	✓	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	✓
40	-	-	-	-	✓	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	✓
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	✓
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	✓	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	✓	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	✓	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	✓
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	✓	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	✓	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 6

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	✓	-	-
5	✓	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	✓	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-

11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	✓	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	✓	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	✓
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	✓	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	✓
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	✓
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	✓	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	✓
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	✓
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	✓	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	✓	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	✓	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 7

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
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1	-	✓	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	✓
14	-	-	-	-	-	✓
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	✓	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	✓	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	✓	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	✓	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	✓	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 8

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	✓	-

6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	✓	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	✓	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	✓	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	✓	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	✓	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	✓	-
50	✓	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-

59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 9

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	✓	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	✓	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	✓	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	✓	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	✓	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	✓	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	✓	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	✓	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-

44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	✓	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	✓	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 10

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	✓
5	✓	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	✓	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	✓	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	✓

27	✓	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	✓	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 11

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	✓	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	✓	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	✓	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	✓	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	✓	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-

24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	✓	-
27	✓	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	✓
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	✓	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	✓
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	✓	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	✓
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	✓	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	-	-	-	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	-	-	-	-	-	✓
73	-	-	-	-	-	✓
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	-	-

76	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	-	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	-
81	-	-	-	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	-	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	-	-
84	-	-	-	-	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 12

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	✓	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	✓	-	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	✓	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	✓	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	✓	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-

37	-	-	-	-	-	✓
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	✓	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	✓	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	✓	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	✓	-
49	✓	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	✓
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	✓	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	✓	-
60	✓	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	✓	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	✓	-
67	✓	-	-	-	-	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	-	-	-	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	✓	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	✓	-
76	✓	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	✓	-
79	-	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	-
81	-	-	-	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	-	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	-	-
84	-	-	-	-	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	-
86	✓	-	-	-	-	-
87	-	-	✓	-	-	-
88	-	-	-	-	-	✓

Paragraph 13

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	✓	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	✓
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	✓	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	✓	-	-	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	✓	-
22	✓	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	✓
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	✓	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	✓	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	✓	-	-	-	-	-
46	✓	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-

50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	✓	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	-	-	-	-	-	-
70	✓	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	-	-	-	-	-
76	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	-	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	✓	-
81	-	-	-	-	-	✓
82	-	-	-	-	-	-
83	-	-	-	-	-	✓
84	-	-	-	-	-	✓
85	-	-	-	-	-	✓
86	-	-	-	-	✓	-
87	✓	-	-	-	-	-
88	-	-	-	-	-	✓
89	-	-	-	-	-	-
90	✓	-	-	-	-	-
91	-	-	-	-	-	-
92	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 14

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-

5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	✓	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	✓	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	✓	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	✓	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	✓	-	-
21	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	✓	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	✓	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	✓	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	✓	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	✓	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	✓
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	✓	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	✓	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-

57	-	-	✓	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	✓
60	-	-	-	-	✓	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	✓	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 15

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	✓	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	✓	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	✓	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	✓	-	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	✓	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	✓	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	✓	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	✓	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	✓	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	✓	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-

38	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	-	-	✓
41	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	✓	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	✓	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	✓	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-

Paragraph 16

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓					
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15	✓					
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						
21						
22						

23						
24						
25						
26						
27						
28						
29						
30						
31						
32						
33						
34						
35						
36						
37						
38						
39						
40						
41						
42						
43						
44		✓				
45						
46						
47						
48						
49						
50						
51						
52					✓	
53						
54						
55						
55						
56						
57						
58						
59						
60						

Paragraph 17

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1					✓	
2	✓					
3						
4						
5						✓
6						
7						✓

8						
9	✓					
10						
11						
12						
13						✓
14						
15	✓					
16						
17						
18						
19						✓
20	✓					
21						
22						
23						
24						✓
25	✓					
26						
27						✓
28						
29						
30						
31						
32						
33						
34						
35						
36						
37						
38						
39			✓			
40						
41					✓	
42	✓					
43						
44					✓	
45						
46						✓
47						
48						
49						
50						
51						
52						
53						
54						
55						
55						
56						
57						
58						✓
59						

Paragraph 18

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
3				✓		
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						✓
21					✓	
22						✓
23						
24					✓	
25						
26						
27						
28						
29						
30						
31						
32						
33						
34			✓			
35						
36	✓					
37						
38						
39					✓	
40	✓					
41						
42						

