

**A SYSTEMIC LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF PROCESS TYPES,  
PARTICIPANT ROLES AND MODALITY TYPES IN OBAMA'S  
SPEECHES ON MUSLIM WORLD ISSUES**

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**FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS  
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA  
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## ABSTRACT

In the last five years, the political discourse of President Barack Obama has attracted a great number of researchers and students in Linguistics and Social Studies around the world. The discourses through which Obama addressed the issues encountered by the Muslim World which have been central in the political world, still require more investigations and linguistic analysis. The current study is dedicated to investigate the political discourse of President Obama which embodies Islamic world issues, applying the Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as the theoretical framework to study language structure and function. Specifically, the study will apply the SFL theory as introduced by Halliday (1985-1994) and reintroduced by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004-2014). The principle aim of the current study is to expose the representation of the issues in the discourse of President Barack Obama through its Transitivity processes and Modality patterns. Six speeches by the President sourced from the White House website (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/>), the archive of President Obama's speeches are used as data. The study applies a qualitative method to analyze the data. The results show that the president mobilizes various types of Transitivity processes and participants, and Modality types in order to express his views. His linguistic devices of Transitivity and Modality featured within his speeches on the Muslim world issues can be a good linguistic account to understand his construction of these issues.

## **ABSTRAK**

Semenjak lima tahun yang lepas, wacana Presiden Barack Obama tentang politik telah menarik, minat banyak penyelidik dan pelajar dari bahagian kajian bahasa dan sosial dari serata dunia. Wacana yang telah diketengahkan oleh Obama tentang isu-isu yang dihadapi oleh dunia Islam dalam politik dunia masih memerlukan banyak kajian dan analisis linguistik. Penyelidikan ini adalah khusus untuk mengkaji dialog politik Barack Obama yang merangkumi isu-isu Islam sedunia dengan mengaplikasikan Hallidayan Functional Linguistics (SFL) sebagai teori rangka kerja untuk mengkaji struktur bahasa dan fungsi. Secara spesifiknya, kajian ini akan mengaplikasikan teori SFL yang telah diperkenalkan oleh Halliday (1985-1994) dan seterusnya telah diperkenalkan semula oleh Halliday dan Matheissen (2004-2014). Prinsip utama kajian ini adalah untuk mendedahkan isu-isu yang dibahaskan oleh Presiden Barack Obama melalui proses transitiviti dan corak modaliti. Enam ucapan oleh Presiden yang diperolehi dari sumber laman web White House melalui arkib ucapan-ucapan Barack Obama, telah digunakan sebagai data bagi kajian ini. Kajian ini juga mengaplikasikan kaedah kualitatif untuk menganalisis data. Hasil daripada kajian ini telah menunjukkan bahawa Presiden Barack Obama telah menggunakan pelbagai jenis proses transitiviti dan modaliti untuk mengetengahkan pandangan beliau. Bahan transitiviti bahasa dan modaliti yang digunakan dalam ucapan beliau tentang isu-isu dunia Islam boleh dijadikan contoh bahasa yang baik untuk memahami pendirian beliau tentang isu-isu ni.

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## LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Indication</b>
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DA	Discourse Analysis
Exist	Existential Process
H	High degree of Modality
ISAF	International Security Assistance
L	Low degree of Modality
M	Median degree of Modality
Mat	Material Process
Men	Mental Process
PDA	Political Discourse Analysis
Pheno	Phenomenon
PPK	Kurdistan Workers Party
Pr	Process
NPP	New Ghanaian Patriotic Party (
Rel-Attr	Relational Attributive Process
Rel- Poss	Relational Possessive Process
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
Verb	Verbal Process
( * )	The entity in the clause is not analysed.

## **GLOSSARY OF TERMS**

<b>Terms</b>	<b>Definitions</b>
Actor	The doer entity in the Material clause
Attribute	The entity which has something attributed to.
Behaver	The entity does the behaviour in the Behavioural Process
Beneficiary	The entity which benefits from the material process
Carrier	The entity which carries the attribute
Circumstance	The adverbial group or prepositional phrases in the clause
Context of Culture	the cultural factors that influence texts
Deontic	A “type of proposal modality relates to obligation or permission” (Palmer, 2001, p.9).
Degrees	The levels of modality which distinguish the sense and meaning of the various modality terms.
Discourse	“Written or spoken communication or debate” (Oxford Dictionary).
Discourse Analysis	Approaches to study or written, spoken, or sign language use in society.
Existent	The participant which expresses the thing existed in Existential process.
Exchange	the language form of the clause when it exchanges goods and services.

Epistemic	A propositional modality reflects judgments about the factual status of the proposition”. (Palmer 2001p, 23)
Existential Process	The process used to express the existing of things
Experiential	The meaning of the clause as it construes a quantum of change in the flow of events as a figure”(Halliday, 2014.p, 212)
Metafunction	
Finite	A part of Mood realized by the verbal group
Genre	Text type based on the intent of the communicator
High Degree	Degree of modality reflects its strongest meaning.
Ideational	The function of language content that represents the world’s experience.
metafunction	
Identifier	Entity which is defined in relational Process
Interpersonal	The function of language when it represents the speaker’s meaning potential as intruder.
Metafunction	
Lexico –Grammar	The “unity of lexis and grammar” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014. p, 64)
Low Degree	degree of modality reflects its weak meaning
Material Process	The process that expresses peopl’s material actions and events
Mental Process	The process that expresses people’s feeling
Median Degree	Degree of modality reflects its medium meaning
Metafunction	A terms Halliday used to refer to the three functions of the clause
Message	Form of the clause when it is functions to organize



	information.
Mood	with Capital (M) a part of clause structure through which the Interpersonal meaning is realized
Mood	With small (m) refers to the clause type whether offer, command, statement question.
Modality	A Linguistic system which is a part of mood indicates the degree of probability usuality in language proposition, and obligation and inclination in proposals.
Modality operator	The linguistic terms used to express modality.
Modalization	A type of Modality which expresses probability and Usuality
Modulation	A type of Modality which expresses inclination and obligation
Mode	refers to the channel of communication in an interaction
Obligation	A type of Modulation reflects imposing of orders.
Participants	The entities in the clausal associated to the process realized through the nominal groups.
Political Discourse	language of political forums such as debates, speeches, and hearings
Probability	A type of Modalization expresses likelihood
Proposition	The language form to exchange information
Process	The element in the clause transitivity that expresses what is going on in the world.

Register	Specific lexical & grammatical choices used by speakers
Residue	The remainder of Mood in the clause as exchange
Sayer	Entity which produces spoken or written utterances
Subject	A part of Mood realized by the nominal group
Target	Entity which receives spoken or written utterances
Tenor	The participants' roles in an interaction
Textual	concerns with the organization and structure of
Theme	Significant Topics Obama discussed within his speeches.
Transitivity	A Linguistic system consists of Process, Participants and Circumstantial elements
Usuality	A type of Modalization expresses oftenness in the clause

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The current study is conducted to investigate the construction of some Islamic world issues within the discourse of President Barack Obama. It is an attempt to understand how the American president discussed the Islamic world issues from two different aspects of meaning, i.e. experiential and interpersonal meanings. An adapted version of Systemic Functional Linguistics is applied to examine the lexico-grammatical choices in order to reveal how the discourse Obama constructs to address the issues. This is carried out through the examination of Transitivity processes and participant roles, and Modality types. Chapter one is the introductory chapter of the current study and it carries general information about the study. It consists of 10 sections. Section 1.1 is the Research Problem Statement, section 1.2 is the Aim of the research, section 1.3 is the Questions of the Study, section 1.4 is Methodology followed by section 1.5 which is the Theoretical Framework. The Study Rationale is in Section 1.6. Section 1.7 is the Study Limitations. After this, section 1.9 and section 1.10 reflect the Significance of the Study and the Study Outline respectively. The last section is the conclusion of the current chapter.

### **1.1 STATEMENT OF RESEARCH AREA**

Presidential political discourses have been rich sources of data in the field of linguistics. The major argument is that Politicians try to select their words carefully as they recognize that the majority of the public are listening to them. From this, it can be stated that analyzing the Presidential speeches would provide a reflection of their thoughts, ideas and intentions. In view of political speeches, Schäffner (1996) suggests that political texts

reflect political activities and they perform different functions related to these activities. Van Dijk (1997) explains that any speech made by a politician is a realization of his intention and has its own function.

Today the Muslim world is facing tremendous challenges which range from external and internal problems. In his inaugural address (2009), President Barack Obama promised to reach out to the Islamic world during his presidency period based on mutual interests and mutual respect referring to this initiative as “a new way forward”. Obama demonstrated his effort to fulfill his promise when he shows interest in the issues Muslim nations are encountering through some of the addresses and interviews he made. Therefore, president Obama’s discourse as a communicative device in addressing the Muslim world issues can be a good data to explore what is beyond the words of the president.

Based on the notion of SFL, when people are speaking they take into account the choice of the vocabulary and grammar that are principle and systematic lexical items. And these lexical items are chosen based on the underlying intentions of the speakers (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Thus, language is used to achieve political objectives in political discourses. The meanings formulated by persons reflect their personal experiences and knowledge which are different from person to another (Van Dijk, 1997b).

The current study seeks to explore experiential and interpersonal meanings by using Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and specifically the Systems of Transitivity and Modality. Although Systems of Transitivity and Modality have been utilized widely to investigate political discourses specifically the speeches of President Barack Obama by (Nufus, C. 2014; Wang, J. 2010; Ratih, D. 2014; Naz, S. 2012; Al-Sa’ati, M. 2013; Shayegh, 2012; Boyadi, 2014; Nartey and Yankson, 2014; Alvin and Albaseer. 2011). From literature, there are limited researches using SFL investigated the language of

President Obama in the context of Islamic world issues. This gap has led to conduct the current study.

## **1.2 AIMS OF THE STUDY**

Political speeches have a great influence on the public as the main purpose of politicians is to persuade their audience of the validity of their political arguments. This influence comes from the employment of linguistic choices through which their beliefs and thoughts towards different issues in the world are expressed.

Within the framework of SFL, the current study concerns with analyzing the discourse of Obama on the issues of Muslim world. It has two aims. Firstly, it attempts to find out how the experiential meaning in the discourse of Obama can be realized through the process types and their associated participants roles as central components in the structure of Transitivity in the clause. Secondly, it seeks to explore how the interpersonal meaning in the discourse is realized by modality choices as an aspect of Mood structure in the clause. These two meanings will be investigated through the study of the lexico - grammatical resources the president utilized to portray the topics reflecting the issues which the Muslim countries face.

## **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

Since this study is dedicated to analyze the Transitivity processes and participant roles, and Modality types in the discourses of Obama's speeches that convey the most common issues in Muslim World, it is important to find out what are the most issues (themes) recurred in the selected speeches. The research questions are:

- 1 What are the recurring themes found in the six speeches of President Barack Obama on Islamic world issues?
- 2 How is experiential meaning realized through the process types and participant roles within the discourse of the recurring themes in the six speeches?
- 3 How is interpersonal meaning realized through Modality types within the discourse of the recurring themes in the six speeches?

#### **1.4 METHODOLOGY**

The data of the current study is in the form of clauses selected from six speeches delivered by President Barack Obama. These speeches were made in the period between 2009 and 2013 to address different issues arising from different Islamic countries. The speeches which are in the form of written texts were collected from the official website of the White House page <http://www.whitehouse.gov/> (see appendix A). A comparison between the contents of the six texts with the original videos of Obama's speeches is made to be sure that the texts selected are similar to the original spoken texts. The speeches selected are:

- 1 Speech made in Turkey, 2009 (Appendix A, S1)
- 2 Speech made in Cairo, 2009 (Appendix A, S2)
- 3 Speech made in Jakarta, 2010 (Appendix A, S3)
- 4 Speech made at the United Nations, 2011 (Appendix A, S4)
- 5 Speech made in Afghanistan, 2013 (Appendix A, S5)
- 6 Speech made in Ramallah, 2013 (Appendix A, S6)

Not all the clauses in the speeches will be analyzed; instead the investigation is applied only on the sections where the clauses expressing recurring issues in the speeches.

In other words, selecting the clauses takes two stages. The first stage involves finding out the addressed issues across each speech, and these issues are called as themes. The second stage involves collecting the paragraphs about the recurring themes from the six speeches. Thus the contents of the themes are the study data.

## **1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The theoretical framework applied for the current study is based on the systems of Transitivity and Modality. Transitivity and Modality are main concepts in the Hallidayan SFL theory. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) propose that the architecture of any language in context is organized in five major semiotic dimensions which are “structure, system, stratification, instantiations and metafunctions” (p. 20). Within the conception of metafunction; they explain that there are three metafunctions of language: textual, interpersonal and ideational. The Ideational metafunction has two components: logical and experiential. This study deals with interpersonal and experiential metafunctions. The experiential metafunction is concerned with the representation of the “flow of events” or “goings on” within the clause and these events are represented through the structure of Transitivity system as a semantic system of the clause (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 211). Transitivity system is structured from three components: the process types, their participants and the circumstantial elements (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

On the other hand, the interpersonal metafunction is the function of the clause to establish relations between interactants and express the judgments and opinions of the speaker on what is being said. Mood and Modality are the systems in SFL which can express the interpersonal metafunction. Mood is the basic unit in the clause of exchange (the clause functions to exchange information and /or goods and services). The roles of

communication that the speaker adopts for himself/herself and for the listener are realized through the Mood choices. Mood is primarily structured from Finite and Subject. Based on the order of these two elements, the speech role can be determined. For example, if the finite is preceding the subject, the clause will take the form of question, and then the speaker becomes a seeker of information or goods and services (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). On the other hand, Modality is the semantic system which can realize the opinions of the speaker towards the thing expressed in the interaction. Modality can be in the form of modal verbs and adjuncts as a part of Mood structure. Also it can be expressed in the Residue as adjuncts. Residue is the complementary and remainder element of Mood in the clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). (For more description see chapters 2& 3).

## **1.6 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY**

This study may complement previous studies on Barack Obama's discourses addressing the Muslim world issues. In recent times, although many linguistic studies have been conducted to examine the language of President Obama using SFL approaches, it has been observed that Obama's discourses embody Muslim world issues have limited interest by the researches in the field of SFL. If such studies found, they do not reveal how the President represents the issues, and this can be realized through the experiential meaning; and how the president creates a social distance which can be realized by the interpersonal meaning. Hence it was decided to devote the current study for the purpose of exploring the experiential and interpersonal meanings.

## **1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

This study is limited to analyzing only the clauses Obama used to address the issues of Muslim countries within six speeches only. The current study is focused on the



language of Barack Obama, thus the conclusions will pertain and be limited to the speeches of Obama and contexts within which these speeches were made.

## **1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The present study contributes to an understanding of the views and perception of Barack Obama through the exploration of his representation of the Transitivity processes such as (events, goings on) and their participants elements (such as people, governments) involved in the discourse as a part of experiential meaning, and his judgments and assessments towards what he is saying as a part of interpersonal meaning.

## **1.9 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY.**

The dissertation has five chapters. The study begins with chapter one which covers the research area statement, aims of the study, research questions, theoretical framework and methodology followed by the rationale for the study, its significance and limitations, then the outline of the study, and finally the chapter summary. In chapter two, what is related from literature to the current study and what is shaping its theoretical framework are overviewed, beginning with explanations of discourse analysis (DA) and political discourse analysis (PDA), followed by basic views of SFL with a detailed description of Transitivity and Modality systems and some of the previous studies on SFL in different genres. Chapter three deals with the theoretical framework of Transitivity and Modality systems by Halliday (1985, 1994), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 2014) and as explained by Bloor and Bloor (2004, 2014), Fontaine (2013) and Thompson (2004, 2014). Following this, a description of data collection, data description and the research design are explained as a part of the methodology. Chapter four lays out the study findings. Chapter five expresses the study conclusions in relation to the research questions.

## **1.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter of the dissertation is the introductory chapter which has shown a general idea of the research area, the study aim, the questions of the study, the theoretical framework of the research and methodology. It has also provided the rationale, the significance and limitations of the study. Therefore, this chapter is the foundation of what is addressed in the next chapters.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter gives a literature overview of what is relevant to this study. The theoretical and conceptual framework for analyzing the current data is derived from this overview. The current chapter is divided into three sections. Section 2.1 highlights a brief description of discourse analysis with subsections 2.1.1 to explain the development of discourse analysis and 2.1.2 to present a general conception of political discourse analysis. In section 2.2 the SFL model is reviewed in terms of its foundation in subsection 2.2.1 and its identification as a theory in subsection 2.2.2. The application of Transitivity and Modality in previous studies is encapsulated in section 2.3. And section 2.4 is the chapter summary.

#### **2.1 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

According to Gee (2014) discourse analysis (DA) is “the study of language use” (p. 8). It is considered as the study of language within context in which the language is used (McCarthy, 1991). “DA is applied to studies and descriptions of verbal interactions people consume daily, whether printed or spoken newspapers articles, letters, stories, recipes, instructions, notices, and comics”. It covers “all kinds of written texts, and spoken data, from conversation to highly institutionalized forms of talk” (McCarthy 2005, 8). DA is an approach used to find out meanings covering a number of activities. In other words; it is used to identify the intersection of activities among different disciplines like sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and computational linguistics (Brown and Yule, 1998). Brown and Yule (1998: viii) argue that psycholinguistics is interested in the “issues related

to language comprehension such as the problems of texts and sentences comprehension”. They explain Sociolinguistics as the study “concerned with the structure of social interaction manifested in conversations and their description emphasizing features of social contexts, dealing with real instances of language”. And “philosophical linguistics and formal linguistics studies are concerned with semantic relationships between constructed pairs of sentences and with their syntactic realizations” (Brown and Yule, 1998: viii).

According to Paltridge (2012), the term DA refers to the investigation of what is “beyond the word, clause, phrase, and sentence” (p.1). It also considers the ways of language use which present different views and understanding of the world.

Gee (2014) suggests different types of discourse analysis approaches. He explains that some of them are concerned with the study of language “contents, themes and issues being discussed in texts such as newspapers” while others deal with “the grammar of language and its function in specific contexts” (p.1). He says that these approaches of discourse analysis use different theories of grammar and meaning description.

The primary linguistic approach in language studies is the analysis of discourse. It emphasizes how people use language for communication and how that in communication the addressers construct linguistic messages and the addressees interpret them (Mjer, 2003: 24). Scollon and Scollon (2001: 538) describe discourse analysis from two perspectives. From the first perspective (DA) is viewed as a linguistic study of texts in use, while from the other perspective it is viewed as a study of “thought, perception, and behavior” found in different genres. It was proposed that speakers use language to express what they think, feel, or want, and at the same time, what is being said will result in an interaction between the participants” and this is the “communicative function of language (Van Dijk, 1997).

Moreover, DA is about who uses language, when and why. DA can be achieved at different units of language to analyze sounds, syntax, morphology, speech acts, turn taking and rhetoric (Van Dijk, 1997). Discourse analysis as approach and theory contributes to analyze language in terms of language use, producers' thoughts or beliefs, and social relations. This can be achieved through the analysis based on SFL (Van Dijk, 1997).