43						
44						
45						
46						✓
47						
48	✓					
49						
50						
51						
52						
53						
54					✓	
55						
55						
56						
57						
58		✓				
59						
60						
61	✓					
62						
63						
64						✓
65						
66						
67						
68						
69						
70					✓	
71						
72						
73						
74						
75						
76						
77						
78						
79						
80						✓
81						
82						
83						
84						

Paragraph 19

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
3						

4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9		✓				
10						
11					✓	
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						
21						
22						
23						
24		✓				
25						
26						
27						
28	✓					
29						
30						✓
31					✓	
32						✓
33						
34						
35						
36						
37						
38						
39						
40		✓				
41						
42						
43					✓	
44	✓					
45						
46						
47	✓					
48	✓					
49						
50						
51	✓					
52						
53						
54						
55						
55						

56	✓					
57						
58						
59						
60						
61						
62						



Paragraph 20

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓					
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						✓
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15					✓	
16						
17						
18				✓		
19						
20						
21						
22						
23						
24	✓					
25						
26					✓	
27						
28						
29		✓				
30						
31						
32						
33						
34						
35						
36						
37						
38						
39						
40						
41						
42				✓		
43						
44						
45						
46						
47						
48						
49						

50						
51	✓					
52						
53						

Paragraph 21

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						✓
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11	✓					
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						✓
19						
20					✓	
21	✓					
22						
23						
24						
25						
26						✓
27				✓		
28						
29						
30					✓	
31						
32	✓					
33						
34						
35						
36						
37						
38						
39						
40						
41						
42						
43						
44						

45						
46						
47						
48						
49						
50						
51						
52						
53						
54					✓	
55	✓					
56						
57						
58						
59						
60						
61						
62						
63	✓					
64						

Paragraph 22

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2	✓					
3						
4						✓
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12					✓	
13						
14			✓			
15						
16						
17			✓			
18						
19						
20	✓					
21						
22					✓	
23						
24						
25		✓				
26						
27	✓					
28						✓

29						
30						
31						
32						
33						✓
34						
35	✓					
36						
37						
38						
39						
40						
41						
42					✓	
43						
44						
45						

Paragraph 23

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓					
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10		✓				
11						
12						
13						
14	✓					
15						
16	✓					
17						
18						
19						
20						✓
21					✓	
22						✓
23						
24		✓				
25						
26						
27						
28						
29					✓	
30						
31		✓				

32						
33			✓			
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35						
36					✓	
37						
38					✓	
39	✓					
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48					✓	
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53					✓	
54	✓					
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59	✓					
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Paragraph 24

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓					
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9					✓	
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12	✓					
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20	✓					
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23	✓					
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25						
26	✓					
27						
28					✓	
29	✓					
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31						
32						
33						
34						
35		✓				
36					✓	
37						
38					✓	
39					✓	
40			✓			
41					✓	
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43						
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45						
46					✓	
47	✓					
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52						✓
53	✓					
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57					✓	
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61					✓	
62	✓					
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65	✓					

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68					✓	
69	✓					
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72					✓	
73	✓					
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81	✓					
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83	✓					
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85						
86					✓	
87						
88	✓					

Paragraph 25

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2	✓					
3						
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6						
7						✓
8						
9						
10						
11		✓				
12						
13	✓					
14						✓
15						
16						
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18						
19	✓					
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21				✓		
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24						
25						
26					✓	
27						
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30						
31	✓					
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39						
40					✓	
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43						
44	✓					
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46						
47	✓					
48					✓	
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58						
59	✓					
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61						
62						

Paragraph 26

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6			✓			

7					✓	
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9						
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14						
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16						
17						
18						
19						
20		✓				
21						
22						
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24						
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26						
27						
28					✓	
29						
30						
31						
32						
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35						
36						
37						
38						
39						
40					✓	
41						
42						
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73						
74					✓	
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77						

3. A New Beginning

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2	✓					
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11						
12						
13	✓					
14			✓			
15						
16					✓	
17	✓					
18						
19						
20						
21	✓					
22						
23						
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28						
29	✓					
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38						
39						
40						
41	✓					
42						
43	✓					
44						
45						
46						✓
47						
48						
49						
50						
51					✓	
52						
53						
54						
55	✓					
56						
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59						
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61						
62						
63						
64						
65						
66					✓	
67	✓					
68						
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71						
72					✓	
73						
74		✓				
75						
76						
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Paragraph 2

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓					
2						
3						✓
4						
5						
6						
7						✓
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14		✓				
15						
16						
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19						
20						
21					✓	
22						
23						
24						
25						
26	✓					
27						
28			✓			
29						