### **2.1.1 Discourse Analysis Development and Contributions**

Discourse analysis (DA) was first introduced in late 1960s and early 1970's. DA as an analysis approach came out from a collocation of a number of different disciplines studies such as "linguistics, semiotics, psychology, anthropology and sociology" (McCarthy, 2005: 5). DA was initially introduced when the linguist Zellig Harris was conducting an analysis of sentences in a text in his Ph.D. paper titled 'Discourse analysis' in 1952 at the University of Pennsylvania. He was the first linguist who paid attention to studying sentences in coherence (discourse) within a social situation. His paper focused on "analyzing the linguistic elements of a text, the coherent texts and the circumstances around the text" (McCarthy, 2005:5).

In the beginning, DA was adopted to oral talk and conversations. Conversational analysis was initially founded by sociologist Harold Garfinkel in 1960s, a scholar in Ethnomethodology.

A number of scholars in social science and linguistics contributed to discourse analysis like Hymes (1964) who worked on analyzing speeches within social settings, Austen (1962) and Searle (1969) the founders of the speech act theory, and Grice (1975) who had works in discourse studies and was interested in maxims of conversation.

M.A.K Halliday has greatly contributed to British Discourse Analysis. His Functional Approach to language (SFL) is concerned with the function of language discourses 'language in social contexts'.

### **2.1.2 Political Discourse Analysis**

Political discourse analysis (PDA) comes within the various fields of DA. From literature, PDA has been taking the great deal of the studies of discourses in linguistics. Its main focus is on analyzing the discourses whether written or spoken of political domains. Some of Political discourses forms such as: speeches, interviews, news reports, and blogs have been investigated widely by researchers in linguistics.

Van Dijk (1997) argues that political discourse can be defined by its authors and actors; the actors in any political communication are usually politicians. According to Van Dijk (1997: 13) the vast area of political discourses studies is organized to analyze "the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels". He states that "Politicians in this sense are the group of people who are being paid for their political activities, and who are being elected or appointed (or self-designated)".

In addition to this, political discourse analysis extends to include "the recipients in the political communications such as the public, the people, citizens, the masses" when the interpersonal relations are emphasized here (Van Dijk, 1997: 14).

The conception of PDA is not limited to individuals only as officials or public people, it also covers the "Political activity and the political process" which give people their identity as "citizens and voters, demonstrators and dissidents" (Van Dijk1997). In other words, people who are acting in political interaction are at the same time acting as participants in political actions, such as governing, ruling, or even voting. Their political

actions are transferred into discursive practices. This means those people and their actions become topics discussed within the political discourses to impose specific functions and implications.

Regarding the language context which is described as what gives the discourse its characteristics as “political, medical or educational” for example, Van Dijk (1997) explains that the discourse analysis can be beyond the dimension of political action and participants, it can deal with political and “communicative events and encounters, with their own settings (time, place, circumstances), occasions, intentions, functions, goals, and legal or political implications” and this contributes to analyze languages in context.

In political communication and rhetoric linguists (Bitz 1981, Chaffee 1975, Garber 1981, Swanson and Nimmo 1990, and Thompson 1978) have worked in political discourses studies. Chilton, 2004, Wilson, 1990 and Wodak were influential characters in political discourse.

Chilton (2004) provided some work in PDA besides his interest in cognitive linguistics. From the cognitive premise, he presents an analysis of discourse and society studying the political behavior of people through the language used in politicians’ profiles. He also worked on political language influence on the defendants in the Stephen Lawrence murder trial. Beside this, his analysis of Political Discourse covers the changing landscape of political language at the September 11/ events including the use of religious imagery in the political discourse of George Bush.

Geis (1987) was concerned with the language and myths of the American politicians Kennedy, Johnson and Reagan. The bias in politics as a problem in political journalism, TV news, and the presidential conference also took a part of his work. His

interest in analyzing language as a device to persuade others to get their voices in elections was derived from his initial steps in linguistics to investigate TV advertising discourse.

Obeng and Hartford (2008) drew on the study of English translated texts of Albanian leaders' political discourses which are very rich with metaphorical similes as a persuasion strategy which manifest the culture of the communities in Albania.

Wilson (1990) provides a linguistic guide of actual political talks and written telephones conversations elaborating modern pragmatic concepts such as presupposition, pronominal metaphors and self-references.

Wodak (1950- 2013) specialized in the development of theoretical methods in political discourse studies such as Identity Politics, Media Studies, Political Communication, Language Policy Studies and Comics, and Discrimination. Some of her majority concentration is on "The Discursive Construction of the Past—Individual and Collective Memories of the German Wehrmacht and the Second World War, and the Parliamentary Debates on Immigration in Six EU Countries".

PDA has activated much interest among analysts and researchers for being the device politicians put in their political views and the way they can interact and communicate with the public. Although many studies have been conducted on Obama's political discourse, thus far no studies are conducted on the speeches of Obama about the Islamic countries issues using the approaches of Transitivity and Modality of SFL. The speeches of President Obama can be a rich source of data to study the experiential and interpersonal meanings to understand the perceptions of the American president on the war in Iraq, some economic, social issues and others in the Muslim regions.



## **2.2 SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS**

In this section, how the notion of SFL was founded and developed, and what the notion is about are all presented in subsections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.

### **2.2.1 SFL Foundation**

Michael Alexander Kikwood Halliday (1925) is the founder of the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) theory which was emerged from earlier studies. SFL was originally built on the linguistic notions of Malinowski and J.R. Firth. Malinowski (1887-1942) provided two concepts for studying any language, context of culture and context of situation. He stated that environment and culture had an influence on language use. Later Halliday (1960's,) at the Prague school specialized in linguistics and developed systemic functional linguistics based on Malinowski's view. He developed the work of his teacher J. R. Firth in the early 20th century.

His Ph.D. paper on this view was published in 1961. Halliday described this theory first when he investigated the structure and meaning of Chinese language at the University of Lingam and under the supervision of Wang Li. In 1960, Halliday brought his notion of grammar to London and expanded it to analyzing English language. Later, the work was applied to study other languages in Europe such as French and German. SFL as a notion to study language was in contrast to Chomsky's Universal Grammar. In universal grammar; Chomsky developed the notions of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). Saussure (1857-1913) described language as content and form (paradigmatic principle). According to the Prague school, language is viewed as psychological process while Halliday is more interested on describing language from social perspectives (Bloor and Bloor, 2004). Halliday's views were more inspired by the Prague school. The Prague school specialized in the functional approach of language "Functionalism".

SFL emphasizes two main aspects of language, system and function. Halliday's first work was published in (1985) with the title "*An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*". The second edition was in 1994. Following this, Halliday updated his work in 2004 with Matthessein. The last edition has been published in (2014) by Halliday and Matthessein with a new title *Halliday's Introduction to Systemic Grammar*.

There are other contributors to SFL such as Robert Martin (1950), Ruqaiya Hasan (1977), Eggins(1994), Fontaine (2014), Thompson (1996, 2004, 2014), Bloor and Bloor (2004, 2013). Some of these works are consulted in the present study in order to explain the conceptual framework followed to examine the data.

### **2.2.2 The Concept of SFL**

Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a language approach developed initially by M.A.K. Halliday during the 1960s. It was first found in UK and later in Australia. The SFL approach is applied nowadays for the new strategies of teaching and learning in schools and educational institutions instead of traditional grammar. It is also applied for the purposes of discourse analysis by researchers. Halliday in his work on SFL explained language as meanings rather than a combination of words and sentences. It identifies how language can be used in social contexts to achieve particular purposes.

Halliday (1994) says that language is interpreted as a system of meaning potential, and the meanings of any language are realized through its forms, i.e. relating grammatical structures with meaning, and called this notion as systemic functional grammar. SFG is not grammatical structure orientation, but it is concerned with exploring meanings. Thus, Systemic functional grammar (SFG) is a form of grammatical and meaning description, and is a part of the systemic functional linguistics which is a social semiotic approach.

Based on Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) a systemic grammar focuses on the paradigm; this means systemic grammars basically set out the choices available in a particular language context. In other words, it is concerned primarily with the grammatical choices which are available to the language user so he/she can select the suitable choice in the suitable context. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) explain that in SFL, language is identified in three strata: semantics, phonology, and lexico- grammar. He views language in relation to its structure (grammar) and words (lexis). The combination of both lead to what Halliday called lexico- grammar.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) define language as a text, system, sound, writing and wording, and a resource of alternative choices. He suggested the major semiotic dimensions that organize the architecture of any language in context, *structure, system, stratification, and metafunctions*. This study deals with metafunction analysis. Metafunction is a term Halliday used to refer to the functions of language. From this perspective, he suggested making sense of experience and acting out our social relationship are basic in any communication, this means that language provides a theory of human experience, and this function is called ideational function which includes the experiential metafunction and logical metafunction. Halliday adds that through the use of language there is another function which is enacting the social and personal relationship with other people (listeners). It is called interpersonal metafunction and he described it as interactive and personal. The third component of grammar Halliday mentioned was the textual metafunction and this is out of the basis of the current study. It can be defined as another mode of meaning that relates to a construction of text and appears as delineated motif within the grammar (ibid: 30). It is important to set out some of the core assumptions and features of the SFL pproach which are underpinning the current study.

### 2.2.2.1 Lexico-grammar

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) in SFL model considers Lexico-grammar as a level of linguistic structure which is used to present the single continuum between the two poles of any language: vocabulary (lexis) and syntax (grammar). Both lexis and grammar are considered to be forms of a single stratum of language (semantics). In other words, the lexicogrammar is a system of semantics, a component of meaning making system.

“The lexis as a structured system functions to organize the vocabulary of a language and grammar as a structured system functions to organize sequences of signs into texts, are not different in nature, but rather they form the unified stratum of language: the lexicogrammer” (Walter de Gruyter, GmbH & Co, 2012: 73). Traditionally, grammar and vocabulary were viewed as distinct features of languages. This distinction was significantly found in the fields of language learning where coursebooks have separate sections for grammar and vocabulary (Hunston, Francis, & Manning, 1997). SFL is a contrasting concept to this view; the structuralist view because it is concerned with meanings of language. To support this, Martin (2001) suggested that “everything in language, from lexical items and grammatical constructions to whole texts, has evolved to express very specific discourse functions, in the form of situational registers ( the lexicogrammatical resources associated with a specific speech activity, such as impersonal expressions, nominal style, taxonomies of terms” (sourced in Walter, 2011: 73). In the same line, (Willis, 1990; Sinclair, 1991; Hasan, 1996; Hunston & Francis, 2000) explain that grammar/vocabulary dichotomy is invalid – lexis and grammar are better understood as a single system to convey meaning.

Halliday and Webster (2009) explain that “among semiotic systems, language is organized metafunctionally, having evolved simultaneously as the means of making sense

of our experience (construing reality) and of getting along with each other (enacting our social relationships), language manages these as complementary modes of meaning (ideational, interpersonal), along with a third functional component (the textual) which maps these on to each other and on to the context in which meanings are being exchanged and this pattern can be readily observed in the structure of the lexicogrammar of any language” (p. 62).

Halliday (2014) explains that each of the language metafunctions is accomplished through different linguistic subsystems at the level of lexicogrammar. Interpersonal meanings are made by the Mood system, Ideational meanings are made by the Transitivity system and textual meanings are made by thematic system, thus the task of SFL is to realize how meanings are made and exchanged through the resource of grammar and lexis. Moreover, Martin (1992) states that “these choices in meaning contribute to the overall meaning of discourses”.

#### **2.2.2.2 Experiential Metafunction**

Experiential meaning is a type of ideational metafunction which is the third line of meaning in SFL besides interpersonal and textual metafunctions. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 84). The experiential meaning is defined by Halliday as the function of language in representing “goings on” or “flow of events” in the world (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014:213).

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) propose that “the clause construes a quantum of change as a figure or configuration of the process, participant involved in it and any attendant circumstances.” (p.169). Thus, the experiential meaning which shows how goings on in the world are presented, is embodied in the System of Transitivity. The System of Transitivity presents the goings on through describing processes which are expressed by

verbs, the Participants which are expressed by nouns and the circumstances which are expressed by the prepositional phrases and adverbs.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 168) present six different process types which construe the world of experience: Material, Mental, Relational, Behavioural, Verbal, and Existential. And the participant elements are different from one process to another.

### **2.2.2.3 Interpersonal Metafunction**

The second component of language meaning is the interpersonal metafunction which is construed when listener and speaker exchange language in communication. This function is depicted through the analysis of Mood and Modality. (Halliday and Mattheissen, 2014: 134).

Language involves interactions when people initiate or respond to the act of giving or demanding information or goods-and-services. Therefore, Halliday and Mathiessen (2014: 134) regard this function as a function of exchange. The main grammatical principle in the clause functions as exchange is the Mood through which the choice between indicative and imperative clause is identified. In the choice of indicative, there is a choice of interrogative or declarative. The *Mood* as a carrier of the interpersonal function of the clause contains Subject+ Finite. The Subject is realised by a nominal group which construes the validity of the clause while the Finite is realised by the first marker of the verbal group in the clause. The rest of clause is the *Residue*. (Halliday and Mattheissen, 2014: 135).

The clause takes the forms of statement or declaration denoted by Subject<sup>^</sup> Finite when it is used for giving information. On the other hand, the demanding of information is expressed by a question realized by an interrogative clause. Thus, the position of Subject

and Finite indicates whether the clause is declarative (statement), imperative (command), or interrogative (question, offer). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014).

Modality as a system in language also construes the interpersonal meaning of the clause. Modality refers to the choice between the poles of yes and no within the clause; it reflects the opinion and judgments of people on the topics they talk about. Modality can be found in both propositions and proposals of the clause, and in both cases it has different functions. Modality functions as Modalization or Modulation. (Chapter three explains the notions of experiential and interpersonal meanings in details).

In the present study, the is focus on analyzing Transitivity system (choices of processes and participants) as a method to study the experiential meaning of the President, and Modality system to study the point of view of Barack Obama as a part of interpersonal meaning.

## **2.3 REVIEW OF STUDIES ON THE SYSTEMS OF TRANSITIVITY AND MODALITY**

SFL has been used widely in linguistic studies whether in discourse analysis, literature or language learning and teaching. The focus is various from one study to another in terms of what of the three metafunctions and their systems are to be analysed. Some of the researches on Transitivity and Modality as systems of SFL will be explained in the next subsections.

### **2.3.1 Research on Transitivity in Different Genres**

An analysis of transitivity clauses in “the transcripts of the hearings from South Africa truth and reconciliation commissions (TRC) Amnesty Committee” carried out by Holopainen (2005). The focus of the study was on answering the Transitivity related

question “*Who did what to whom*” and to explore what linguistic features may cause the ambiguity regarding this question. This study uncovers that the answer of who is the people participated, and whom is the identity of the affected participants.

Fahreni (1999) made a study based on Functional Approach to analyze the headlines of the April 2003 Jakarta Post written by Indah in order to investigate the Transitivity clause. She found that the verbal process was the most favorite process used in the headlines of the Jakarta Post.

A work of investigation from the perspective of Transitivity by Cunanan (2011) was made to perform “A Stylistic Analysis of Virginia Woolf’s Old Mrs”. The study contributed to find out the participants involved which are mainly Mrs. Grey and portrayed in different roles are: actor or goal, carrier of attributes, identified, possessor, sayer and existent.

An analysis of Transitivity processes to reveal the effect of disciplinary variation in Academic written genre was applied by Babaii and Ansary (2005). They aimed to study the system of Transitivity elements in a corpus of 90 academic Book Reviews (BRs) as an academic written genre collected from various randomly selected professional journals (Literature, sociology and physics). They found out that the analysis of processes and their participants resulted in recording a high percentage of non- human concrete participants in BRs in physics journals compared to the journals of literature and sociology.

In a study conducted by Sim (2008) to investigate the reports on the death of Crocodile Hunter“ Steve Irving” in three Malaysian English dailies explored how the application of the process types functioned to elaborate specific events. The news reports were more concerned with the actions than the unconscious or behavioral events. The material process was used to express the physical actions of the death. The mental



processes reflected the audience reaction towards the event. The relational processes were used to describe the personality of the victim, the verbal process to depict the objectivity in the reports while the existential and behavioral are the least used.

AL-Mahdawi and Al- Marrar (2012 ) in the research “ Transitivity of Discourse Functionality: Letters-to-the-Editor” to study the function of Transitivity in letters-to-the-editor of *The Times*, and its variants in the act of communication found that material and relational processes dominate the letters texts. Material process was depicting actions and events to motivate the reader physically, and to make texts active. Relational process is to give a positive image of the writer.. The mental process reflects inner experience in order to touch the audience’s sense. The verbal process shows the letter writer’s aim to get the reader’s attention and to remind him of the idea stated.

Sriniwass (2003) had a study on Transitivity process types used by the author of Chemistry texts and found out that the processes are various from one section to another. For example, the experiment section tends to have more material processes in comparison to the other sections since this section has a lot of instructions.

### **2.3.2 Research on Transitivity in Political Discourse**

Shayegh (2012) applied SFL to study power via the analysis of Transitivity in the discourse of Obama. Seven interviews of President Barack Obama were selected for the data. The findings show that Obama used material processes predominately to describe the works of his government; he used Transitivity to get the audience confidence

Another study was conducted by Naz, Alvin and Albaseer (2011) to analyze the political language of the Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. They adopted Transitivity to study her speech “Democratization in Pakistan”. The results were that the semantic function of the Transitivity processes used is various based on the context. She

expressed physical and emotional participation of the masses. The material clauses were used mostly to influence listeners, and the relational processes were to give a soft image of her character.

Dickinson (2009) conducted a research to compare the style and communicative function of two speeches delivered by two Prime Ministers in Australia, Kevin Rudd and Paul Keating; both speeches were about one topic “Relation between Indigenous and non Indigenous Australians”. The results explained that the differences between the two speeches came from the dynamic relation between the text and context.

An investigation on the parliamentary registers by Treinmane (2011) was carried out to study the parliamentary debate delivered at the British House of Commons and Latvian Parliament concluded that there is a fixed occurrence of the same noun phrases and verbal phrases (lexico-grammatical patterns).

Wang (2010) used Transitivity and Modality as analytical tools in “the critical discourse analysis of Barack Obama speeches” to explore the relations between ideology and language. The conclusions show that Obama used Transitivity choices to arouse his people’s confidence towards his government, and modality choices to make them understand his statements easily.

Another study that adopted SFL as the theoretical framework is by Fundell (2008) when he compared three speeches of three American presidents at different periods of war times which are Gettysburg Address (1863), Pearl Harbor (1941), and the Operation Iraqi Freedom (2003). The use of processes reflects what words are emphasized by each speaker, and the participants types used explore the relationship between the participants involved in the speeches.

A qualitative and quantitative study by Ulfa (2012) was applied on the data of Obama's (2010) speech in Jakarta to examine the power abuse that existed in his presentation of his country as one part and Indonesia as another part. The Hallidayan Transitivity was the theoretical framework for exploring the processes besides CDA as a critical theory. The study showed that there was no explicit display of power as the president introduced both countries equally.

Ruddick (2009) analyzed the system of Transitivity in two articles: the first article was published in November 1998 by the Guardian newspaper with the title "The Other Extradition" edited by Norman Stone, and the second article was titled "Will Castro Be Next in the Dock?" from the New Statesman magazine written by Maurice Walsh published in the same time. The analysis showed that the choices the language producer selects can be a good way to covertly promote meanings related to their personal ideologies. The study also concludes that the material and verbal process types alone can reveal how the audience is positioned in the texts in order to give positive or negative views about them.

Nurul Adi Susanto (2007) in his thesis analyzed three selected speeches by George W. Bush's to find the types of Transitivity process. He concluded that material and mental processes are the mostly employed processes in George W. Bush's speeches.