Paragraph 3

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6		✓				
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21						
22						
23						
24						
25						
26					✓	
27						
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31						
32						
33						
34						
35					✓	
36	✓					
37						
38						
39						
40						
41		✓				
42					✓	
43		✓				
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45						
46					✓	
47	✓					
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49						✓
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51						✓
52						✓
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60						
61	✓					
62					✓	
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64						
65	✓					
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69	✓					
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74					✓	
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79						
80						✓
81						
82					✓	
83	✓					
84						
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86						
87						
88						
89						
90	✓					
91						
92						

Paragraph 4

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓					
2						
3						
4					✓	
5						
6						✓
7						
8						
9						
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11						
12						
13						
14	✓					
15						
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						
21						
22	✓					
23						
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25						
26						

27						
28						
29	✓					
30						
31			✓			
32						✓

Paragraph 5

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7				✓		
8						
9	✓					
10						
11						
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16						
17	✓					
18						
19						
20						
21						✓
22					✓	
23						
24						
25						
26						✓
27						
28						
29						✓
30					✓	
31						✓
32						
33					✓	
34						
35					✓	
36						
37	✓					
38						
39						
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41						
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43					✓	
44	✓					
45						
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47						
48			✓			
49						
50					✓	
51					✓	
52	✓					
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55				✓		
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59					✓	
60					✓	
61				✓		
62						
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64						
65			✓			
66						
67						
68						

Paragraph 6

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
3						
4				✓		
5						
6					✓	
7						
8			✓			
9				✓		
10						
11	✓					
12						
13						✓
14						
15					✓	
16	✓					
17						
18						
19						
20						

21						
22					✓	
23	✓					
24						
25						
26			✓			
27					✓	
28			✓			
29						✓
30						
31						
32						✓
33						
34						
35						
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42						
43						
44						
45						
46						
47						
48	✓					
49						
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51						
52						✓
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56						
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58						
59			✓			
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62						
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Paragraph 7

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
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4						
5	✓					
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18						
19						
20						
21						✓
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24						
25						
26						
27				✓		
28					✓	
29						
30						
31						
32					✓	
33	✓					
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39						
40						
41						
42						
43						✓
44	✓					
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52	✓					
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59						
60		✓				
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66						
67						
68					✓	
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73	✓					
74						
75	✓					
76						
77						
78						
79	✓					
80						

Paragraph 8

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1					✓	
2	✓					
3						
4						
5						
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7						
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9						
10						✓
11	✓					
12						
13						
14						
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18						
19	✓					
20						
21						
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23					✓	
24						
25						✓
26						✓
27						
28						
29	✓					
30						
31						
32						
33						
34						
35						
36						✓
37						
38						
39	✓					
40						✓
41						
42						
43						✓
44						
45					✓	
46	✓					
47						
48						
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51						
52						
53						
54						✓
55					✓	
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59						
60					✓	
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62	✓					
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67						
68					✓	
69	✓					
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73						✓
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78						
79						
80						
81					✓	
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84						
85						
86						✓
87						
88						
89						✓
90						
91					✓	
92						✓

Paragraph 9

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓					
2						
3						
4						
5						
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7						
8						
9						
10		✓				
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						✓
17						
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19						
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21						
22						
23		✓				
24						
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26						
27						
28						
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30						
31	✓					
32						
33					✓	
34						
35						
36						
37						
38						
39						
40	✓					
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48						
49		✓				
50						
51						✓
52	✓					
53						

Paragraph 10

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1					✓	
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3						
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10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17					✓	
18	✓					
19						
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23	✓					
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27						
28				✓		
29						
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36						
37						
38						✓
39						
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41						
42						✓
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49						
50						
51					✓	
52						
53	✓					
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58						
59				✓		
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62						
63						
64						
65						
66					✓	
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69			✓			
70						
71						✓
72						
73						
74						
75					✓	

76						
77						
78						

Paragraph 11

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1					✓	
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3						
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10						
11						✓
12						
13						
14					✓	
15						✓
16					✓	
17						
18						
19						
20					✓	
21						
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24						
25						
26						
27						
28						✓
29						
30						
31						
32						
33						
34						
35						
36						✓
37						
38						
39						
40						
41	✓					
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51						
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54						
55		✓				
56						
57						
58						
59					✓	
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62					✓	
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64						
65	✓					
66						
67					✓	
68						
69						
70						
71						

Paragraph 12

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1					✓	
2	✓					
3						
4						
5						
6					✓	
7						
8						
9		✓				
10						
11				✓		
12						
13						
14						
15						
16	✓					
17						
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24						
25						
26			✓			
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36						
37						
38						✓
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42						
43						
44					✓	
45			✓			
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59						
60						
61						
62						✓
63						✓
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67	✓					
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72						
73	✓					
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Paragraph 13

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
3						
4						
5	✓					
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7						
8	✓					
9						
10						✓
11						
12						
13						
14	✓					
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18						
19					✓	
20						
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22					✓	
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27						
28						
29					✓	
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31						
32		✓				
33						
34						
35						
36						
37	✓					
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46						
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48						
49					✓	
50					✓	
51						
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59						
60	✓					
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62						
63	✓					
64					✓	
65					✓	
66					✓	
67	✓					
68						
69						
70	✓					
71						
72					✓	
73	✓					
74						
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77						
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79						
80						
81						
82						
83	✓					
84						
85						
86						
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89						
90					✓	
91					✓	
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93						
94						
95	✓					
96						
97						

Paragraph 14

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
3						
4	✓					
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8						
9						
10						✓
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						✓
18						
19						
20	✓					
21						
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25						
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27						
28						✓
29						
30						
31					✓	
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43						
44						
45						
46						✓
47						
48						
49				✓		
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59						
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61						
62		✓				
63					✓	
64		✓				
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73						
74	✓					
75						
76						✓
77					✓	
78						✓

Paragraph 15

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1					✓	
2						
3						
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5						
6						
7				✓		
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18						
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20						
21						
22						
23					✓	
24						
25						
26						
27	✓					
28						
29						
30						
31						
32						
33						
34	✓					
35						
36						
37						
38						
39						
40				✓		
41						
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51						
52						
53						✓
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59						
60	✓					
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70					✓	
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72						
73						
74						✓
75						
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77						
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Paragraph 16

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2	✓					
3						
4						
5						
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9						
10						
11						
12	✓					
13						
14						
15						
16						
17	✓					
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23						
24						
25						
26						
27						
28	✓					

29						
30						
31						
32						
33	✓					
34						
35						
36						
37	✓					
38						
39					✓	
40	✓					
41						
42					✓	
43	✓					
44						
45						
46						
47						
48						
49			✓			
50						
51					✓	
52	✓					
53						
54						
55						
56						

Paragraph 17

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1					✓	
2						
3						
4						
5						
6		✓				
7						
8						
9	✓					
10						
11						
12	✓					
13						
14						
15						
16						
17			✓			
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19						
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24						
25						
26						
27						
28						
29					✓	
30						
31						
32						
33						✓
34						
35						
36					✓	
37						
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39						
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46						
47						
48						
49				✓		
50						✓
51						
52						
53						✓
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57					✓	
58	✓					
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61						
62						
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66						
67					✓	
68	✓					
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73						
74				✓		
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90						
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92						
93						
94	✓					

Paragraph 18

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2	✓					
3						
4						
5						
6						
7	✓					
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						✓
15						
16						
17						
18	✓					
19						
20	✓					
21						
22						
23						✓
24					✓	
25						✓
26					✓	
27						
28						
29	✓					
30						
31						
32						
33						

34						
35						
36						
37						
38						
39						
40						
41						
42	✓					
43						
44					✓	
45	✓					
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Paragraph 19

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2	✓					
3						
4						
5	✓					
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						✓
12						
13						
14					✓	
15	✓					
16						
17						
18						
19	✓					
20						
21	✓					
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23						
24						
25						

26						
27						
28						
29	✓					
30						
31	✓					
32						
33						
34						
35						
36						
37					✓	
38						
39						
40	✓					
41						
42						
43						
44						
45						
46				✓		
47						
48						
49						
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51						
52						
53						
54						
55					✓	
56						
57						
58						
59	✓					
60						
61					✓	
62				✓		
63						
64						
65						

Paragraph 20

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
3						
4						
5				✓		
6						

7						
8						
9						
10	✓					
11						
12	✓					
13						
14						
15						
16						
17	✓					
18				✓		
19						
20						
21						
22	✓					
23						
24	✓					
25						✓
26						
27	✓					
28						
29						
30						
31						
32						
33						
34						
35						
36						
37					✓	
38	✓					
39						
40						
41						
42						
43		✓				
44						
45						
46						
47						
48						
49	✓					
50						

Paragraph 21

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1					✓	
2						

3	✓					
4						
5						
6	✓					
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						✓
19						
20						
21						
22						
23						✓
24						
25						
26						✓
27					✓	
28	✓					
29						
30						
31						
32						
33						
34						
35						
36					✓	
37						
38						
39						
40						
41						
42						
43						
44						
45						
46						
47						
48	✓					
49						
50						
51						
52						
53						
54						
55						