Based on all the studies that have been carried out on various forms of data, as far as can be seen no study has been conducted on the discourse of Obama on various issues of the Muslim world. In respect to this, the present study attempts to seek the experiential meaning through Transitivity processes and participants roles in the speeches of Obama on issues of Muslim World.

### **2.3.3 Research on Modality in Different Genres**

Several studies on Modality such as the works by Palmer (1986) Chafe and Nichols (1986) concluded that the “function of modals is to reveal the speaker’s state of mind or knowledge when he/she is uncertain or not committed to the value of the propositions”. (Phm Khac Thu, 2010: 5).

Palmer (2001) as a contributor to the system of Modality draws on Modality types which vary from one language to another. He suggests two prominent types of modality, Propositional Modality and Event Modality. And he puts subtypes under each type. They are: epistemic, evidential, deontic and dynamic.

A Formal-Functional Analysis of the English modal auxiliaries was carried out by Abdulfattah (2011) which showed that each of the modal verbs types has a specific function which may be similar or different from other types of the anomalous and polysemous linguistic behaviour of the English modals.

Based on SFL Modality system and metaphor, Jian Xu (2009) investigated advertising as a persuasive communicative activity. The focus was on analyzing the interpersonal meaning of SFL as a relationship between the seller and buyer in a corpus of English advertisements. In conclusion, the study stated that the interpersonal meaning is manifested in Modality and contributed to persuading consumers into buying services and commodities.

The analysis of Modality in Academic Spoken Discourse, Recski (2006) analyzed eight of transcribed dissertation defenses collected from different American universities to uncover the Modality role in establishing negotiated knowledge related to the academic theoretical assumptions and believes. The study suggested that the metaphorical Modality use was to make reparation for the declaratives and interrogatives clauses addressing the candidates by the examiners. The strategy of Modality also made redressing of the power

distribution between examiners and candidates and characterized the examiners as Academic professionals who took the role of informing their students and not dictating them.

Shayegh and Nabifar (2012) conducted a study to investigate power in Obama interviews using SFL and the critical perspective of Norman Fairclough. The analysis shows that Modality was effective in political discourse of President Barack Obama to hint power degrees on people. The modal verbs used made people believe his words.

Similar results as to the assumption of Obama's ability to convince people by the use of modal verbs is also recorded in a study conducted by Wang (2010) through the analysis of modality in Obama's Victory Speech (2008), and Obama's Inaugural Address (2009). It was found that Obama made his audience more easily to be understood by the modal verbs.

Alo (2012) analyzed the system of Modality as a rhetorical strategy in the African political discourse. Speeches of some prominent African Presidents of the five main regions in Africa were selected for the study. The speeches were made by the salient politicians who are: Robert Gabriel Mugabe and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Mwai Kibaki of Kenya as a representative of East Africa, John Evans Atta Mills of Ghana and Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria as representatives of West Africa, Hosni Mubarak of Egypt as a representative of North Africa, and Joseph Kabila the leader of Congo Democratic republic and Paul Biya the leader of Cameroon as representatives of Central Africa. The researchers found that the modality words used by the leaders indicated their political future intention and commitment on some points they laid out regarding the social and economic problems in Africa.

A research sought to realize how the British and Irish editors present their ideological views in newspapers and how their language made the audience accept their ideologies was carried out by Healy (2011). SFL was the main theoretical framework and the modality system took partial role in the investigation. The data were sourced from two main national broadsheets, “*Irish Times and Irish Independent and the British broadsheet “Daily Telegraph” and “The Guardian”*” with different numbers of their editorials. The researcher explored that modalization as a type of Modality occurred twice as much in the Irish editorials in comparison to the British editorials which reflected the editors desire to be less powerful and more suggestive, while the British editors display more power and authority on the audience in their discourse.

In the same discipline, the work “Modality and Method: A Comparison of Russian and English Epistemic Modal Verbs through SFL and its implications for Second Language Learners” conducted by Batluk (2012). The research goal was to discover the differences and similarities in functional structure of the English and Russian Modality clauses. The discussion of the research concluded that there was a significant similarity of the clause functional structure and that probability was conveyed by operators of Modality explaining the speaker’s attitude to the proposition validity, and the differences were in that both languages include different numbers of modal verbs.

Jayanti (2012) investigated Modality types Modalization and Modulation as proposed by Halliday in the English and Bahasa Indonesia texts of the movie “*The Beautiful Mind*”. The study centered on the contextual factors on varying modalization and modulation forms in the text. The analysis shows that the most type used in both source and target language is modulation which is presented through the obligation Modality. Modality expressions in the two texts were different in number and degrees. *Status, contact*

and *affect* are the motivating factors that influenced the modalization and modulation forms used.

#### **2.3.4. Research on Modality in Political Discourse**

In studies conducted on Newspaper Articles, Khalid (2013) analysed how the modal verbs in English were used in the articles reporting on the grand Scottish ship in 1938 in Scotland to identify traces of authorial subjectivity. The focus was on how authorial subjective voices expressed in the news articles in the electronic corpus formulated. The data was from 37 newspaper articles derived from three sources: *The Scotsman*, *The Times*, and *The Glasgow Herald*. The analysis dealt with exploring how the authors constructed their propositions in the articles they had written. From this analysis, it was documented that the modal auxiliary ‘will’ used to express median probability indicated the writer’s degree of certainty on the proposition pertained in the clause and the modal verb ‘could’ remarked the writer’s effort to make readers dialogically engaged in the interaction .

Mao, Li and Xue (2014) analysed the modal verbs in two Chinese and English versions of Major Barbara by Lin Haozhuang and Ying Ruocheng. The aim was to reveal “the Modality system in characterization and interpersonal relationships in drama translation”. According to Mao, Li and Xue, the different forms of Modality system in English and Chinese exist because of the different ways expression was demonstrated in the two languages. They stated that “English is such a language requiring strict sentence structure and pattern as main axis, so the modal expression mainly depends on the Modality system with relatively fixed grammar function; while Chinese emphasizes the function and diversity of language with the motivation as its core, thus the ways of expressing Modality are more flexible”.

Al-Faki (2014) applied SFL as a linguistic tool with other different tools to explore the ideology within the political speeches of African Leaders. This study used multi linguistic theoretical devices for the analysis, and Modality was one of these devices. He aimed to find out how ideology is embedded in the African leaders' political discourses. The findings stated that the Modal auxiliary verbs are used only twice recording the least linguistic feature the African political discourses embody compared to the other several rhetorical and metaphorical devices.

A study to analyze the modal auxiliaries in 2012 New Ghanaian Patriotic Party (NPP) manifesto which was carried out by Nartey and Yankson (2014) brought out results stating that there was an extensive use of modal auxiliary in the manifesto expressing the sense of intention, necessity, promise and obligation as a way to persuade the electorate, thus, the auxiliary verbs can be a useful persuasive device.

In media discourse, Bonyadi (2011) interested in examining the manifested modality in newspapers. The data was drawn from the Persian English newspaper, *Tehran Times*, and *The New York Times*. The analysis shows that the employed auxiliary verbs in the two newspapers are mostly predictive auxiliary modals which are “will and would” comparing the other types of modality. Moreover, this higher application of predictive modals in *New York Times* holding what would happen in the future as the core interest of the editorial authors. On the other hand, in *Tehran Times* the editorial is concentrating on what should be done.

The research entitled “A Contrastive Study of Political Speeches in Presidential Election of Interpersonal Meaning” was carried out by Pengsun and Fengfeng (2013) to examine the “interpersonal meaning in the election speeches given by Obama and McCain” from Mood and Modality perspectives. The researchers concluded that the interpersonal



meaning was built through modal operators and adjuncts within both speeches. The median models were the most frequent models utilized by both presidents in order to be non-aggressive. The results also show that McCain tends to give commands and orders to make people feel his domination as he frequently used high value model operators. On the other hand Obama was more likely to express things which he is uncertain about through the majority use of low value operators.

Based on all the studies that have been performed on various forms of data, as far as can be seen no research has been done on the speeches made by president Obama to address Muslim world issues. In view of this, the present study attempts to uncover the interpersonal meanings in the discourse of Obama about Muslim world issues.

#### **2.4.CHAPTER SUMMARY**

The current chapter has reviewed linguistics approaches related to the present study. It has displayed a literature on DA definitions and foundation, and SFL as the conceptual framework of the current study. Some of related studies on SFL in political discourse analysis have been outlined also. The next chapter will display the theoretical framework and methodology of the study.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter explains the theoretical framework which is based on Transitivity and Modality as proposed by Halliday's work on SFL. The Research Methodology is also included within this chapter. Section 3.1 imparts an introduction to the systems of Transitivity and Modality. Subsection 3.1.1 gives a brief description of the Transitivity structure with examples of the process types and participant roles extracted from systemists' works. And subsection 3.1.2 provides an explanation of the Modality framework. In section 3.2 the methodology used in the present study is explained. And finally Section 3.3 concludes this chapter.

#### **3.1 TRANSITIVITY AND MODALITY AS THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE CURRENT STUDY**

Transitivity and Modality are linguistic systems through which metafunctions can be realized. They have been explained by Halliday in SFL model. This model was initially introduced by Halliday in 1985 and 1994, and developed by both Halliday and Matthiessen in 2004, and finally in 2014 in their book "Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar". The systems of Transitivity and Modality are applied in the current study as major analytical tools to investigate the experiential and interpersonal meanings respectively. The systems of Transitivity and Modality have been also explained in the works by the linguists Eggins (1994, 2004), Thompson ( 1996, 2004, 2014), Bloor and

Bloor (1995, 2004, 2013) and Fontaine (2013). Their work is based closely on Halliday. Examples of Transitivity and Modality extracted from these works will be provided for the purpose of supporting the work.

The model SFL is built on the concept of language as a system of meanings. When the speaker has a variety of grammatical choices to be selected to carry out communication, the meaning of language is construed through the selected choices which are usually embodied in the constructed clause. “ SFL involves the idea that a language consists of a set of systems, which offer the speaker or writer unlimited choices of ways of creating meanings” (Bloor & Bloor, 2013, p. 3). Halliday postulates that “the clause is a multifunctional unit of language” (as cited in Fontaine, 2013, p. 22). This means that the clause carries different meanings at same time. Halliday (1985) was the first presented the three meanings of the clause in any language which function together.

**Table 3.1 Three metafunctions of language**

Metafunction	Definition	Corresponding Status in a clause
Experiential	Representing human experience	Clause as representation
Interpersonal	Enacting personal and social relationship	Clause as exchange
Textual	Organizing the discursive flow	Clause as message

**(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 85 )**

Table 3.1 shows that each of the metafunctions has its specific purpose which is distinguished from others. The ideational meaning refers to the function of language of representing the experience of outer and inner world. The interpersonal meaning is construed when the people interacted. And the textual meaning is related to the organization of the text message (see Chapters 1 & 2).

In view of the aim of the current study; two metafunctions are selected to focus on: the experiential and interpersonal. Two systems are elicited to realize them: Transitivity as a tool to reveal the experiential meaning in the speeches of president Obama, and

Modality as a tool to find out the relations between Obama as a speaker and the addressee either Westerns or Muslim in the context of the issues of the Muslim world. Section 3.2 and 3.3 present the systems of Transitivity and Modality respectively.

### **3.2.TRANSITIVITY SYSTEM AS A FRAMEWORK OF EXPERIENTIAL MEANING**

In SFL, Transitivity is an aspect of the experiential metafunction of the clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) explain Transitivity as the “system to construe our experience” (p.213). When the clause serves its function as an experiential meaning, the goings on and events in the world are represented through the semantic structures of the processes which are realized by the verbal group in the clause. Each process has a number of participants which are realized by the nominal groups and pronouns, and circumstances in which processes and participants are engaged. The circumstantial elements are realized by adverbial and prepositional phrases (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

In traditional grammar, processes were treated as verbs while the participants as subjects and objects in the clause referring to the syntactic structure, while in modern grammar the terms of processes and participants are used to refer to the function of the clause structure. Halliday & Matthiessen (2014) provide the different elements realized by the different group and phrase classes as shown in Table 3.2

**Table 3.2 Typical experiential functions of group and phrase classes**

<b>Type of element</b>	<b>Typically realized by</b>
<b>Process</b>	<b>Verbal group</b>
<b>Participant</b>	<b>Nominal group</b>
<b>Circumstance</b>	<b>Adverbial group or prepositional phrase</b>

(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 222)

Based on table 3.2 Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) propose that any clause has three components:

- i. a process unfolding through time.
- ii. the participants involved in the process.
- iii. circumstances associated with the process.

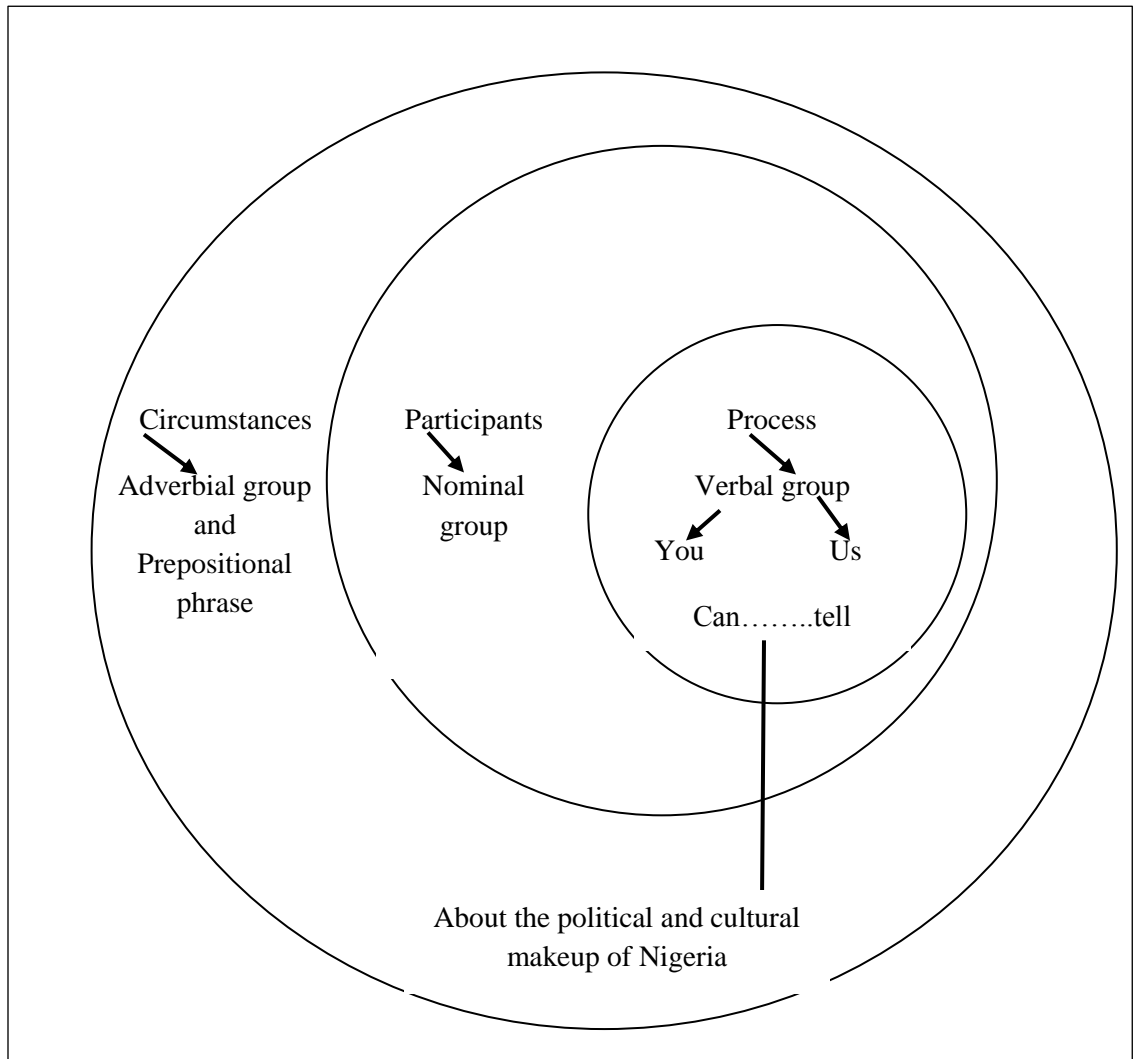
According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), “These three components are organized in configuration that provides the models or schema for construing our experience of what goes on” (p. 220). To show how the Transitivity processes and participants will be realized in the current data , two samples are given in table 3.3.

**Table 3.3 Examples of how Transitivity elements will be realized in current data**

We	will open	centers of scientific excellence	in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia.
America	has	a stake	in the success of the Indonesian people
<b>Participant</b>	<b>Process</b>	<b>Participant</b>	*
<b>Nominal Group</b>	<b>Verbal Group</b>	<b>Nominal Group</b>	*

From table 3.3 The processes realized by the verbal group are ‘will open’ and ‘has’. And the participants realized by the nominal group are ‘We’, ‘America’, ‘centers of scientific excellence’ and ‘a stake’. Each of the processes and participants have different functions in the clause.

This study was undertaken to explore the processes and participant elements with exclusion of circumstantial elements since “Circumstantial elements are almost optional augmentations of the clause rather than obligatory components; in contrast the participants are inherent in the process” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, P. 221). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) represent this suggestion as in Figure 3.1.



**Figure 3.1: central and peripheral elements in the experiential structure of the clause**

Figure 3.1 shows how that the process which is realized by the verbal group is the central feature in the clause. And the participants which are realized by the nominal groups are close to the centre; they are directly associated to the process, while the circumstantial elements are peripheral to the process. The current study is limited to answer the question *who did what to whom*. In other words, it aims to find out the processes, and who or what are involved in these processes in the context of the issues of Muslim world from the point

of view of President Obama. Thus, the expressions of time, location and manner which are realized by the circumstantial elements are not crucial in this study. It was said that “Circumstantial elements just function to enhance the process temporally, spatially and so on” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p.222).

### **3.3.1 Types Of Transitivity Processes And Participants Elements As A Framework For Experiential Analysis In The Data**

The processes of clauses are categorized into three major types. They are “Material, Mental and Verbal processes”, and there are subtypes which are resulted from shared features of the major processes. They are: “Relational, Behavioral and Existential”. Each of these processes has its own participants which play different roles in the clause (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2014, p. 213-223).

Thompson (2004, 2014), Eggins (2004), and Fontaine (2013) also categorized clause process based on Halliday’s categorization. According to these types of process, the participants are categorized. Each process has its own participants which serve specific functions.

#### **3.2.1.1 Material Process and Participants.**

When the process in the clause is used to represent the experience of events and actions, it is called Material Process (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Any Material process has the participant of Actor which functions as the doer of the process. And it may have the participant of Goal which is impacted by the process (Thompson, 2004). There are two other types of participants which have the same function of Goal of being impacted upon by the process: Beneficiary and Scope. Beneficiary is the participant benefits from the

process and Scope describes the domain of the process (Fontaine, 2013). Table 3.6 depicts the roles of the participants in material process.

**Table 3.4 Material Process and Participants**

<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Beneficiary</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Scope</b>
Jerry	Opened	-	the door	
He	Gave	Thaler	Some of the bills	
Nobody else	Paid	him	-	any attention

(Bloor & Bloor, 2013: 114, 115, 117)

### 3.2.1.2 Mental Process and Participants

The Mental process is a sensing based process. While external experience is represented by Material processes, the internal experience is represented through the Mental process (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Two participants function in this process: Senser which does the function of sensing and Phenomenon the thing being sensed. Phenomenon participant can be a person, a concrete object or a fact (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) divides the Mental processes into four types, perceptive, cognitive, desiderative and emotive .Table 3.5 illustrates this classification with examples.