56						✓
57						
58						

Paragraph 22

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓					
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7	✓					
8						
9	✓					
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16	✓					
17						
18				✓		
19						
20						
21						
22						
23			✓			
24						
25						
26						
27						
28						
29	✓					
30						
31						
32						
33						
34						
35	✓					
36						
37				✓		
38						
39						
40						
41						
42						
43						

44	✓					
45						
46						
47						
48						
49						
50						
51						
52						
53					✓	
54						
55						
56						
57						
58					✓	
59						
60						
61						
62	✓					
63						
64						
65						
66	✓					
67						
68						
69						
70						
71						
72						
73	✓					
74						
75						
76						
77						
78						
79						
80						
81						
82						
83						
84						
85						
86						
87						
88						
89						
90					✓	
91						
92				✓		
93						
94						
95						
96						

97						
98						
99					✓	
100						
101	✓					
102						
103						
104						
105						✓
106						
107						
108						
109						
110	✓					
111						
112						
113	✓					
114						
115						
116						
117						
118						
119						
120						
121						
122						✓
123						
124						
125						✓
126						
127						
128				✓		
129						
130						
131						

Paragraph 23

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
3	✓					
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10	✓					
11						

12						
13					✓	
14						
15	✓					
16						
17						
18					✓	
19	✓					
20						
21						
22						
23						
24	✓					
25						
26						
27						
28						
29						
30						
31						
32						
33						
34						
35						
36		✓				
37						
38						
39						
40	✓					
41						
42						
43						
44						
45						
46					✓	
47						
48						
49						

Paragraph 24

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1	✓					
2						
3						
4						
5						
6	✓					
7					✓	
8	✓					

9						
10						
11						
12						
13	✓					
14						
15						
16	✓					
17						
18					✓	
19	✓					
20						
21						✓
22						✓
23	✓					
24						
25						
26	✓					
27						
28					✓	
29	✓					
30						
31						
32						✓
33						
34						
35						
36	✓					
37						
38						
39						
40	✓					
41						
42					✓	
43					✓	
44	✓					
45						
46						
47						
48						
49						
50					✓	
51	✓					
52						
53						
54						
55						
56			✓			
57						
58				✓		
59						
60						
61						

62						
63					✓	
64	✓					
65						
66						
67						
68						
69						
70	✓					
71						
72						
73			✓			
74						
75						
76					✓	
77					✓	
78	✓					
79						
80						
81						
82						✓
83						
84						
85						
86						
87						
88					✓	
89						
90						
91						
92	✓					
93						
94						
95				✓		
96						
97						
98						
99						
100					✓	
101						
102				✓		
103						
104						
105	✓					
106						

Paragraph 25

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
3						
4	✓					

5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11					✓	
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						
21						
22						✓
23						
24						
25						
26						
27						
28						
29						
30						
31						
32						
33						
34						
35					✓	
36						
37						
38			✓			
39						
40	✓					
41						
42						
43						
44	✓					
45						
46						
47						✓
48	✓					
49						
50						
51						
52					✓	
53						
54						
55						
56						
57					✓	

58						
59						
60					✓	
61						
62						
63						
64						
65						
66						
67						
68						
69				✓		
70						
71	✓					
72						
73						
74						
75						
76						
77						
78						
79						
80						
81						
82	✓					
83						
84					✓	
85						
86						
87						
88						
89						
90						
91					✓	
92	✓					
93						
94						
95						
96						
97					✓	
98						✓
99						
100						
101						
102			✓			
103						✓
104						
105						
106						
107						
108						
109						
110	✓					

111						
112						
113						
114						

Paragraph 26

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1					✓	
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						✓
9						
10	✓					
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						✓
17						
18						
19						
20						
21						
22						
23						
24	✓					
25						
26						
27						
28						
29						
30					✓	
31						
32						
33	✓					
34						
35						✓
36						
37						
38						✓
39						
40	✓					
41						
42						

43						
44						
45						
46						
47						
48						

Paragraph 27

Word	Pronoun	Generalization	Intensifier	Trivializing	Discourse Markers	Sensory
1						
2						
3						
4	✓					
5						✓
6			✓			
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13					✓	
14						
15			✓			
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						
21						
22						
23						✓
24						✓
25						
26						
27						
28						
29						
30						
31						
32						
33						
34					✓	
35						
36						
37						
38						

39						✓
40						
41						
42						
43	✓					
44						
45						
46						
47						
48						
49						
50						
51						
52						
53						
54						
55	✓					
56						
57						
58						
59						
60					✓	
61						
62						
63						
64						
65	✓					
66						
67						
68						
69						
70						
71						
72						
73						
74						
75						
76						
77	✓					
78						
79						
80						
81						
82						

2. The Tactics on Phrasal Structures

1. Lessons from Iraq

No.	Noun Phrase				Adjective Phrase	Verb Phrase
	Art+N	Pro+N	Adj+N	Mixing		
1	-	-	-	✓	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	✓	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	✓	-	-
8	-	-	✓	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	✓	-	-
10	-	-	-	✓	-	-
11	✓	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	✓	-	-
13	-	-	-	✓	-	-
14	✓	-	-	-	-	-
15	✓	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	✓
18	-	-	-	✓	-	-
19	-	-	-	✓	-	-
20	✓	-	-	-	-	-
21	✓	-	-	-	-	-
22	✓	-	-	-	-	-
23	✓	-	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	✓
25	-	✓	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	✓	-	-
27	-	-	-	✓	-	-
28	✓	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	✓
30	✓	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	✓
34	✓	-	-	-	-	-
35	✓	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	✓	-	-	-	-
37	✓	-	-	-	-	-
38	✓	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	-	✓
40	✓	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	-	-	✓
42	✓	-	-	-	-	-
43	✓	-	-	-	-	-
44	✓	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	-	-	✓	-	-
46	-	✓	-	-	-	-

47	-	-	-	✓	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	✓
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	✓
52	✓	-	-	-	-	-
53	✓	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	✓	-	-	-	-
59	✓	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	✓	-	-
61	-	-	-	-	-	✓
62	✓	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	-	-	✓
64	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	✓	-	-
66	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	✓	-	-	-	-
68	-	✓	-	-	-	-
69	✓	-	-	-	-	-
70	✓	-	-	-	-	-
71	-	-	✓	-	-	-
72	-	-	-	✓	-	-
73	-	-	-	✓	-	-
74	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	-	✓	-	-	-	-
76	-	✓	-	-	-	-
77	✓	-	-	-	-	-
78	-	-	-	-	-	✓
79	✓	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	✓
81	-	-	✓	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	-	-	✓
83	✓	-	-	-	-	-
84	✓	-	-	-	-	-
85	-	-	-	✓	-	-
86	-	-	-	-	-	✓
87	-	-	-	-	-	✓
88	✓	-	-	-	-	-
89	✓	-	-	-	-	-
90	-	-	-	✓	-	-
91	✓	-	-	-	-	-
92	-	-	✓	-	-	-
93	-	✓	-	-	-	-
94	-	-	-	✓	-	-
95	-	-	-	✓	-	-
96	-	-	-	✓	-	-
97	-	-	-	-	-	-
98	-	-	-	✓	-	-
99	-	-	-	✓	-	-

100	-	-	-	-	-	-
101	-	-	-	-	-	-
102	-	-	-	✓	-	-
103	-	-	✓	-	-	-
104	-	-	-	✓	-	-
105	✓	-	-	-	-	-
106	-	✓	-	-	-	-
107	✓	-	-	-	-	-
108	✓	-	-	-	-	-
109	✓	-	-	-	-	-
110	-	-	-	✓	-	-
111	✓	-	-	-	-	-
112	-	-	-	✓	-	-
113	✓	-	-	-	-	-
114	✓	-	-	-	-	-
115	✓	-	-	-	-	-
116	-	-	-	✓	-	-
117	✓	-	-	-	-	-
118	✓	-	-	-	-	-
119	-	-	-	-	-	✓
120	-	-	-	-	-	✓
121	-	-	-	✓	-	-
122	-	-	✓	-	-	-
123	-	-	✓	-	-	-
124	-	-	✓	-	-	-
125	-	-	✓	-	-	-
126	✓	-	-	-	-	-
127	-	-	-	-	✓	-
128	-	✓	-	-	-	-
129	✓	-	-	-	-	-
130	-	-	-	✓	-	-
131	✓	-	-	-	-	-
132	-	-	-	-	-	✓
133	-	-	-	✓	-	-
134	✓	-	-	-	-	-
135	✓	-	-	-	-	-
136	-	-	-	-	-	-
137	-	-	-	✓	-	-
138	-	✓	-	-	-	-
139	✓	-	-	-	-	-
140	-	-	-	✓	-	-
141	-	-	✓	-	-	-
142	-	-	-	✓	-	-
143	✓	-	-	-	-	-
144	-	✓	-	-	-	-
145	-	-	-	✓	-	-
146	-	-	-	✓	-	-
147	-	-	-	✓	-	-
148	-	-	-	✓	-	-
149	-	-	-	✓	-	-
150	✓	-	-	-	-	-
151	-	-	-	✓	-	-
152	-	-	-	✓	-	-