**Table 3.5 Halliday’s Classification of Mental Process**

<b>Type of Mental Process</b>	<b>Examples</b>
<b>Perceptive</b>	Perceive, sense, notice, hear,
<b>Cognitive</b>	think, believe, suppose, consider, expect.
<b>Desiderative</b>	want, wish, like, hope.
<b>Emotive</b>	fancy, love, hate, adore, dislike.

(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 257)

Examples of the mental process and its participants are displayed below:

**Table 3.6 Mental process: perceptive**

He	could not see	Anything
He	heard	a faint sound
Cordelia	felt	her face burning
<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr::Mental-Perception</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

(Thompson 2014, 99)



**Table 3.7 Mental process: emotive**

She	hated	thought of leaving him alone.
I	like	most operas
I	appreciated	the fact that you kept quite
<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Mental- Emotive</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

(Thompson 2014, 99)

**Table 3.8 Mental process: cognitive**

You	can imagine	the car
No one	would choose	
She	never discovered	
<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr :Mental- Cognitive</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

(Thompson, 2014: 99)

**Table 3.9 Mental process: desiderative**

I	don't want	any trouble
You	may crave	a cigarette
<b>Senser</b>	<b>Process :Mental- Desiderative</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

(Thompson, 2014: 100)

### 3.2.1.3 Relational Process and Participants.

The function of Relational process is to characterize or identify (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The verbs involved within the Relational process are: verbs to “be”, “copular verbs” such as “appear, seem, look, become” and the verbs of possession such as: have, own, and possess. There are two types of Relational processes: Attributive and Identifying. They are different in the roles of their participants and the function they provide in the clause. The Relational attributive process is concerned with a description of a case or situation and does not identify it. In other words it “ascribes an attribute to some entity” (Bloor & Bloor, 2004, p. 121). The Attributive Relational process has two participants: Carrier and Attribute. In some cases the Attributive process is known as a Possessive process when the process serves to show possession or ownership. Here the participants are the Possessor and the possessed (Bloor & Bloor, 2014). Table 3.10 provides examples of the Attributive Relational process and its participants’ roles.

**Table 3.10 Relational attributive process and participants**

She	was	in a ward on the third floor
The other four beds	were	Empty
She	could have been	a girl of twenty –five or a woman of fifty five
Her face	was	a bloated spotty mask
<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

(Bloor &amp; Bloor, 2013: 123)

**Table 3.11 Relational possessive process and participants**

<b>Carrier/possessor</b>	<b>Pr: Rel- possessive</b>	<b>Attribute: possessed</b>
I	had	a daughter
You	've got	less blood than me

(Eggs 2004: 247)

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) explain that the second function of Relational process which is to identify is achieved through the Identifying Relational Process. It involves the way of identifying something through something else. The two participants involved are the Token and Value, “either can be used to identify the other” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 279). Examples of Relational Identifying process are presented in table 3.12

**Table 3.12 Relational identifying process and participants**

<b>Token</b>	<b>Pr: Relational-Ide</b>	<b>Value</b>
My lecturer	is	Fontaine
Your cousin	is	my neighbor

(Fontaine, 2013: 76)

### 3.2.1.4 Verbal Process and Participants

The verbal process codes the action of saying. It is associated with three participants: Sayer the first participant indicates the producer of what was said and Verbiage the participant which indicates what was said. And the entity to which the utterance was said or sent is called Target. All verbs of introducing utterances and messages whether written or spoken are included within this process such as ‘say, declare, explain, repeat and tell’. Examples of Verbal process and participants are in table 3.13.

**Table 3.13 Verbal process and participants**

<b>Sayer</b>	<b>Pr: Verbal</b>	<b>Target</b>	<b>Verbiage</b>
I I The report	explained was not told sharply criticizes	to her	what it meant about any side-effects Lilly's quality control procedures

(Thompson 2004: 102)

### 3.2.1.5 Behavioral Process and Participants.

“Behavioural Processes are processes of typically human physiological and psychological behavior, like breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming and staring”. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 301). The first participant of this process is called Behavior, the entity that behaves. The other participant is the Behaviour or Range. It functions like the scope participant in the material process. Table 3.14 shows examples of Behavioural process with its participants.

**Table 3.14 Behavioural Process and Participants**

She The boy	gave laughed	a faint sigh an embarrassed laugh. an embarrassed laugh
<b>Behavior</b>	<b>Pr: Behavioural</b>	<b>Behaviour</b>

(Thompson 2014: 110)

### 3.2.1.6 Existential Processes and Participants

Existential process is the simplest process in terms of its structure. This process comes within the range between material and relational processes. It is called existential because it is concerned with representing the phenomenon of existence in the clause. “The existential process is found only in one form of clause structure, with the verb ‘Be’ and subject ‘there’ (Fontaine, 2013, p. 78). The participant here is one which is called ‘existent’ and represents the thing existed. Table 3.15 has an illustration of the existential process and its participants.

**Table 3.15 Existential Process and Participants**

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Process</b>	<b>Existent</b>
There	was	a storm
On the wall there	hangs	a picture
There	is	a man at the door

(Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 259)

### **3.3 MODALITY SYSTEM AS A FRAMEWORK OF INTERPERSONAL MEANING**

The analytical tool of Modality is used in the current study to reveal the interpersonal meaning as suggested by Halliday (1985, 1994), and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 2014). As it has been stated in chapter two, the interpersonal metafunction of language is not limited to the process of exchanging utterances between the speaker and listener, but it can also contribute to establish a meaning through the expressions of speaker's judgments and opinions in the clause towards the speech topics. This function can be realized through the Modality choices (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

Modality is a part of Mood. Mood is the component in the clause through which the speech role is construed. When the clause is used by the speaker to exchange information through statements and questions, it takes the form of a proposition, whereas when it is used to exchange goods and services through commands and offers, it is known as a proposal. In SFL, subject and finite are the constituents of the Mood when the clause functions to exchange information or goods and services between interactants (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Modality can be a component of propositions and proposals.

Modality system refers to the ways of expressing meaning which lies in the distance between the choices of 'Yes' and 'No'. Modality as a linguistic system expresses the speaker's judgment toward the topic. It refers to "the validity of what is being

predicated stated, questioned, commended or offered within the clause”. On the other hand, it can show the social role relationship (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 177).

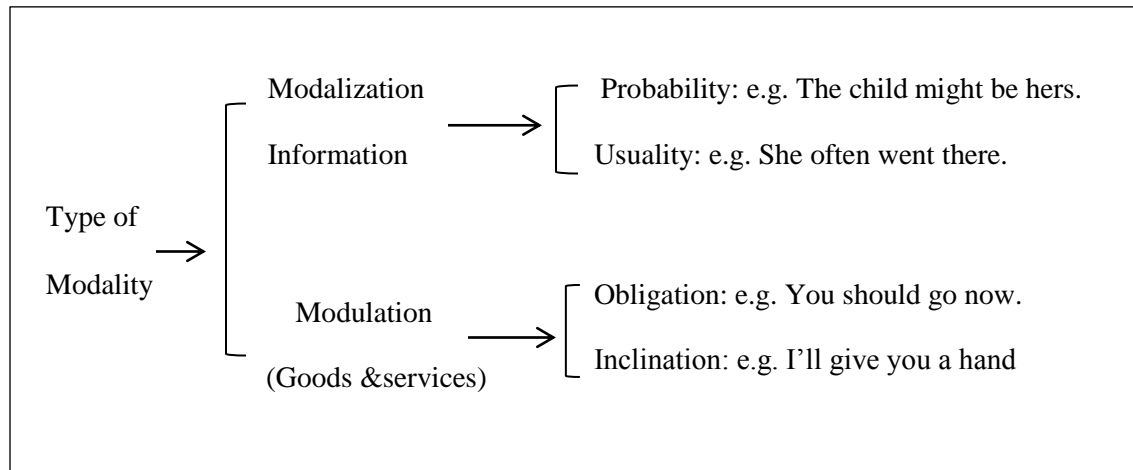
Modality meaning can be considered and presented by looking at the types of modality that can generally be expressed by modal verbs and adjuncts (Fontaine, 2013). Table 3.16 shows examples of Modality in the forms of modal verbs and adjuncts showing their occurrence in the modal space between the positive and negative poles of meaning. (Modality expressions are in bold).

**Table 3.16 Modality Occurrence in Modal Space**

+	“She teaches Latin”	
Modal Space	“She <b>might</b> teach Latin”	“Perhaps yes, perhaps no”
	“She <b>usually</b> teaches Latin”	“Sometimes yes, sometimes no”
	“She <b>ought to</b> teach Latin”	“At present no but ideally in future yes”
	“She <b>will</b> teach Latin if you want”	“At present no but in future yes if you want”
	“She <b>can</b> teach Latin if she wants”	“At present no but in future yes if she wants”
	“She <b>can</b> teach Latin well”	“In principles yes, at present may be yes may be no”
-	“She does not teach English”	-

(Thompson, 2014: 70)

Thus, in view of Modality in SFL, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) distinguish two types of Modality: Modalization and Modulation. Both of these sorts have subcategories and different values to express what is between yes and no. This sorting came as a result of the type of clause whether propositional or proposal. If the utterance is proposition, the modality construes how valid the information presented in the clause which is usually expressed in Probability and usuality forms. On the other hand, if the clause is proposal, the Modality concerns the degrees of Obligation or Inclination to carry out the command (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In Figure 3.2 Thompson (2014) shows the two types of Modality.



**Figure 3.2: Modality Types and Sub-types (Thompson, 2014: 71)**

### 3.3.1 Types of Modality

The types of modality are explained in the following subsections:

#### 3.3.1.1 Modalization

When people are interacting in order to exchange information by statements or questions, the semantic form of the clauses is called proposition (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The term proposition can be defined as the thing which “can be argued about, affirmed or denied” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 249). The two types of intermediate possibilities used in propositions are: (1) degrees of Probability and it is related to “judgments of likelihood” and (2) degrees of Usuality which is related to “judgments of oftenness” (frequencies of what happens, happened and will happen). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) call these two scales of Probability and Usuality Modalization, adding that Modalization can be represented in three forms. Within this point, “both Probability and Usuality can be expressed in the same three ways (a) by a finite modal operator in the verbal group (b) by a modal adjunct of (i) probability or (ii) usuality (c) by both together, forming a prosody of modalization” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 147). Examples of Modalization are given in Tables 3.17 and 3.18.

**Table 3.17 Examples of Modalization (Probability)**

Modality Clause	Indication
“He <b>might</b> arrive today.” “Perhaps I <b>will</b> go”. “He <b>will</b> arrive today” “I <b>will</b> certainly go” “He <b>could</b> take my car” “He is <b>probably</b> taking my car”	<b>Probability</b>

(Fontaine, 2013: 128)

**Table 3.18 Examples of Modalization (Usuality)**

Modality Clause	Indication
“He <b>usually</b> sits there all day” “ <b>Usually</b> they don’t open before ten” “They <b>always</b> don’t open” “It <b>seldom</b> works that day” “He will sit there <b>all day</b> ”	<b>Usuality</b>

(Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 177: 187)

### 3.3.1.2 Modulation

Proposal is the form of the clause when it functions to exchange goods and services. In proposals there are two types of intermediate degrees of possibility “depending on the speech function whether to offer or command” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 303). In commands, the intermediate values are used to express Obligation such as ‘*you must go*’ whereas in offers the intermediate degrees are used to express Inclination. These scales of Obligation and Inclination are known as Modulation. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) argue that Obligation and Inclination are expressed by Modal verbs such as ‘*you must go*’, ‘*I should go*’ as a part of Mood and also can be expressed as predicator in Residue (the remainder part of clauses which is complementary to the Mood part). Modulation is defined “as a kind of connotative meaning relates to obligation or permission, including willingness and ability” (Fontaine, 2013, p. 121). Therefore, Modulation can be expressed by the clauses embodying Obligation or Inclination. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

Tables 3.19 and 3.20 shows examples of Modulation found in the works of Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) and Eggins (2004) respectively.

**Table 3.19 Examples of Modulation (Obligation)**

<b>Modulation Clause</b>	<b>Indication</b>
“You <b>should</b> know that” “You’re <b>supposed to</b> know that” “You <b>should be</b> going” “You <b>ought to</b> be going” “John is <b>supposed to</b> know that” “Mary <b>will</b> help”	<b>Obligation</b>

(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014:178)

**Table 3.20 Examples of Modulation (Inclination)**

<b>Modulation Clause</b>	<b>Indication</b>
“I <b>want</b> to lend you 'the Bostonians”. “I’d <b>like</b> to lend you 'the Bostonians”. “I’m <b>willing</b> to lend you 'the Bostonians”. “I’m <b>happy</b> to lend you 'the Bostonians”. “I’m <b>determined</b> to lend you 'the Bostonians”.	<b>Inclination</b>

(Eggins 2004:180)

To sum up, Modalization refers to the speaker’s attitudes and judgments in propositions and Modulation indicates the speaker’s attitudes in proposals.

### 3.3.2 Degrees of Modalization and Modulation

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) propose that there are three degrees through which Modality choices can be expressed and this can reflect how much the speaker is uncertain about what is he saying or suggesting whether in propositions or proposals. In tables 3.21 and 3.22 the distribution of Modalization and Modulation degrees is shown.

**Table 3.21 Degrees of Modalization**

<b>Realization</b>	<b>Degree of Modalization</b>		
	<b>High</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Low</b>
<b>Probability</b>	must, certainly, sure, believe, definitely, can’t, couldn’t, bet, of course	probably, probable, think, will be, wont, should	maybe, possibly, may, perhaps, can
<b>Usuality</b>	Always	usually, often, frequently	sometimes, occasionally, ever, never , once, seldom, rarely

(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 337)



**Table 3.22 Degrees of Modulation**

<b>Realization</b>	<b>Degree of Modulation</b>		
	<b>High</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Low</b>
<b>Obligation</b>	must, have to, ought to, need, is to	should, shall, will, would	may, might, can, could, allowed
<b>Inclination</b>	determine to, need to	want to, keen, will, would, won't, wouldn't	willing, can

(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 189)

Tables 3.21 and 3.22 show the degrees of Modality which are: high, median and low, and the expressions of each degree. It can be noted how some of modality expressions such as ‘*will, must, and can*’ are found in both tables of Modalization and Modulation, this indicates that these modal expressions have different functions as Modality choices; they can express Modalization and Modulation as suggested by (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014).

In Table 3.21 Modalization is expressed in both modal verbs and adjuncts of Probability and Usuality, whereas in Table 3.22 Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) describe Modulation in terms of its representation in modal verbs only, this reflects the use of Modulation within the Mood part of the clause. Thompson (2014) provides examples of both types of Modality expressed by modal verbs forms based on their degrees as introduced by (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 337- 189). These examples are presented in Table 3.23.

**Table 3.23 Examples of Modalization and Modulation**

<b>Degree</b>	<b>Examples of Modalization</b>	<b>Examples of Modulation</b>
<b>High</b>	“I shall never be happy again”	“You must ask someone”
<b>Median</b>	“They should be back by now”	“You ought to invite her”
<b>Low</b>	“I may be quite wrong”	“You can help yourself to a drink”

(Thompson, 2014: 72)

Based on the view of Halliday and Matthiessen (1999), “Modality is a rich resource for speakers to intrude their own views into the discourse, their assessments of what is likely or typical, their judgments of the rights and wrongs of the situation and of where

other people stand in this regard” (p. 526). The current study investigates the Modality patterns in the speeches of Obama in order to reveal his views and judgments regarding the affairs of the Islamic World. Other features of Mood are out of study, because they do not reflect the speaker’s opinion, instead they contribute to understand the speech roles, position of the speaker through the SFL order.

### **3.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The Methodology part of the current study covers data selection and description, the research design, and the stages required for conducting the analysis. They are provided in the following subsections.

#### **3.4.1 Data Collection.**

Since the current research aims to focus on the political discourse of President Barack Obama on the issues of the Muslim countries, a number of speeches made by the American president from 2009 to 2013 have been reviewed in order to identify what issues of Muslim World are addressed. It was found that six of these speeches discussed similar issues regarding the Muslim world. From there, it was decided that these speeches would be an appropriate source for the data required as they include similar themes. Because each of the selected speeches addressed several themes, the study only looks at the most repeated themes across the six speeches. In order to sort out what themes are repeated in the six speeches, the contents of the speeches will be analyzed in chapter 4 section one which will contribute to answer the first question of the research.

The texts of the speeches were downloaded from the White House website. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/>. It was preferred to select these speeches because the focus is

on the speeches holding shared themes. Thus based on this method of collection, the clauses will be authentic for analysis which will help in understanding the construction of these themes within Obama’s discourse, and excluding any other topics and themes.

### 3.4.2 Data Description

The data is in the form of transcribed spoken texts which the president made to address some issues in the Muslim countries. The speeches selected have been made in different years and on different occasions. Table 3.24 describes these speeches in terms of time and location. They are numbered in a chronological order.

**Table 3.24 Speeches Location and Date Description**

<b>Text no</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Date of Delivering</b>
S1	Turkey	6/April/2009
S2	Cairo	4/6/2009
S3	Jakarta	10/November/2010
S4	at the United Nations	11/May/ 2011
S5	Afghanistan	1/May/2012
S6	Ramallah	22/March/ 2013

### 3.4.3 Research Design

After the collection of the speeches, the stage of content selection (*an analysis of speeches contents to highlight the recurring themes*) commences to answer research question one. Thus not all the discourses within the speeches will be put under Transitivity and Modality analysis; rather only the discourses devoted to express the recurrent themes across the six speeches (see Appendix A).

The study focus is on the Transitivity and Modality resources which involve an analysis of the lexico-grammatical choices at the clause level. Thus all the sentences of the discourses selected will be analyzed with an exception of the titles, subtitles, greetings, quotations and religious extracts. It was found that in some cases, the president used similar

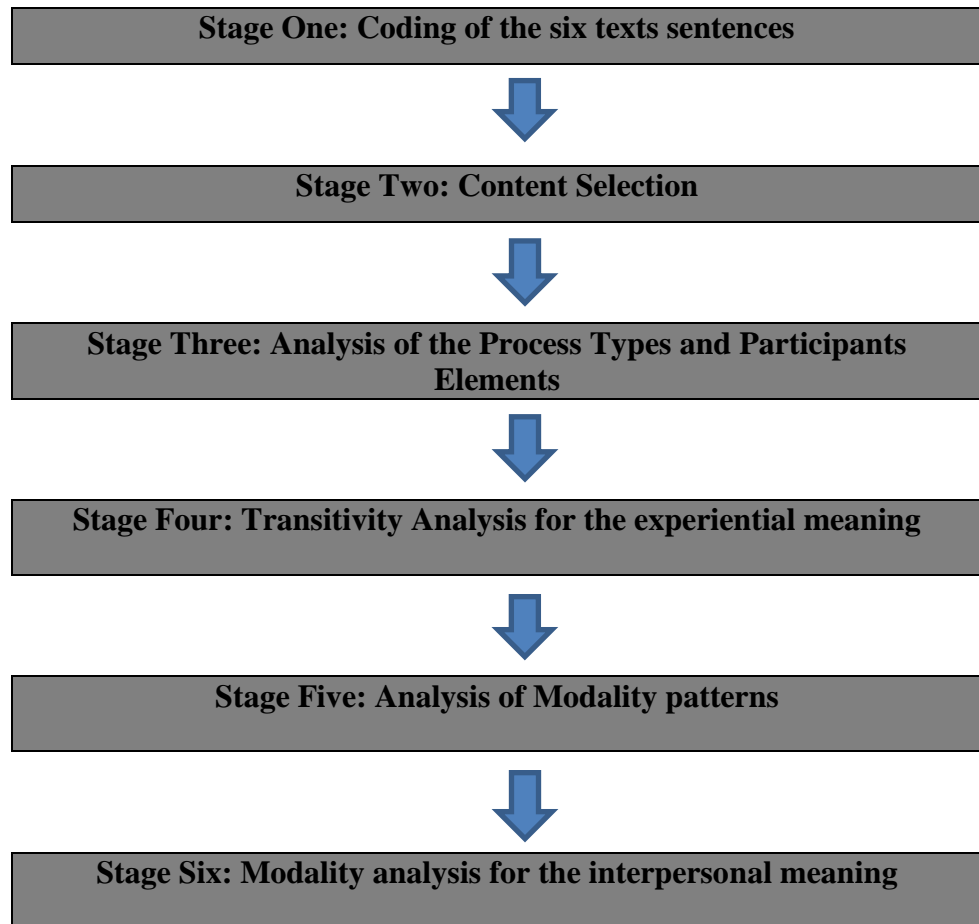
clauses to talk about one topic, so to avoid any repetition; similar clauses were analyzed only once.