153	-	-	-	-	-	✓
154	-	-	-	-	-	-
155	-	-	-	✓	-	-
156	-	-	-	-	-	✓
157	✓	-	-	-	-	-
158	✓	-	-	-	-	-
159	-	-	✓	-	-	-
160	-	-	✓	-	-	-
161	-	-	✓	-	-	-
162	-	✓	-	-	-	-
163	-	-	-	-	-	-
164	-	-	-	✓	-	-
165	✓	-	-	-	-	-
166	-	-	-	-	✓	-
167	-	-	-	-	-	✓
168	✓	-	-	✓	-	-
169	✓	-	-	-	-	-
170	-	-	✓	-	-	-
171	-	-	-	✓	-	-
172	-	-	-	-	-	-
173	-	-	-	-	-	-
174	-	-	-	-	-	-
175	-	-	-	✓	-	-
176	-	-	-	-	-	✓
177	-	-	✓	-	-	-
178	-	-	✓	-	-	-
179	✓	-	-	-	-	-
180	✓	-	-	-	-	-
181	✓	-	-	-	-	-
182	-	-	-	-	-	-
183	✓	-	-	-	-	-
184	✓	-	-	-	-	-
185	✓	-	-	-	-	-
186	-	-	-	-	-	-
187	-	-	-	-	-	✓
188	-	-	✓	-	-	-
189	-	✓	-	-	-	-
190	-	-	-	✓	-	-
191	-	-	-	✓	-	-
192	✓	-	-	-	-	-
193	-	-	-	-	-	-
194	-	-	-	-	-	-
195	✓	-	-	-	-	-
196	-	-	✓	-	-	-
197	✓	-	-	-	-	-
198	✓	-	-	-	-	-
199	✓	-	-	-	-	-
200	✓	-	-	-	-	-
201	-	-	-	-	-	-
202	-	-	✓	-	-	-
203	-	✓	-	-	-	-
204	-	-	-	✓	-	-
205	-	-	-	✓	-	-

206	✓	-	-	-	-	-
207	-	-	-	✓	-	-
208	-	-	✓	-	-	-
209	-	-	-	-	-	-
210	-	-	-	-	✓	-
211	-	-	-	-	-	-
212	-	✓	-	-	-	-
213	✓	-	-	-	-	-
214	-	-	-	-	-	-
215	✓	-	-	-	-	-
216	✓	-	-	-	-	-
217	-	-	-	✓	-	-
218	-	-	-	-	-	-
219	-	-	✓	-	-	-
220	-	-	✓	-	-	-
221	✓	-	-	-	-	-
222	-	-	-	✓	-	-
223	-	-	-	-	-	-
224	-	-	-	✓	-	-

2. Turning the Page in Iraq

No.	Noun Phrase				Adjective Phrase	Verb Phrase
	Art+N	Pro+N	Adj+N	Mixing		
1						
2	✓					
3		✓				
4						✓
5		✓				✓
6						✓
7	✓					
8		✓				
9						
10						✓
11						
12						
13				✓		
14				✓		
15		✓				
16					✓	
17						✓
18		✓				
19		✓				
20						
21		✓				
22						
23	✓					
24	✓					
25				✓		
26				✓		
27		✓				
28	✓					
29	✓					

30	✓					
31	✓					
32		✓				
33	✓					
34			✓			
35			✓			
36	✓					
37						
38	✓					
39						
40			✓			
41	✓					
42				✓		
43	✓					
44	✓					
45				✓		
46			✓			
47	✓					
48		✓				
49	✓					
50	✓					
51	✓					
52				✓		
53	✓					
54				✓		
55		✓				
56	✓					
57				✓		
58	✓					
59			✓			
60			✓			
61			✓			
62			✓			
63						
64						
65	✓					
66						
67						
68			✓			
69		✓				
70	✓					
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72	✓					
73	✓					
74	✓					
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78						
79	✓					
80						
81		✓				
82	✓					

83	✓					
84						
85	✓					
86		✓				
87						
88						
89		✓				
90		✓				
91						
92	✓					
93		✓				
94	✓					
95	✓					
96						
97						
98		✓				
99	✓					
100		✓				
101		✓				
102				✓		
103				✓		
104	✓					
105						
106				✓		
107						
108				✓		
109			✓			
110				✓		
111				✓		
112						✓
113			✓			
114	✓					
115				✓		
116						
117	✓					
118			✓			
119	✓					
120						
121	✓					
122				✓		
123	✓					
124						
125				✓		
126		✓				
127				✓		
128						
129			✓			
130						
131				✓		
132		✓				
133						✓
134				✓		
135		✓				