For the experiential meaning, the analysis would cover the two main elements in the Transitivity: process types and their participant roles which are central in the clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) (See Figure 2.2). The optional elements of the clause such as: Adverbs of place, time and manner which contribute to circumstantial analysis as a part of SFL Transitivity are not dealt with in the study because the research is on who/what does what to whom. On the other hand the interpersonal meaning was investigated through the Modality patterns only. Although, the Mood aspect is of importance for creating the “Interpersonal Metafunction of the clause as exchange in English” (Thompson, 2000, p.41), the current study is only concerned with Modality choices for two reasons: firstly, the type of clause structure which is construed by Mood will not be investigated within the current study. It is common that the declarative clauses dominate political speeches because politicians try to offer enough information and messages to the audience in order to make them know their political attitudes on issues rather than requesting or offering goods or services as in casual conversations.

Secondly, the analysis of Modality grants to understanding the speaker’s position, affirmation and attitude towards his topics, revealing the speaker’s estimation and uncertainty to the recognition of things (Halliday, 1994). Thus, through the analysis of types of Modality, various aspects of the speaker’s interpersonal meaning could be realized.

Any other patterns of clause structure which lead to Textual meaning as a part of SFL are out of the present research also. The analysis of Transitivity and Modality will be conducted through samples of the discourses of the recurring themes found in the speeches

to understand the president's experiential and interpersonal meanings. To do so, five stages are required to follow to achieve the purpose of the study:



**Figure 3.3 A Flow Chart of Research Stages**

The following sub sections give a description of the stages in details:

### **3.4.3.1 Stage One: Coding of the Sentences of the Speeches**

Firstly, the speeches are coded as (S1, S2, S3, S4, S5, and S6) in a chronological order. All the sentences within speeches are sequently coded as (C1, C2, C3...), starting with the first sentence in each speech and so on until all the clauses in each speech are numbered. The complex sentences are broken into simple clauses and coded as (C1a, C1b...) and so on to make the process of analysis easier. It was preferred to include the speech number in the codes of clauses to make it easy identifying each clause in relation

to its context. For example: *The Palestinian people deserve an end to occupation and the daily indignities that come with it.*

<b>S6C1(a)</b>	The Palestinian people	deserve	an end to occupation and the daily indignities	
<b>S6C1(b)</b>	that	come with	it	

In this example, there are two clauses (C1a) and (C1b) taken from a complex clause (C1) which is in turn taken from speech number (6).

### 3.4.3.2 Stage Two: Content Selection

Since the speeches selected hold several and mixed topics, it is important to determine what topics are mostly addressed and repeated through the six speeches. To do so, the contents of the six speeches are reviewed and explored, and then a comparison between the contents of the speeches carried out to realize what themes are mostly shared. After this, the sections related to the same determined themes will be put together and subjected to the analysis to find the Transitivity and Modality choices within each theme. This stage aims to answer the first question of the research: *What are the recurring themes found in the six speeches of Obama on the Islamic world issues?*

### 3.4.3.3 Stage Three: Analysis of the Process Types and Participant Roles

At this stage, the process types and participant roles forming each clause of the selected discourses are identified. This identification was sequentially applied on all the clauses in each theme discourses which had been highlighted (see Appendix B).

A sample to show the analysis of the process types and participant roles is given in Table 3.25.

**Table 3. 25 Sample of Process Types and Participant Roles realization in the data**

<b>S2C239</b>	This change		can bring	fear
	<b>Actor</b>		<b>Material Process</b>	<b>Goal</b>
<b>S5C6 (b)</b>	We	mourn	your losses	
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Mental Process</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>	

#### 3.4.3.4 Stage Four: Analysis of the Process Types and Participants Roles to Realize the Experiential Meaning

This stage will contribute to find solutions for the research question two: *How is the experiential meaning expressed within the discourse of the recurring themes in Obama’s Speeches on the Muslim World?*

Stage four concerns with the qualitative interpretation of the functions of each element of the process types and participant roles within each clause. The aim of undertaking a qualitative analysis was to realize the experiential meaning in the discourse of president Obama conveying the issues of the Muslim world. To support the qualitative analysis, a partial quantitative analysis was conducted to distinguish which processes and participants used and which are not used. A distribution of the elements is displayed in the form of percentages. A sample of Transitivity analysis is given in table 3.26 with a qualitative analysis.

**Table 3.26 A sample of experiential meaning realization**

S1C154 (a)	I	appreciate	that you’ve offered to help us train and support	
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr:Men</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>	

In clause S1C154 (a), the Senser ‘I’ is followed by the Mental process ‘appreciate’ and the Phenomenon “that you’ve offered to help us train and support”. Obama prefers to send his respect to the listeners ‘Muslims’ through the process appreciate rather than other processes such as ‘thank’ because the word appreciate is stronger in sense as it indicates a

sensory involvement. This clause conveys a Western admission of a valued role the side of Turkey as a Muslim country has played in supporting Afghanistan.

### 3.4.3.5 Stage Five: Analysis of Modality Types

Unlike the analysis of Transitivity, the analysis of Modality cannot be applied to each clause since modal verbs and adjuncts that form Modality are not found in all the clauses. Thus, the analysis is carried out on the clauses where Modality words are found. All modality expressions in the Mood part are detected. Then the expressions are revealed in terms of Modalization or Modulation types and their degrees: high, median or low. The types of Modalities and their degrees are identified based on the contexts of the clauses, because some of the Modality aspects have similar expressions with different functions. Samples taken from the current data are presented in Table 3.27 to show how Modality choices are detected.

**Table 3.27 Samples of Modality types realization in the data**

Clauses Realized	Modality Types											
	Modalization						Modulation					
	Probability			Usuality			Obligation			inclination		
	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
America <b>will</b> defend itself respectful of the sovereignty of nations and the rule of law.											√	
We <b>cannot</b> impose peace	√											
Israelis <b>should</b> know that								√				
Israel <b>must</b> take concrete steps to enable such progress.							√					

The modality type and degree to which modality words belong is marked with (√)

### 3.4.3.6 Stage Six: Analysis of Modality Types to Realize the Interpersonal Meaning

This stage of analysis will answer the third question of the research: *How is the interpersonal meaning expressed within the discourse of the recurring themes in Obama's Speeches on the Muslim World?*



At this stage performing the qualitative analysis and interpretations of the function of each type used was undertaken with regard to the contextual backgrounds of the choices to find out how the interpersonal metafunction was established. A quantitative distribution of the frequencies of modality in the discourse was also done to ascertain which types were used and which were not. A sample taken from the data shows the modality analysis for interpersonal meaning is in Table 3. 28.

**Table 3.28 Samples of Modality analysis to realize Interpersonal meaning**

<b>Clause</b>	-	<b>Modality word</b>	-
S1C142	The sooner the extremists are isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities, the sooner we	<b>will</b>	be safer

From the context of the example extracted from the data, the modal ‘will’ expresses a median degree of probability which denotes prediction made by the President. It is clear from the inclusive pronoun and the modal ‘will’ in the phrase ‘we will’ in S1C142 that Obama tends to remind the people of both worlds of what is going to happen if the extremists who are dangerous on the West and Muslims become away from the Muslim countries. This is a call from Obama to make people fight terrorism together in order to get safety. Obama used ‘will’ because he is not very certain about the event, but the proposition is expected to happen as a result of something else which is to get the extremists outside the countries of Muslims. The function of using median probability through the operator ‘will’ is to tell people of some future expectations so they can take their decisions to treat the issue and work with the West.

From this all, the application of Transitivity and Modality as methods to analyze the experiential and interpersonal meanings, both can give a total concept about Barack Obama’s views and opinions about the current issues in the Islamic World.

### **3.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter has set out the theoretical framework and the methodology applied for the current research. Next chapter will discuss the findings of the analysis.

## CHAPTER 4

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

#### 4.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the findings of an SFL analysis of Transitivity process types, participant roles and Modality types in the data selected are reported. Section 4.1 covers an explanation of the recurrent themes found in the six speeches which will answer the first question in the current study. Section 4.2 reports on the findings on the types of processes and their participant roles which will answer the second question. Section 4.3 presents the findings on the types of Modality which will answer the third question. Section 4.4 displays the discussion of the findings and section 4.5 concludes the chapter.

#### 4.1. HIGHLIGHTING THE RECURRING THEMES ACROSS THE SIX SPEECHES

This section is devoted to answer the first question of the research: *‘What are the recurring themes found in the six speeches of Obama on the Islamic world issues?’*

As it was mentioned previously in this research, the data of the current study are in the form of paragraphs selected from six texts of speeches made by Barack Obama on different occasions and in different places around the world. These speeches touch on some of that issues exist within the Muslim world. The selection then is based on the recurring themes conveyed through the six speeches. It is found that the speeches seem to touch on the same issues in all six speeches. In other words, these issues or themes are found to be recurring throughout the speeches. In this study, the term *recurring themes* is used to describe these common issues found in the speeches. In this way, the analysis of Transitivity processes and participant roles, and Modality types will be contextualized

within a consistent frame of recurring themes. In subsection 4.1.1 the data taken from the six speeches are described.

#### **4.1.1 Data Description**

The 44<sup>th</sup> President of America won the presidential election in 2008 and became the official leader of the American States. He gained the re-election again in 2012. On his presidential campaign in 2008, Obama announced his future plan to address the Islamic world. And later in 2009 he could reach all Muslims in the World when he made his speech in Turkey and the great address in Cairo in order to discuss various topics and issues. These events were then followed by a series of speeches to come on similar topics on the issues of the Muslim world.

The speeches of Obama in Cairo 2009, Turkey 2009, Jakarta 2010, United nations 2010, and Afghanistan 2012 and Ramallah 2013 all can be considered unique western speeches since they exerted a new American policy (reconciliation policy). Through these speeches, the president explained the actual relations between Islamic societies and the West, and how these relations should be in the future. Mainly he emphasized the need for peace in the Middle East, North Africa and the countries under American invasion, such as Iraq and Afghanistan.

The President addressed the Turkish Parliament members in Ankara on 6 April 2009 starting with his appeal to renew the alliance and friendship between his country and Turkey (see Appendix A, S1). This speech was the first speech through which Obama could reach his voice to Muslims. Through this speech Obama recognizes Turkey's role in the Israeli- Palestinian process of peace and other Middle East issues. He also addresses the role of Turkey as a member of ISAF (*International Security Assistance Forces*) which

supports Afghanistan after the war. Regarding the situation in Iraq, Obama points out how America and Turkey can stop terrorism in Iraq.

His words “I also want to be clear that America’s relationship with the Muslim community, the Muslim world, cannot, and will not, just be based upon opposition to terrorism. We will seek broader engagement with the Muslim world, we will listen carefully, we will bridge misunderstandings, and we will seek common ground” (<https://www.whitehouse.gov/>) reveal Obama’s message which is to collaborate with Turkey as a Muslim country, and the Muslim world as a whole.

“President Barack Obama’s speech in Cairo in 2009 was primarily addressed to the Muslim world” *H. M. Bin Mohamed Ali* (2013). In Cairo, Obama delivered his speech on 4 June, 2009 at the University of Cairo. He touched on a number of the issues that exist in the Muslim world (see Appendix A, S2). According to Paul Reynolds, the *BBC world Affair Correspondent* (2009) “Obama’s talk is about the issues of violent extremism, the Israel-Palestine dispute, nuclear weapons, democracy, religious freedom, rights of women and economic development”. In the beginning of the speech, Obama calls for reconciliation with the Islamic countries analyzing the reasons behind the accumulation of the problems in the Muslim world which resulted in the struggle with the West. He also alluded to the 11/September attacks as the result of these. Obama also recalls the ancient Islamic achievements to develop the world. In the other sections, he explains why the American troops have gone to Afghanistan, and promises to end the war in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Also he shows his encouragement of the concept of wearing hijab in the American society. Besides that, he reaffirms the role of Palestine and Israel to solve their conflict, and how that the nuclear power in Iran may bring danger in the area.

In his speech in Jakarta in 2010, Obama recalls his childhood which he spent in the Indonesian capital. He made references to democracy, economic and technology development in the country, and the good relationship between America and Indonesia especially in the fields of business and investment. He expresses the American attitudes towards what is going on in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine and shows how his country will deal with their problems.

On 11 May 2011, President Obama made a speech at the State Department in the United Nations to put some notes on the events happening in the Middle East and North Africa. The contents of the speech include displaying and discussing his attribute to the Arab spring revolutions in Egypt and its neighbors. He criticizes the Arab leaders' violent reactions towards the uprisings there, and insists on the necessity for the change in the political leadership in some of the Arab countries. He draws on the steps he had taken to support the economic state and the financial demands in the Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa like Tunisia and Egypt. Moreover, he states his leadership's guidance to the new elected governments to the right path of democracy. In addition, he calls on other countries to help support the area.

On the issue of Palestinians, he says that any peace deal between Israel and Palestine should accept Israel's 1967 borders and agreed land swaps. In the Middle East speech, the president discusses the nature of the conflict between Palestine and Israel and its effect on the two nations, and how to end this conflict.

In his speech at Bigram military base in Afghanistan on 1 May 2012, Obama laid out the American decision to stand by Afghanistan in five steps, ranging from the supporting of the Afghan force, and creating a good relationship between America and

Afghanistan to assigning peace and stability in South Asia. He said that America and Afghans must work out together to make a transition for the end of the War in the region, and to cooperate together to “combat terrorism and strengthen democratic institutions. Moreover; he declared America’s plan to support Afghanistan even after its troops withdraw from the country.

In Ramallah, Obama offered remarks at the joint press conference with the leader of the Palestinian government on 21 March 2013. He stressed his commitment to a new state solution. He also insisted on the vision that two states should be realized by the negotiations between both sides. From his words, he does not consider the continuation of the settlements activity as appropriate activity, since it blocks the peace process. And he expresses his country’s commitment to the creation of the independent country for Palestine people. And he commends the Palestinian authorities for their role in the peace process.

These issues that Obama deals with in the speeches relate to the wars and conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq, states of Palestine and Israel, and the issues of economy, democracy and education in the Muslim countries in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia. Thus the common repeated themes or recurring themes Obama discusses throughout the six speeches are the cooperation between the West and the Muslim countries, war in Afghanistan, war in Iraq, and the Israel-Palestine conflict. These important speeches enable people to understand Obama’s views of the predominant issues in the Muslim World. Table 4.1 shows the distribution of the recurring themes across the six speeches:

**Table 4.1 Recurring themes across the six speeches**

Speeches	Theme 1: Cooperation	Theme 2: War in Afghanistan	Theme3: War in Iraq	Theme 4: Israel-Palestine Conflict
<b>Cairo</b>	√	√	√	√
<b>Jakarta</b>	√	√	√	√
<b>Turkey</b>	√	√	√	X
<b>Middle east</b>	√	X	√	√
<b>Ramallah</b>	X	X	X	√
<b>Afghanistan</b>	X	√	X	X

From table 4.1, it can be seen that both Cairo and Jakarta speeches have all four themes while the other speeches encompass the themes variously. Turkey and Middle East speeches have three each. Turkey Speech has the themes of Cooperation, War in Afghanistan and War in Iraq; and the Middle East speech has the themes of Cooperation, War in Iraq, and Israel- Palestine Conflict. On the other hand the Ramallah and Afghanistan speeches have only one theme each. The Ramallah speech has the theme of Israel- Palestine Conflict while the Afghanistan speech has the theme war in Afghanistan.

Therefore, the analysis of Transitivity processes and their participant's roles, and Modality types are applied on the sections where any of these four themes are expressed in all six speeches. In order to avoid redundancy or repetition, repeated clauses will be analyzed once. The analysis of Transitivity processes and participants, and Modality patterns utilized in the data is explained in this chapter in sections 4.2 and 4.3 respectively.

#### **4.2 TRANSITIVITY PROCESSES AND PARTICIPANT ROLES REALIZED IN THE FOUR THEMES**

This part of the chapter attempts to answer the second research question: *How is experiential meaning realized through the process types and participant roles within the discourse of the recurring themes in the six speeches?*



The realization of the process types and participants roles can reveal Obama's perception of the Islamic World issues. This part of the chapter will reveal how the president represents the topics and items related to these issues, such as events, people, governments and so on. In other words, to realize who, what, and whom are involved within the four themes.

In the data selected, it was found that there are major processes namely Material, Mental, and Relational, and minor processes which are Verbal and Existential. They are all used differently and for different functions. The realization of the process participants leads to understand who and what is performing the process or influenced by it. The frequency of processes realized in the themes, are presented in Table 4.2.

**Table 4.2 Frequency of all processes in each of the four themes**

<b>NO</b>	<b>Themes</b>	<b>Number of Processes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Cooperation</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>21.45%</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>War in Afghanistan</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>23.37%</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>War in Iraq</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>23.13%</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Israel- Palestine Conflict</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>32.50%</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>415</b>	<b>100</b>

$$\frac{\text{Number of all processes in each theme}}{\text{Total number of all processes in the data}} \times 100 = \%$$

Table 4.2 presents the total number of the six processes: Material process, Mental process, Relational Process, Behavioral process, Verbal process, and Existential process in each theme. It can be seen that the usage of the processes is significantly different from one theme to another. It can be understood from the data that the theme with the highest number of occurrence is the theme that Obama is most interested in. In summary, it can be interpreted that Obama is concerned with the issue of the Israel- Palestine Conflict more than the other issues. The number of each type of process found in the themes is presented in table 4.3:

**Tale 4.3 Frequency of each type of process across the four themes**

Process type	Number of processes	Percentage
Material Process	261	62.89 %
Mental Process	60	14.46 %
Relational Process	80	19.28 %
Behavioral Process	0	0
Verbal Process	9	2.17 %
Existential Process	5	1.2 %
Total	415	100

$\frac{\text{Number of each type of processes across the themes}}{\text{Total number of all processes in the data}}$

X 100 = %

Table 4.3 shows that Material process takes the highest percentage (62.89 %) compared to the other types. Relational and Mental processes take the second and third place in terms of frequency (19.28%) and (14.46%) respectively. There is a slight use of Verbal process (2.17%) and Existential process (1.2%), while Behavioral process is not used. These figures indicate that Obama is interested in the major types of process and ignores the minor types.

#### 4.2.1 Process Types and Participant Roles in the Theme ‘Cooperation’

In talking about the theme ‘cooperation’, it is found that five process types are used.

Table 4.4 brings out the number of the five types realized in the current study.

**Table 4.4 Frequency of Process Types in the Theme ‘Cooperation’**

Type of Process	Number of Process	Percentage
Material	52	57.25%
Mental	17	13.04%
Relational	16	23.91%
Behavioural	0	0%
Verbal	2	2.25%
Existential	2	2.25%
Total	89	99.27

$\frac{\text{Number of each process in the theme Cooperation}}{\text{Total number of all processes in the theme Cooperation}}$

X 100 = %

As can be seen in Table 4.4, Material process, Mental process and Relational process make up the majority of the theme of Cooperation. Material process is the most used (57.25%) followed by Relational process (23.91 %) and Mental process (13.04%)

respectively. On the other hand, there are two usages of Verbal process and Existential process both with (2.25%), while the Behavioural process is found. The next section elaborates on the usage of the process types.

### Material Process

The most process type used in the theme ‘Cooperation’ is the Material process with the participants of Actor/Goal/Beneficiary and Scope in order to express the role of the West in developing the Muslim World and the phenomenon of modernity and its effect.

Obama’s representation of what his country had done and will do to develop the Muslim countries is conveyed through a variety of material processes as in examples 1-11.

#### Example 1

S2C246(b)	We	invest in	on line learning	for teachers and children
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Scope</b>	<b>Beneficiary</b>

#### Example 2

S2C245 (a)	We	will expand	exchange programs
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

#### Example 3

S3C166 (b)	We	can deepen	ties between business leaders
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

#### Example 4

S2C245 (c)	We	will encourage	more Americans	to study	in Muslim Communities
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	*

#### Example 5

S3C166 (b)	We	have committed to double	the number of American and Indonesian students studying in our respective
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

#### Example 6

S2C252 (b)	We	will expand	Partnership with Muslim communities	to promote	Child and maternal health
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>			<b>Goal</b>

In examples 1-6 the processes ‘invest’, ‘expand’, ‘deepen’, ‘encourage’, ‘study’ ‘committed’, ‘double’ and ‘promote’ indicate Western physical acts of enhancing developmental assistance to improve education, economics and health in the Muslim world. In example S2C246(b), the personal pronoun ‘we’ is used as the Actor ‘the doer of the act

of investing’, the phrase ‘on line learning’ is the Scope of the Material process ‘invest in’ because it reflects the range of the action of investing which is the area of on line learning. Also the participant of Beneficiary is mentioned in the clause which is ‘teachers and children’. Obama explains that teachers and children in Muslim communities will benefit from the programs of online learning. The same Actor is deployed again in examples 2 and 3 when the (Goal) is the things which are to be done: ‘exchange programs’ which refers to the programs of education, ‘ties between businesses leaders’ reflecting business collaboration. In example 4, the (Goal) is ‘American students’ as individuals have a role in the process of developing the Muslim World. This role can be considered as a program of exchange experiences between countries. In S3C166 (b), the process is ‘have committed to double’ the Goal ‘the number of American and Western students studying in both countries’ express a strategy of exchanging science programs done by both sides, ‘We’ in this clause is inclusive refers to both sides. Similarly in example 6 the act of development is expressed by ‘promote’ which also refers to the process of advancing the assistance, but the actor here is ‘Policy of US’.

The Material process choices are also used to reflect Western’s expansion of the development process in the Muslim world as shown in the following examples:

**Example 7**

S2C249(a)	We	will launch	a new fund	to support	technological development in Muslim_ majority countries
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 8**

S2C250 (a)	We	will open	centers of scientific excellence in Africa, the middle East and South East Asia.		
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr : Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>		

**Example 9**

S4C167	We	must help	them	recover	the disruption of their democratic upheaval
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 10**

S4C167 (c )	to stabilize	and	modernize	the economies of Tunis and Egypt	
	<b>Pr: Mat</b>		<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	

**Example 11**

S2C253	Things	must be done	in partnership
	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	*

The Material processes ‘launch’, ‘support’, ‘open’, ‘help’, ‘recover’, ‘stabilize’ ‘modernize’ and ‘done’ in the examples depict a collaboration between the two worlds ‘Muslims and Westerns’. The aim is to effect change and progress in the Islamic countries. In examples 7, 8, 9, 10 the same (Actor) ‘We’ is used as the performer and the initiator of the action of starting a positive relationship, whilst the (Goal) is their achievements which are ‘a new fund’, ‘technological development in Muslim majority countries’, ‘centers of scientific excellence in Africa, the middle East and South East Asia’, ‘the economies of Tunis and Egypt’. The passive clause in example 11 has the Material process “done” which covers all the Material acts done by the implied actor ‘the West’. These acts are reflected in the goal “all these things”. This clause can be a conclusion to what Obama stated previously.

Therefore, Obama wants to tell the audience about the actions that should be taken to establish cooperation between the Muslim countries and the Westerns in the fields of education, economy and technology. Moreover, through Material clauses Obama addresses how modernity affects the world as shown in examples 12- 16 below:

**Example 12**

S2C229	The internet and TV	can bring	knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence.
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr : Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 13**

S2C230	Trade	can bring	new wealth and opportunities, but also huge disruptions and change to communities
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 14**

S2C231	This change	can bring	fear
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 15**

S2C240 (a)	Because of modernity	we	will lose	control over our economic choices, our politics, and most importantly our identities	
	*	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	

**Example 16**

S2C237	Japan and South Korea	grew	their economics	while maintaining	their traditions	
	<b>Actor</b>		<b>Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

To talk about how the phenomenon of modernity can change the world, the Material processes ‘bring’, ‘lose’ and ‘grew’ express the positive and negative influences of modernity. The aspects of modernity, i.e. ‘internet and TV’ in example 12, ‘trade’ in example 13 and the term ‘this change’ in example 14 function as inanimate Actors which cause the influence, while the Goal in these three examples is the influence itself. The Goal ‘knowledge and information’ is a positive result of TV and internet, and ‘offensive sexuality and mindless violence’ is a negative influence.

The Goal ‘new wealth and opportunities’ in example 13 is another positive influence of trade which resulted from modernity, and its negative influence is ‘huge disruptions and change to communities’. Similarly, the same process is deployed in example 14 with different participants, but still the clause contributes to the influence of modernity. The actor here refers to the change comes from modernity which brings the goal ‘fear’ as a negative influence that may impact people. Likewise, example 15 entails the Material process ‘lose’ indicating a negative result of modernity, but the Actor is different here. It is an animate ‘We’ which is the doer of the action of losing the Goal ‘people’s control of economy, politics and identities’. From the context of the preceding phrase ‘because of modernity’ in the cause –effect clause, the actor ‘We’ will do the process ‘lose’ when modernity is the reason.

It sounds that the President aims to make people, especially those who are still less developed in the Muslim countries more open to the effects of modernity as a confounding process of international integration.

To support his view, Obama links modernity with the ability to maintain culture in example 16 through the process ‘grew’ which assigns the act of developing economics, thus the phrase (development of economics) is Goal in the clause made by Actors: ‘Korea and Japan’. And the process ‘maintaining’ indicates continuation of the culture preservation. The president informs Muslims of his view that modernity and culture do not hinder one another. In his speech he reassures Muslims that if modernity appears, culture may disappear. S2C243 conveys a message from Obama to reassure Muslims that their traditions and cultures as Muslims cannot be violated by development.

#### 4.2.1.2 Relational Process

In contrast to the argument “Relational processes are often used in explaining some abstract political concepts” (Liping, 2014: 1); in the current theme of Obama’s speeches, the Relational process is mainly applied to describe some social aspects related to the cooperation between the two sides. The Relational processes used are the Attributive type identified by the verb to be with the participants of Carrier and Attribute. The Possessive process is also found but the identifying process is not used. The Attributive and Possessive processes are applied to describe some facts related to development and modernity in the Muslim world, interconnected communities, friendship and business exchange as in the following examples:

**Example17**

S2C238	The same	is	true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai.
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

**Example 18**

S2C239	In ancient times and in our times	Muslim communities	have been	at the forefront of innovation and education.
	*	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr : Rel-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

**Example 19**

S2C240 (a)	This	is	important	
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel</b>	<b>Attribute</b>	

**Example 20**

S2C240(b)	Because development strategy	no	can be	based only on what comes out from the ground
	<b>Carrier</b>		<b>Pr: Rel- Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

**Example 21**

S2C240(c )	nor it	can be	sustainable	
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel- Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>	

**Example 22**

2C240 (d)	while	young people	are	out of work
	*	<b>Carrie</b>	<b>Pr :Rel-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

The Relational process in S2C238 is used to describe the subject of development in some Islamic countries in terms of modernity and maintenance of culture. The Carrier ‘the same’ is a reference to development and maintenance of culture as mentioned in the previous clause S2C237. And the Attribute is the description ‘true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai’. Obama gives instances of Muslim developed countries which preserve their cultures such as Kuala Lumpur and Dubai. In example 18, the role of Muslims in terms of the world development is identified through Relational process ‘have been’. The selection of present perfect rather than other forms of tenses means that the influence of Muslims’ contribution is still found in the present time. Through these Attributive processes Obama conveys a praising message.

He emphasizes the need of development through the clauses S2C240 (a) (b) and (c) which constitute one sentence. In the first clause, the Carrier ‘this’ refers to development. And the Attribute ‘important’ shows the necessity of various development strategies because of the reason mentioned in S2C240 (b) which depicts that ‘strategy of



development’ (Carrier) is not ‘based on what comes out from the ground’ (Attribute), but more than that. He claims that the development process in the Islamic world has further dimensions that the West is working to achieve, and it is not just for getting oil or gas.

Obama mentions a gap of development in the Muslim world in the negative clause S2C240(c) when he describes the ‘strategy of development’ (Carrier) as ‘sustainable’ (Attribute), with the high rate of youth unemployment in the Islamic world. He describes the situation in the Muslim world which requires development through the process ‘is’ preceded by the Carrier ‘young people’ and followed by the Attribute ‘out of work’.

In the next two examples, the Possessive process (have) and the Attributive process (am) acknowledge the inclusion of American societies of Muslims.

**Example 23**

S1C167	Many Americans	have	Muslims in their families.
	<b>Possessor</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Poss</b>	<b>Possessed</b>

**Example 24**

S1C167 (c)	I	am	one of them
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

In S1C167, the Carrier ‘many Americans’ is followed by the Possessive process ‘have’ which indicates that their family members include Muslims. In example S1C167 (c) Obama continues his statement by locating himself (Carrier) as a part of those communities through the process ‘am’ and the Attribute ‘them’. Thus, the Relational processes ‘have’ and ‘am’ Obama used are to identify that both societies Muslims and Westerns are socially interconnected. This makes Muslim people realize the actual relations between both sides and how they can live together.

Besides, the Relational processes are used to describe America as a friend to the Muslim countries through these four negative and positive forms of verb to be: ‘are’, ‘is not’, and ‘will never be’ as presented in examples 25- 26.

**Example 25**

S2C254(a)	Americans	are	ready to join with citizens and governments, community organizations, religious leaders, and Muslims in Muslim communities.
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

**Example 26**

S5C40	America	is not and will never be	at war with Islam
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

In example 25 Obama describes how that Americans (Carrier) have a desire to ‘join with citizens and governments, community organizations, religious leaders, and Muslims in Muslim communities’ (Attribute) through the plural verb ‘are’ to include all Americans people and government.

In example 26 the negative Relational processes (is not and will never be) are used to attribute America (the Carrier) as against being at war with Muslims, so the (Attribute) is ‘at war with Islam’. The use of two tenses for the same function of Relational process in this clause is to emphasize the idea of the clause and to state that America is not at war in the present nor will be in the future.

In the current theme, Obama positions himself as Carrier again to reveal that he is very interested in building a good relationship. An example is given below:

**Example 27**

S3C74 (c)	I	am	especially pleased that we have committed to double the number of American and Indonesian students studying in our respective countries
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr:Rel-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

In Relational clause S3C74 (c), Obama expresses his pleasure with the strategy of exchanging science programs between both America and Indonesia. The personal pronoun ‘I’ is the Carrier, the verb ‘am’ is the process, and the words ‘especially pleased’ (Attribute). Therefore, in this clause Obama describes himself positively as enthusiastic about the subject of cooperation.

The Relational Attributive and Possessive processes have been also applied to express the task of exchanging goods and business between the two nations via the processes ‘mean’ and ‘has’. Examples 28 - 30 illustrate this point.

**Example 28**

S3C63 (a)	America	has	a stake in Indonesia growing and developing
	<b>Possessor</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Poss</b>	<b>Possessed</b>

**Example 29**

S3C63 (c)	A rising middle class in Indonesia	means	new markets for our goods
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr:Rel-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

**Example 30**

S3C63(e)	America	is	a market for goods coming from Indonesia.
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel- Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

In clause S3C63 (a) the process is the possessive ‘has’ describes America as the possessor of the possessed ‘a stake in Indonesia growing and developing’. He explains how America has developmental investments in Indonesia. Again Obama emphasizes the same point in S3C63 (c) through the Carrier ‘a rising middle class in Indonesia’ is followed by the Relational Attributive process ‘means’ which is in turn followed by Attribute ‘new markets for our goods’. In this example Obama attributes Indonesia as a good place for American markets especially after the economic transformation in Indonesia which led to the creation of the middle class. And vice versa, in S3C63 (e), through the process ‘is’ Obama explains that America (Carrier) is a market for Indonesian products, he used the material clause ‘a market for goods coming from Indonesia’ as Attribute. This comes within the program of exchanging commercial benefits between the two countries.

It can be seen how both types of Relational process: Attributive and Possessive contribute to similar meanings enhanced by the president. The Relational processes identify attributions and possessiveness in this theme have similar functions to describe development and modernity in the Muslim World, friendship, interconnection of communities of both worlds and exchanging goods.

#### 4.2.1.3 Mental Process

For Mental process, only the Mental processes of desideration and cognition are found in the theme of ‘Cooperation’. This means that Obama is concerned with the cognitive and intellectual views of people towards the issue of cooperation more than emotions. The desiderative Mental processes are shown in examples 31- 35.

##### Example 31

S2C241(b)	Some	are beginning to focus	it on broader engagement
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Men</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

##### Example 32

S2C244 (a)	America	in the past	has focused	on oil and gas in this part of the world
	<b>Senser</b>	*	<b>Pr: Men</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

##### Example 33

S2C244 (b)	We	now seek	a broader engagement
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Men</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

##### Example 34

S3C75 (a)	We	want	more Indonesian students in American schools
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Ment</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

##### Example 35

S2C243	I	am emphasizing	such investment	within my country
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Men</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>	*

All the desiderative Mental process choices ‘focus’, ‘focused’, ‘seek’, ‘want’, and ‘emphasizing’ utilized in the theme assign to the willingness of the West to collaborate. In S2C241 (b), the Senser ‘some’ refers to some countries in the Muslim world. This is followed by the Mental desiderative process ‘focus’. The Phenomenon ‘on broader engagement’ is that which is desired and wanted by Muslims. So Obama wants to say that

some Muslims started widening their relations with the West. In clause S2C244 (a), the Mental process ‘has focused’ is used to describe the past desires of the West of the Phenomenon ‘oil and gas in this part of the world’. This reflects a shift in the American policy in their goals in the Muslim world; a shift from their programs of exchanging oil and gas to other programs of investments. This can be seen clearly in S2C244 (b) in which the Senser is ‘We’ to refer to America , the process ‘seek’ and the Phenomenon ‘a broader engagement’ reflect that the current interests of America are beyond oil and gas.

Regarding the economic and educational affairs, the president uses the desiderative process ‘want’ with the sensor ‘We’ to show another Phenomenon desired by the West, that is to have ‘more Indonesian students in American schools’. In example 35, the speaker expresses his own intention to assert economic investments in Indonesia through the Mental process ‘am emphasizing’ done by the speaker ‘I’ on the Phenomenon ‘such investment’. Thus, Obama has a tendency to focus on the Mental desideration of the West rather than that of the Muslim side. The desiderative mental processes function to show what the real aims and desires of the West are behind cooperation, the participant of Phenomenon in the clauses represents aspects of cooperation.

The president used cognitive processes “know” and “listen” to convey a meaning of mental collaboration required from both sides as shown in the following examples:

**Example 36**

S2C242(a)	But	all of us	must recognize	that education and innovation will be the currency of 21 st century.
	*	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Men</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

**Example 37**

S1C163	We	will listen	carefully
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Cogn- Men</b>	*

Example S2C242 (a) has the phrase ‘all of us’ as Senser that includes both sides. The process ‘must recognize’ refers the Obama is requesting people to take in mind the fact ‘that education and innovation will be the currency of 21 st century’ which is the Phenomenon in the clause. Similarly in clause S1C163, the Senser is both Westerns and Muslims which can be realized from the personal pronoun ‘We’. But in this case the Mental process expresses request through the process ‘listen’ and there is no Phenomenon. Although the verb listen contributes to Behavioural process; within this context, it is a figurative expression to function as a cognitive process of understanding each other. The imperative clauses of S2C242 (a) and S1C163 both function as a call from the president to apply a mental cooperation.

**Example 38**

S2C248(a)	I will host a Summit on Entrepreneurship this year to	identify	how we can deepen ties between business leaders, foundations and social entrepreneurs in the United States and Muslim communities around the world.
	*	<b>Pr: Men</b>	Verbiage

**Example 39**

S2C238 (a)	I	know	that the face of globalization is contradictory
	Senser	<b>Pr: Men-Cogn</b>	Phenomenon

In S2C248 (a), the president shows people’s consciousness of the Phenomenon ‘how to deepen ties between the two worlds’ through the cognitive process ‘identify’. The Senser is not mentioned but can be realized from context as ‘people’. In example 39, Obama shows his cognitive awareness of globalization when the Mental process used is ‘know’. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) the verb ‘know’ attributes to the cognitive feeling of the Senser. The Senser ‘I’ and the Phenomenon is the dependent clause ‘the face of globalization is contradictory’. The speaker creates awareness by stating his personal view of globalization as two faced aspect of modernity.

Therefore, Obama used Mental processes which entail meanings of cognitive and desideration to describe how the cooperation is viewed in the eyes of the West and how it should be viewed by Muslims. Obama is not concerned with people’s feelings and emotions in the context of the theme of ‘Cooperation’, that is maybe because the issue of cooperation does not involve violence or victims as the other issues do.

#### 4.2.1.4 Verbal Process

Verbal clauses are “clauses of saying” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 252). In this theme, Verbal clauses are identified with participants of Sayer, Verbiage, and one Target. The president employed two choices of Verbal process: ‘announcing’, ‘asked’ and ‘say’ as in the following examples:

**Example 40**

S2C251(a)	I	am announcing	a new global effort with the organization of the Islamic conference to eradicate polio
	<b>Sayer</b>	<b>Pr : Verbal</b>	<b>Verbiage</b>

In example 40, the Verbal process used conveys Obama’s aim to make the audience accept his insistence on cooperation through the verb ‘announcing’. The selection of the word ‘announcing’ instead of other Verbal process choices such as ‘telling’ or ‘informing’ is to tender the proposition more serious. Obama used the positive Verbal process to introduce the intention to provide work of the West to benefit the Muslims. This can be seen from the way he mentions himself as the only Sayer of the verbal clause ‘I’. The Verbiage ‘new global effort with the organization of the Islamic conference to eradicate polio’ reflects what he wants to announce. It suggests another contribution of cooperation which is in the field of health. This clause is meant to capture the attention of audience as he makes his declaration.