136					✓	
137	✓					
138		✓				
139		✓				
140						
141			✓			
142				✓		
143						
144				✓		
145	✓					
146						
147						
148				✓		
149				✓		
150				✓		
151				✓		
152	✓					
153					✓	
154						✓
155	✓					
156				✓		
157						✓
158				✓		
159						✓
160			✓			
161						✓
162			✓			
163	✓					
164						✓
165	✓					
166						✓
167						✓
168						
169	✓					
170	✓					
171	✓					
172		✓				
173			✓			
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337	✓					
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341		✓				
342		✓				
343	✓					
344	✓					
345			✓			
346				✓		
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348			✓			
349	✓					
350	✓					

351	✓					
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3. New Beginning

No.	Noun Phrase				Adjective Phrase	Verb Phrase
	Art+N	Pro+N	Adj+N	Mixing		
1	✓					
2				✓		
3				✓		
4				✓		
5				✓		
6				✓		
7	✓					
8	✓					
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13						✓
14	✓					
15				✓		
16	✓					
17			✓			
18						✓
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20	✓					
21	✓					
22				✓		
23	✓					
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30		✓				
31				✓		
32	✓					
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34		✓				
35				✓		
36				✓		
37	✓					
38	✓					
39						✓
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43	✓					
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310	✓					
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313				✓		
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315				✓		

3 Tactics on Oral Structure

No.	Discourse Markers	Ungrammatical Sentence
1	Well	Real, direct and sustained diplomacy
2	You know	A trillion dollar
3	Yes	-
4	Thank you	-

4. The Tactics on Sentential Structure

1. Lessons from Iraq

No.	Temporal Sentence				Passive Voice		Rhetorical Question		Sentential Repetition
	Present	Past	Future	Mixing	Comp.	Incomp.	Yes/no	Others	
1	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-
2	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-
5	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-
10	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-
11	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-
12	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-
17	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-
18	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-
19	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-
27	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

28	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓
29	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓
30	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓
31	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-
42	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
44	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
45	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
46	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
62	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-
68	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
71	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓
73	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
74	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
75	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
76	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-
79	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
80	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

81	✓	-	-	✓	-	-		-	-
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2. Turning the Page in Iraq

No.	Temporal Sentence				Passive Voice		Rhetorical Question		Sentential Repetition
	Present	Past	Future	Mixing	Comp.	Incomp.	Yes/no	Others	
1		✓							
2		✓							
3	✓								
4	✓								
5	✓								
6	✓								
7	✓					✓			
8	✓					✓			
9	✓					✓			
10		✓							
11		✓							
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14		✓							
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16		✓							
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18		✓				✓			
19		✓							
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39	✓					✓			
40	✓								✓
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46	✓								✓
47	✓								

48	✓				✓				
49	✓				✓				
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51	✓				✓				
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65				✓		✓			
66	✓					✓			
67	✓								
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70	✓					✓			
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72		✓							✓
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102	✓				✓					
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129	✓									
130	✓									
131	✓									✓
132	✓									✓
133	✓									✓
134	✓									✓

3. A New Beginning

No.	Temporal Sentence				Passive Voice		Rhetorical Question		Sentential Repetition
	Present	Past	Future	Mixing	Comp.	Incomp.	Yes/no	Others	
1									
2	✓								
3	✓								
4	✓								
5	✓								
6	✓								
7	✓								
8	✓					✓			
9	✓								
10	✓								
11	✓					✓			
12				✓					

13	✓					✓			
14		✓							
15	✓								
16				✓	✓				
17	✓								
18	✓								✓
19				✓					
20	✓			✓					
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27	✓					✓			
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122	✓		✓						



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| 3. MAN Cipasung | Singaparna Tasikmalaya | 2004 |
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5. MAL-DC (Malang Debate Community).
6. IKMA-BARAYA (Ikatan Mahasiswa Barat Raya) commissariat UIN Malang.
7. FKM-SUMUT (Forum Komunikasi Mahasiswa Sumatera Utara)
8. El-Giant English Club UIN Malang.

Malang, 30 May 2008

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No.	Date	Matter	Signature
1	16 March 2008	Consult the title	
2	20 March 2008	Revise proposal	
3	27 March 2008	ACC for proposal seminar	
4	15 May 2008	Consult chapter 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5	
5	22 May 2008	Revise chapter 4 and 5	
6	26 May 2008	Revise chapter 5	
7	29 May 2008	ACC chapter 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5	

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