**Example 41**

S4C165 (a)	We	have asked	the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.	to present a plan at next week's G-8 Summit for what needs to be done to stabilize and modernize the economies of Egypt and Tunis
	<b>Sayer</b>	<b>Pr: Verbal</b>	<b>Target</b>	<b>Verbiage</b>

Clause S4C165(a) reflects the West attempts to discuss and exchange information with the economic support institutions ‘World Bank and the International Monetary’ the entity of Target which would receive Obama’s request to support the Muslim world. Obama is trying to put forward his administration (the Sayer) thoughts and attempts through the Verbiage participant. The use of ‘asked’ emphasizes his role towards the issue.

**Example 42**

S1C158	Let	me	say	this
	*	<b>Sayer</b>	<b>Pr: Verbal</b>	<b>Verbiage</b>

The pattern ‘let me’ is imperative made by the president to seek permission through the material process “let”. And the pronoun ‘me’ is the goal in the expression ‘let me’. This implies that the Sayer is Obama, because he is requesting a permission to do talking. Thus, the verbal process is ‘say’ and the verbiage participant is the word ‘this’ which refers to the topic the president is going to address. This style of clause assigns that the president is shifting to talk about something specific and he attracts people to listen to him well.

**4.2.1.5 Existential Process**

There are two forms of Existential process, in both negative and positive cases ‘need not be’ and ‘remains’ as shown in examples 43-44.

**Example 43**

S2C235	There	need not be	contradiction between development and tradition
	*	<b>Pr: Exis</b>	<b>Existent</b>

**Example 44**

S2C242 (c)	There	remains	underinvestment	in these areas
	*	<b>Pr: Exis</b>	<b>Existent</b>	*



The negative form shows how the participant of Existent ‘culture preservation and development’ as two aspects of life can be arising together inside one community. This is another expression Obama used to support his view towards the existence of culture and modernity in communities. The positive form is used to represent the situation of some Islamic countries in terms of the need for developing via the existential process’ remains’ and the existent ‘underinvestment’.

The use of Transitivity processes in the theme ‘Cooperation’ reflects that Obama persuades Muslims as the major audience in this context of the need of development and modernity within their societies through the Material, Relational, Mental, Verbal and Existential processes. And he aims to make them accept his suggestions and ideas regarding this issue.

#### 4.2.2 Process Types and Participant Roles in the Theme War in Afghanistan

Table 4.5 displays the frequency of process types realized in the theme War in Afghanistan:

**Table 4.5 Frquency of Process types in the theme War in Afghanistan**

<b>Types of Process</b>	<b>Number of Process</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Material</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>73.2%</b>
<b>Mental</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8.25%</b>
<b>Relational</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>16.49%</b>
<b>Behavioral</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Verbal</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2.06%</b>
<b>Existential</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100%</b>

Number of each process in the theme War in Afghanistan

X 100 = %

Total number of all processes in the theme War in Afghanistan

In the theme War in Afghanistan, there is a great difference in the distribution of the process types between the Material process type and the other process types. The Material process as the major type used is 73.2%, followed by the Relational process which records

16.49%, then the Mental process with 8.25% and Verbal process with only 2.06%. It can be also seen that there are neither Behavioral nor Existential processes found.

#### 4.2.2.1 Material Process

The Material clauses are mostly used to depict social and military services the West has provided and will provide to Afghanistan. The participants of Material processes used are the Actor and Goal.

The Western attempts to reduce the risks of violence and killing in the country of Afghanistan are expressed by Material process choices as shown in examples 45- 47.

##### Example 45

S5C26	Our troops	will be coming home
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>

##### Example 46

S5C27	Last year	we	removed	10.000 US troops from Afghanistan
	*	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

##### Example 47

S5C31 (a)	We	are training	Afghan security forces
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

The American soldier's removal from Afghanistan is expressed in examples 45 and 46. The Material process in S5C26 'will be coming' is performed by the Actor 'Our troops'. This clause does not have other participants. Similarly the meaning is expressed in S5C27 with the personal pronoun 'we' as 'Actor, the material process 'remove', and the Goal '10.000 US troops from Afghanistan'. S5C31 (a) has the Actor 'we' of the process 'training' and Goal 'Afghan Security forces'. This clause conveys a complementary process the West will achieve after getting their soldiers back as stated in clause S5C26, and S5C27.

Other Material process choices are used to present the strategies which have been put to reestablish the destroyed region in Afghanistan socially and economically, and to partner with the people there. These processes are ‘invest’, ‘partner’, ‘build’, ‘providing’, ‘help’, ‘develop’ and ‘deliver’. Some of these choices are in the following examples:

**Example 48**

S2C94 (a)	We	plan to invest	1.5 billion each year		
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>		

**Example 49**

S2C94(b)	to	partner	with Pakistan	to	build	schools and hospitals, roads and businesses.
	*	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	*	*	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 50**

S2C95 (c)	We	are providing	more than 2.8 billion		
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>		

**Example 51**

S2C95 (d)	to help	Afghans	develop	their economy	
	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	

**Example 52**

S2C95 (e)	and deliver	services that people depend on			
	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>			

S2C94 (a) conveys a Westerns’ plan to invest 1.5 billion each year in the Muslim world by the Actor ‘we’ referring to the West. Followed by the process ‘invest’ and this is followed by the Goal ‘1.5 million’ which is to be invested. Clause S2C94 (b) has two processes ‘partner’ and ‘help’. The doer of both processes is implied as ‘the West’. The Goal ‘schools and hospitals, roads and business’ is associated with the process ‘build’ representing facilities to be established in Afghanistan. The same actor ‘we’ is employed once again in S2C95 (c), but this time the verb ‘are providing’ is deployed as the Material process, and the Goal ‘more than \$2.8 billion’ is the goal done by the Actor. The purpose of providing more than \$2.8 billion as stated in example 50 is explained in S2C95 (d) and (e), which is to help develop the (Goal) ‘economies’ and deliver the (Goal) ‘services that

people depend on'. These choices of Material process evoke provision of economic and social aid to people in Afghanistan by the Western governments.

#### 4.2.2.2 Relational Process

Relational process type which is the second most used in the theme War in Afghanistan is represented by the Attributive processes only. The Attributive processes describe the American military goal of being in Afghanistan, the role of Afghans, and the relationship between the West and Afghanistan such as in examples 53-55.

##### Example 53

S5C58 (c)	Our goal	is	to destroy Al Qaeda
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel- Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

##### Example 54

S5C54 (a)	America	has no	designs beyond an end to Al Qaeda
	<b>Possessor</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Poss</b>	<b>Possessed</b>

##### Example 55

S5C30 (b)	The Afghans	will be	responsible for the security of their country
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

In example 53 the Relational Attributive process is the auxiliary 'is'. The use of 'is' for attribution gives a strong meaning and reality of the attribution. This clause states the actual aim of the Western policy is to defeat Al Qaeda. Thus, the phrase 'Our goal' is (Carrier), while the Attribute describes the goal which is to (destroy Al Qaeda). In S5C54 (a), although the clause presents a similar idea of S5C58 (c), the difference is in the choices used. The Relational process here is of possession 'has'. It is related to America which is the 'Possessor' of the goals of the war (Possessed) which never exceeds fighting Al Qaeda. This style of language gives a positive image about the Western aims in the country of Afghanistan. Obama aims to relieve people and make them trust the Western administration. In S5C30 (b) Obama addresses the role of Afghans in future through the

process' will be', (Carrier) 'Afghans' and Attribute is 'responsible for the security of their country', so Afghans will secure their country after the Western role is accomplished.

The Relational processes are meant also to describe a positive relationship between Afghans and the West as in the following examples:

**Example 56**

S3C139	Our shared interest	is	in building peace.
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel- Att</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

**Example 57**

S5C53 (b)	It	can and should be	an equal partner in this process in a way that respects Pakistan's sovereignty.
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel- Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

In examples 56, the process 'is' describes how the collaboration should be. Its Carrier is 'Our shared interest'. The personal pronoun 'our' is inclusive; it addresses both sides as they share the concept of the necessity of 'peace construction' (the Attribute). And the processes 'can and should be' in example 57, bring out a description of Pakistan as another partner besides Afghanistan. The attribute 'an equal partner' is a description of Pakistan. From the preceding clause, it can be realized that 'it' (Carrier) stands in for the term Pakistan. This means that Obama is interested in the neighbors of Afghanistan also for the necessity of improving and securing the region.

**4.2.2.3 Mental Process**

The employment of Mental process with the participants of Senser and Phenomenon mostly assigns the Mental Desideration of both sides in terms of the military procedures as shown in the following examples.

**Example 58**

S5C55(a)	Afghans	want	fully assert their sovereignty and build a lasting peace.
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Men</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

**Example 59**

S5C55(c)	We	need	a firm timeline
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Men</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

The two examples with the desiderative Mental processes draw out on what both sides require to achieve their goals to end the war. In example 58, ‘Afghans’ is the Senser and what they want is the Phenomenon ‘fully assert their sovereignty and build a lasting peace’, while in example 59 the Senser is the exclusive pronoun ‘We’. Obama states that what their side requires to perform their plans in Afghanistan is a ‘firm time line’.

The Mental process “appreciate” is used to reflect Obama’s leadership praising of others’ efforts.

**Example 60**

S1C154 (a)	I	appreciate	that you’ve offered to help us train and support
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr:Men</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

The Senser ‘I’ is followed by the Mental process ‘appreciate’ and the Phenomenon ‘that you’ve offered to help us train and support’. Obama prefers to send his respect to the listeners, ‘Muslims’ through the process ‘appreciate’, rather than other processes such as ‘thank’, because the word ‘appreciate’ is stronger in sense as it indicates a strong involvement of sensory. This clause conveys a Western admission of a valued role that Turkey as a Muslim country has played in supporting Afghanistan.

**4.2.2.4 Verbal Process**

The realization of the verbal process with the participant roles: ‘Sayer’ and ‘Verbiage’ in the present theme represents verbal activities by both sides such as in the instances below.

**Example 61**

S5C55 (b)	Some people	will ask	why we need a firm timeline
	<b>Sayer</b>	<b>Pr: Verbal</b>	<b>Verbiage</b>

**Example 62**

S5C52	The International Community	will express	support for this plan
	<b>Sayer</b>	<b>Pr: Verbal</b>	<b>Verbiage</b>

In both clauses, Obama used the neutral positive Verbal process. The verbal process is not devoted to the President himself, instead it is used to report a predicative verbal activity performed by others. In clause S5C55 (b), the Verbal Process ‘ask’ is identified as inquiry expected from People on the reasons of the West’ need of a firm timeline. The term ‘Some people’ plays the role of Sayer and the Verbiage is ‘why we need a firm timeline’. Obama informs people about such inquiries they may have in mind, and exchange information with them. The Verbal process here is expressed by the verb ‘ask’ which is very common in daily conversations to make people easily accept his proposition.

In clause S5C52, the Verbal process ‘express’ is assigned to the Western side (Sayer). The International Community means the West who will express ‘support for this plan’ (Verbiage). The word ‘express’ was chosen rather than other Verbal words, because the situation involves authoritative terms since the assigned entity is the International Community. The Verbal process is used “to achieve the effect of making the Sayer seems authoritative” (Chen, 2007: 39). The predictive form of the process ‘will express’ gives a meaning that the International Community has not yet made any such process of expressing their support, but will do in future. The president is interposing his own words to reassure listeners by stating that such support will be approved by the world. Thus Obama increases his credibility by talking about the attitude of the International Community towards the issue of the war in Afghanistan.

The analysis has recorded no existence of Behavioral and Existential processes because the leader tends to express what needs to be done towards the issue through the

Material, Mental, and Relational processes and with limited use of Verbal processes. In this theme; to some extent Obama was fair in addressing the roles of both sides.

#### 4.2.3 Process Types and Participant Roles in the Theme War in Iraq

**Table 4.6 Frequency of Process Types in the Theme War in Iraq**

Types of process	Number of process	Percentage
Material	68	70.83%
Mental	5	5.21%
Relational	18	18.75%%
Behavioral	0	0%
Verbal	3	3.13%
Existential	2	2.08 %
Total	96	100%

$$\frac{\text{Number of each process in the theme War in Iraq}}{\text{Total number of all processes in the theme War in Iraq}} \times 100 = \%$$

From the analysis of the present theme ‘War in Iraq’, it can be stated that this theme is mainly constructed by Material processes with 70.83%, and followed by the Relational processes which account 18.75%. There is a limited occurrence of the other process types: 5.21% is recorded for the Mental process, 3.13% for Verbal processes, 2.08% for Existential processes and no foundation of the Behavioral process.

##### 4.2.3.1 Material Process

There are significance realizations of Material process in the theme War in Iraq. The majority of the Material process type is utilized to convey the events America will do to help rebuilding Iraq economically and socially. It is similar to the function of Material process in the context of the War in Afghanistan as in the following examples:

###### Example 63

S2C101 (b)	To	help	Iraq	forge	a better future
	*	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Scope</b>

###### Example 64

S2C102	We	will support	a secure and united Iraq as a partner		
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>		



**Example 65**

S2C100 (b)	We	pursue	no bases, and no claim on their territory or resources		
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>		

S2C101 (b) has the verbs ‘help’ and ‘forge’ as Material processes, the Actor is implied as ‘we’ and the phrase ‘a better future’ is the scope of the process ‘forge’. Forging a better future will be resulted from the help of Westerns to Iraqis. Thus the scope here reflects the range of the dreams which people in Iraq would like to get. Another concrete strategy of supporting Iraq is presented in S2C102 through the process ‘will support’ by the Actor ‘we’ to achieve their Goal ‘a secure and united Iraq as a partner’. Obama states that beside the secured life provided to Iraqis, the country of Iraq would be a partner. Denial of any Goals of US to occupy Iraq is presented in S2C100 (b). The negative process ‘pursue no’ operates for this function. The Actor is ‘We’ and the Goal is ‘no bases, and no claim on their territory or resources’, so the aim of America is not the resources of Iraq. In these examples Obama shows his country’s intention to assist Iraq and not to conquer it.

Some of material processes represent the new decisions of the American leadership taken regarding the issue of Iraqi War which are considered contrary to the previous government’s policy. Some of these processes are ‘shift’, ‘leave’, and ‘remove’ as shown in examples 66- 68.

**Example 66**

S4C8 (a)	We	have done	much	to shift	our foreign policy
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 67**

S2C112 (a)	I	have ordered	the prison at Guantanamo be closed		
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>		

**Example 68**

S4C9 (a)	We	have removed	100,000 American troops		
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>		

The clauses express a shift in the American policy. This is clear in S4C8 (a) when the performer of the action is ‘We’ referring to the government of Obama. The Material process ‘have done’ signals that a lot of actions have been taken already to do the shift. The (Goal) is the term ‘much’ which is a reference to a number of actions. The other Material process in the clause is ‘shift’ which is applied to the Goal ‘our foreign policy’. Some of the actions that reflect the shift are mentioned in S2C112 (a) and S4C9 (a). Obama informs people that he ‘has ordered ‘the prison at Guantanamo be closed ‘Goal’. Another instance of shift is the removal of ‘100,000 American troops’ as the (Goal) by the actor ‘We’ in S4C9 (a). The Material process ‘have removed’ indicates that the action is completed. Obama selects to use perfect present in informative form to say that the actions are recently fulfilled for the purpose of instilling trust in his government and accept it as a leader of world policies.

To emphasize the role of the target listeners within the context of the present issue, the president produced these Material clauses:

**Example 69**

S3C142	Iraqis	have taken	full responsibility for their security
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 70**

S1C138( b)	Iraq, Turkey and the US	face	a common threat from terrorism
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

In example 69, the term ‘Iraqis’ is the Actor who have taken the Goal ‘full responsibility for their security’ to prevent their country from terrorism. In example 70, Iraq has an action of facing terrorism which is dangerous to the neighboring: Turkey and American institutions in the area. Thus, the actor is triple; ‘America, Iraq and Turkey’ doing the Material process ‘facing’ and ‘a common threat from terrorism’ is the Goal. Obama employ the term ‘terrorism in Iraq’ as a common enemy to America and the region.

This clause reflects a meaning of unity between the two sides aims to arouse the peoples of Iraq and Turkey together by stating that both are influenced by violence.

Some choices of the Material process such as ‘destroy’, ‘provoked’, and ‘threatened’ represent what violence and war have brought as in these examples.

**Example 71**

S1C139 (c)	Al Qaeda terrorists who have sought to	drive	Iraqis apart their country.	and destroy	their country
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 72**

S2C107 (a)	The fear and anger	that	it	provoked	was understandable
	<b>Goal</b>		<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	*

**Example 73**

S2C113	Muslim communities which are	also threatened
	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>

In S1C139 (c), ‘drive’ and ‘destroy’ are deployed as Material processes in the clause to express some physical actions committed by Al Qaeda terrorists ‘the Actor’. They wanted to expel the people in Iraq and destroy their country. In S2C107 (a), Obama shows how great the fear and anger are that are brought by terrorism to people. He used both words ‘fear’ and ‘anger’ as the Goal in the clause which is evoked by terrorism ‘the implied doer of the action’. The Actor is expressed by the pronoun ‘it’ referring to inanimate doer ‘terrorism’. Through this clause, Obama shows how terrorism in Iraq is an extraordinary and dangerous issue that is difficult to get rid off. Clause S2C113 illustrates the situation of the Islamic communities which are also impacted by the terror. The Actor does not appear in this clause, but can be implied as ‘terrorism’ also. The process is in the passive voice ‘threatened’, and the ‘Muslim communities’ is the ‘Goal’ which are threatened. This clause is a common message to all Muslims to be aware of the actual facts about Al- Qaeda.

In these examples, the Material process shows the physical effect of Al Qaeda on the people and the country, as well as the Muslim world; such as: threatening, displacement of people from their land and destroying it, and evoking fear and anger.

#### 4.2.3.2 Relational Process

Similar to the function of Relational process in the previous theme, Relational process in the present theme is applied to identify American policy objectives in Iraq.

##### Example 74

S2C102	That	is	why I ordered the removal of our combat brigades by next August	
	*	<b>Rel-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>	

##### Example 75

S2C110 (b)	I have ordered	the prison of Guantanamo	be	closed
	*	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Att</b>	<b>Attribut</b>

##### Example 76

S2C99 (a)	America	has	a dual responsibility	
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Poss</b>	<b>Attribute</b>	

Examples 74, 75 and 76 give a description of the Western aims in Iraq through the use of auxiliary verbs ‘is’, ‘be’ and ‘has’ respectively as devices to express Relational clauses. In other words, ‘the removal combat brigades by next August’, ‘America has a dual responsibility’, ‘the prison of Guantanamo be closed’, are some devices Obama wants to follow to end the war in Iraq.

The analysis gives findings of Relational processes applied to describe the situation in Iraq as in the following extracts.

##### Example 77

S2C96(a)	Iraq	was	a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country	
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Rel- Attr</b>	<b>Attriute</b>	

##### Example 78

S2C97 (b)	Iraqi people	are	ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussain	
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>	

Obama describes the situation in Iraq from two perspectives: the Iraqi case under war which has attracted American’s attention, and the case after the war end when the people of Iraq will be better after Saddam Husain’s regime toppled. In example 77, Obama shows to people how that the decision of war on Iraq aroused the interest of the public in America. He used the term ‘Iraq’ as the Carrier; it is anaphoric reference means ‘War on Iraq’. The verb ‘was’ is the Relational Attributive process which describes the Carrier, and ‘a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country’ is a description of the Carrier ‘war on Iraq’

On the other hand, in example 78, the President delineates the situation in Iraq as he views after the former government was overthrown. S2C97 (b), Iraqi people plays the role of ‘Carrier’ attributed by the Relational Attributive process ‘are’ as ‘ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein’. Thus in these clauses, Obama explains the opinion of Americans on the war of Iraq and the Iraqi people situation after the war.

Besides, the Relational processes are also used to describe violence and its outcomes on the world by the attributive and Possessive Relational processes such as in the following examples.

**Example 79**

S2C107	9/11	was	an enormous trauma to our country
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel- Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

**Example 80**

S2C108 (b)	The fear and anger that it provoked	was	understandable
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

**Example 81**

S1C139	That	includes	the PKK
	*	<b>Pr: Rel-Poss</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

The Relational Attributive ‘was’ in examples 79 and 80 is used to portray the attacks of September on America as a strong terror work, and describes the fear and anger

it caused as something impossible to be perceived (explained on page 87). While in example 81 the Possessive process ‘include’ is used to describe PKK as a part of terrorism.

### 4.2.3.3 Mental Process

The Mental process of cognition is found in the current theme, the participants that occur with this process are the Senser and Phenomenon. The majority of the Mental processes as the third processes used aims to express the American mental reaction towards war and violence as shown in examples 82-84.

#### Example 82

S2C97 (c)	I	also believe	that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Ment-Per</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

#### Example 83

S2C103(a)	We	will honor	our agreement with Iraq’s democratically elected government.
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Men-Cogn</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

#### Example 84

S2C106 (a)	America	never tolerate	violence
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Men- Cog</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

The clause S2C97 (c) exhibits the Sensor ‘I’ which is followed by the Mental process of Cognition ‘believe’, and this is followed by the Phenomenon the sentence ‘that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible’. Obama through example 84 shows his own Mental view about the war as an event which has led America to follow its own diplomatic solutions to solve its problems whenever they arise. In S2C103 (a), the personal pronoun we ‘his administration’ is the Senser, who has the feeling of honor of the Phenomenon ‘the agreement with Iraq’s democratically elected government’. The process here is realized by the word ‘honor’. The process in this clause reflects the American acceptance and adoption of the new Iraq. Obama expresses what the West feels towards

terrorism in clause S2C106 (a) through the negative Mental process ‘never tolerate’ and the Phenomenon ‘violence’. He states that the Senser ‘America’ rejects and would never allow the existence of violence.

It was found that the Mental process ‘have sought to’ is used to describe the desiderative Mental aim behind terrorism:

**Example 85**

S1C139 (b)	Terrorists who	have sought to	drive Iraqis apart
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Mental-Desi</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

This clause entail a Mental desiderative meaning which is reflected from the Mental process ‘have sought’ assigning the Mental tendency of Al Qaeda to displace Iraqi people from their country. ‘Terrorists’ takes the role of Senser, ‘have sought to’ is the Mental process that realizes Sensor’s desideration and ‘drive Iraqis apart’ is the Phenomenon sensed.

**4.2.3.4 Verbal Process**

There are minimum realizations of Verbal process in the discourses of this theme. These realizations convey the ‘saying’ of Verbal processes employed by the president. The participants are ‘Sayer’, ‘Verbiage’, and one ‘Target’. Samples of this process are presented below:

**Example 86**

S4C7	I	would like to talk	about this change
	<b>Sayer</b>	<b>Pr: Verbal</b>	<b>Verbiage</b>

**Example 87**

S2C96	Let	me	address	the issue of Iraq
	<b>Pr: Material</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Verbal</b>	<b>Verbiage</b>

In example S4C7 the personal pronoun ‘I’ plays a Sayer role because the president shows his intention of talking about the change made in Iraq (the Verbiage). The Verbal Process ‘address’ is used for the purpose of informing people about something. According to Martin (1997), “in a Transitivity analysis, the second (non-finite) verbal group is the relevant one for process type”. The use of ‘would like’ before the Verbal process made the clause of offer more polite showing a respect to the audience, and a shift of topic that would be addressed. In S2C96, the Verbal process ‘address’ follows the Material process ‘let’ assigning the imperative mood by the president to ask for permission. Thus; the Sayer is the president himself ‘I’, and the noun phrase “the issue of Iraq” is the Verbiage. The selection of the word ‘address’ for the purpose of declaration “conveys the impression that the Sayer is confident” (Chen, 2007: 38). The structure of the clause with imperative case gives Obama credibility as he considers the audience authoritative.

#### 4.2.3.5 Existential Process

The Existential process involves processes of existence. The existential participant in this theme is the Existent. The Existential process within the context of this topic functions to deny the occurrence of excused violence.

#### Example 88

S1C141	There	is no	excuse for terror against any nation
	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Pr: Exis</b>	<b>Existent</b>

In sentence S1C141, the term ‘there’ is not a part of Transitivity. The Existential process ‘is no’ is in the negative form followed by the Existent ‘excuse for terror against any nation’. Sentence S1C141 shows that there is no accepted excuse that makes terrorism something legitimate. The speaker illustrates that terrorism is the thing that no nation can accept.



The processes in the present theme function to explain: violence and its impact, the American role to tackle this issue, and the Iraqi situation after the war ended.

#### 4.2.4 Process Types and Participant Roles in the theme ‘Israel- Palestine Conflict’

Table 4.7 shows the percentages of the process types realized in the theme Israel- Palestine Conflict

**Table 4.7 Frequency of process Types in the theme Israel –Palestine Conflict.**

Types of process	Number of process	Percentage
<b>Material</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>52.63%</b>
<b>Mental</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>22.56%</b>
<b>Relational</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>22.56%</b>
<b>Behavioral</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Verbal</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1.5%</b>
<b>Existential</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0.75%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>100</b>

$$\frac{\text{Number of each process the theme Israel Palestine Conflict}}{\text{Total number of all processes in the theme Israel Palestine Conflict}} \times 100 = \%$$

The theme Israel- Palestine Conflict encompasses all the process types except the Behavioural. The highest percentage is the Material process (52.63%). It is followed by the Relational and Mental process with (22.56%) for each. Verbal and Existential processes are at (1.5 %) and (0.75%) respectively.

##### 4.2.4.1 Material Process

The analysis shows that the President introduces the current topic of Israel Palestine Conflict through Material processes to explain two points: the physical impact of the conflict, and the concrete procedures that can be taken to solve the issue of conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. The Participants of Actor and Goal are associated with the processes. Examples of these Material processes are presented below:

**Example 89**

S4C186 (a)	The conflict between Israel and Arabs	has cast	a shadow over the region
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 90**

S4C186(b)	It	impedes	partnership
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Material</b>	<b>Goal</b>

In S4C186 (a), the Material process is ‘has cast’, ‘the conflict between Israel and Arabs’ is the Actor which has cast a shadow on the region. ‘The region’ is the effected entity, so it is the Goal in the Material clause. The clause shows that the conflict between Israel and Palestine cannot be easily ended and this is reflected from the metaphorical expression ‘has cast a shadow’. In clause S4C186 (b), Obama used the pronoun ‘it’ as (Actor) refers to the conflict; with the Material process (impedes) which assigns another effect of the conflict. In this clause Obama wants to explain how that the conflict obstructs the relationship between the two nations.

Other material process choices are applied to represent some of suggested solutions that can ease the severity of the conflict

**Example 91**

S2C131(d)	The aspirations of both sides	to	be met	through two states
	<b>Goal</b>	*	<b>Pr: Material</b>	*

**Example 92**

S2C131 (e )	Israel and Palestine	live	in peace
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Material</b>	*

S2C131 (d) shows the Material process ‘be met’ in a passive form and has the Goal participant as ‘the aspirations of both sides’. Its Actor is not explicit. S2C131 (e) is complementary to S2C131 (d). It is an active clause, has the Actor ‘Israel and Palestine’, and has no other participants. In these clauses Obama emphasizes that the peace can take place if the countries of both nations are built.

In respect to the conflict resolutions, Obama used the Material processes to suggest what his country attempts to find solutions as shown in the following examples.

**Example 93**

S4C207(a)	But what	America and the international community	can do	is state frankly what everyone knows.
	*	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Material</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 94**

S4C211(b)	a lasting peace	will involve	two states for two peoples
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 95**

S6C48	We	can make	those changes
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Material</b>	<b>Goal</b>

In S4C207 (a) Obama explains that what America can do is recognizing the truth that all people know; that is the necessity of creating peace by the establishment of two countries: Israel and Palestine. The meaning of this clause can be realized significantly from the clause S4C211 (b). This is an attempt of the West to solve the problem. He implies that America and the international community (the Actor) have ability to impose their recognition or rejection of such issues as phrased in the Goal ‘is state frankly what everyone knows’. They also have the ability to make changes as stated in S5C48, when the Actor ‘We’ assigning the West, the process ‘can make’ is a physical process, and the Goal ‘those changes’ is what they can create.

Obama presented some Material processes for the purpose of addressing the two nations. He suggests the Material procedures that should be done by the two sides. A majority of these processes were denoted for the Palestinian side as in these examples.

**Example 96**

S2C143 (c)	Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what	they	can build
	*	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Pr-Mat</b>

**Example 97**

S2C144 (a) (b)	The Palestinian Authority	must develop	its capacity to govern	with institutions
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>
				*

**Example 98**

S2C144 (c)	That	serves	the needs of its people
	*	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

Obama attracts the people of Palestine to show them some of their duties towards the issue. First he reminds them of the necessity of building their country as shown in S2C143 (c). Once again in S2C144 (a) and (b), he reminds the Palestinians that they have to develop their administration careers and expand their institutions. ‘Develop’ and ‘govern’ are the Material processes in the clause with the actor ‘the Palestinian Authority’ which is ordered to achieve the development of ‘its capacity’ (Goal). He continues in clause S2C144 (c) to say that this development by the authority will be for the benefit of Palestinians through the Material process ‘serve’ and the Goal ‘its people. The Actor here is not stated but can be realized from the context as ‘the development of the authority’.

All the Material processes ‘build’, ‘serve’ and ‘govern’ contribute to the actions that Palestinians can achieve to improve their country. On the other hand, in the next examples the same type of process is used to address the other side.

**Example 99**

S2C151 (b)	Israel right	to exist	cannot be denied.
	Actor	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	-

**Example 100**

S2C152 (a)	Israel	<b>must also live up</b>	to its obligations.
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Material</b>	<b>Goal</b>

**Example 101**

S2C154 (b) (c)	Israel	must take	concrete steps	to enable	such progress
	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Pr: Mat</b>	<b>Goal</b>

The Material processes ‘exist’, ‘live up’, ‘take’ and ‘enable’ are all related to the actions of Israel as a country. The Material process ‘exist’ is a concrete action the side of Israel (Actor) is operating. In clause S2C152 (a), the speaker shows his comment on the side of Israel that must take their obligations into consideration and respect the other side. In this clause the Actor is ‘Israel’, the process is ‘live up’ and the (Goal) to be taken is ‘its obligations’. Obama enhances the progressing of the peace attempts by Israel in clauses

S2C154 (b) and (c). He states that their role to take concrete steps to be involved in the progression of the Israeli-Palestinian peace project. He used two Material processes ‘must take’ and ‘to enable’ that must be done by the Actor ‘Israel’ on the goal ‘such progress’.

Thus, it can be seen that the president used a variety of Material process choices indicating the physical influence of the conflict on people, the actions to be taken to fix it, and to represent the physical roles of both sides in the context of Israel Palestine Conflict.

#### 4.2.4.2 Relational Process

Most of the Relational processes have been used for the same function as Material processes such as the Attributive process ‘meant’ and auxiliary verb ‘is’ which describe the conflict, resolution and the obstacles. Some examples are presented below:

##### Example 102

S4C187 ( a )	For Israel it	has meant	living with fear
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

##### Example 103

S4C186 (a)	For Palestinians It	has meant	suffering the humiliation of occupation and never living in a nation of their own
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

In the first two examples, conflict is described from the view point of the two parties, i.e. The Israel and Palestine. The Attribute in S4C187 (a) is ‘living with fear’ explains what conflict the ‘Carrier’ means to the side of Israel ‘, whilst in S4C186 (a) the Attribute ‘suffering the humiliation of occupation and never living in a nation of their own’ is a description of the conflict from the view of the other side. In both examples, the Carrier is the pronoun ‘it’ assigns the issue of conflict and the Relational process is ‘has meant’. The choice of ‘has meant’ as a Relational Attributive process instead of other terms is to emphasize the sense and make it more believable. Obama was balanced in addressing the effect of conflict on both nations.

**Example 104**

S4C207 (a)	The international community	is	tired of an endless process that never produces an outcome
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr:-Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

**Example 105**

S2C133(a)	The only resolution	is	for the aspiration of both sides to be met by two states.
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Pr: Attr</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

The above clauses provide meanings which attributes to the treatment of the issue of conflict. In example 104, the Carrier ‘the international community’ is followed with process ‘is’. It shows how the delay of resolving the issue makes all the attempts made by the International community are hopeless, and in example 105 the idea of establishing two isolated states as the only solution of the conflict is emphasized via the process ‘is’, the Carrier ‘the only resolution’ and the Attribute ‘for the aspiration of both sides to be met by two states’

The Relational Possessive process ‘have’ are used to describe Hamas which has an authority in Gaza in terms of some of its duties as shown in the examples 106- 107:

**Example 106**

S2C145 (a)	Hamas	does not have	support among some Palestinians
	<b>Possessor</b>	<b>Pr: Rel-Poss</b>	<b>Possessed</b>

**Example 107**

S2C145 (b)	But they	also	have	responsibilities
	<b>Possessor</b>	*	<b>Pr: Rel-Poss</b>	<b>Possessed</b>

In S2C145 (a), the president used the process ‘does not have’ to criticize Hamas for being unaccepted by some Palestinians. The term Hamas here is the Possessor which lacks ‘support among some Palestinians’ (the Possessed). However, he shows the important position of Hamas in example 107. He explains that Hamas as the side takes some responsibilities for what is going on in the region and what will happen in the future, the Possessor ‘they’ means Hamas members, the process is ‘have’ and the Possessed is

‘responsibilities’. The speaker used two different styles in the two dependent clauses. He used the style of criticism in SC1C145 (a) and the style of compliment in S2C145 (b) to explain possession, in order to remind people of a truth about what Hamas has and what it lacks within the context of the conflict.

#### 4.2.4.3 Mental Process

The third type is the Mental process which is conveyed through the Cognitive and Emotional processes. Some of the Mental processes are ‘see’, ‘point’, ‘hate’ and ‘knowledge’. The associated participants explored are Sensor and Phenomenon. The following examples can show the use of Mental process in the current theme.

##### Example 108

S2C131 (a)	If	we	will see	this conflict from one side or the other, then we will be blind.
	*	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

##### Example 109

S2C130 (b)	For Palestinians	to	point to	the displacement brought by the Israel's founding
	<b>Senser</b>	*	<b>Pr: Men</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

##### Example 110

S2C130 (c)	For Israelis	to point	to the constant hostility and attacks
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Men</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

In example 108 the process is ‘will see’ which is to be done by the Sensor ‘We’ the inclusive pronoun signaling both sides the West and Muslims. The Phenomenon is ‘this conflict from one side or the other, then we will be blind’. The Phenomenon here is a fact which the president wants to convey to people. He says that if the issue of conflict is analysed based on the views of Palestinians or the views of Israel, then people would not be capable of dealing with it. He wants people to recognize how the peoples of Palestine and Israel feel in examples 109 and 110. Each of sides perceives the issue of conflict differently. S2C130 (b) conveys the perception of the Senser ‘Palestinians’ of the

Phenomenon ‘the displacement brought by the Israel’s founding’, whilst in S2C131(c) Obama explains the Mental perception of the Senser ‘Israelis’ of the Phenomenon ‘to the constant hostility and attacks’. In these examples, the president informs people of the necessity of viewing the issue from the two sides. Obama wants to touch on the intellectual side of the audience and not on the emotional side. He wants to make them open to the facts of how both nations view the conflict from his own perception.

The mental process of emotion ‘hate’ refers to the emotional feeling of people.

**Example 111**

S4C187(d)	children in the other region	to hate	them
	Senser	<b>Pr: Men</b>	Phenomenon

S4C187 (d) reflects the Mental feeling of Israeli children through using the Mental process of emotion ‘hate’, Obama aims to touch on the emotional side of Muslims and so they may accept his proposition and work with him to tackle the issue.

The Mental processes are also used to express Obama’s instructions to make each of the two parts have a sense of awareness towards the others’ own rights.

**Example 112**

S2C148 (a)	Israelis	must acknowledge	that just as Israel’s right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine’s
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Men-Cog</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

**Example 113**

S2C152 ( b )	to	ensure	that Palestinians can live
		<b>Pr: Men-Per</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

**Example 114**

S2C147 (b) (c)	Hamas	must recognize	the past agreement	and	recognize	the Israel’s right to exist
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Men- Cog</b>	<b>Pheno</b>	-	<b>Pr: Men-Perce</b>	<b>Pheno</b>

In S2C148 (a) the Senser is ‘Israelis’, the process is ‘must knowledge’ and the Phenomenon is ‘that just as Israel right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine’s’.



In S2C152 the Mental process is ‘ensure’ by the Sensor which is implied from the previous clause is ‘Israelis’ and the Phenomenon is ‘that Palestinians can live’. In S2C147 (b) (c), the process ‘must recognize’ by the Senser ‘Hamas’ on the two Phenomena ‘the past agreement’ and ‘the Israel’s right to exist’. The president wants to create awareness among readers by stating what both nations should recognize.

Moreover, he applies the Mental process to convey his own Mental experience and feeling on what is happening in Gaza as shown in these examples.

**Example115**

S6C7 (a)	We	offer	condolences over the loss of your fellow Palestinians
	<b>Senser</b>	<b>Pr: Men- Emo</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>

**Example 116**

S6C6 (b)	We	mourn	your losses
	Senser	<b>Pr: Men-Emo</b>	Phenomenon

Although the verb ‘offer’ assigns Material process in the S5C7 (a); it gives a Mental meaning because of the meaning of the clause that expresses emotions. Obama utilized the verb offer followed by the Phenomenon ‘condolences over the loss of your fellow Palestinians’ reflecting his sympathy for the death of Palestinians because of Israeli’s bombing. He again sends out his sorrow in S6C6 (b) through the process ‘mourn’ and the Phenomenon ‘your losses’. The choice of ‘mourn’ expresses deep emotion of sympathy towards the people of Palestinians.

**4.2.4.4 Verbal Process**

The verbal process is devoted to express his thanks to President Abbas and Prime Minister Salam Fayyad for what they had provided to develop the lives of Palestinians.

**Example 117**

S6C4 (a)	I	want	to commend	President Abbas and PM Salam Fayyad
	<b>Sayer</b>	*	<b>Pr: Verbal</b>	<b>Target</b>

Obama used ‘I’ as Sayer to reflect his own intention to appreciate the members of the Palestinian government for their efforts and, to position himself as a spokesman and the sayer of the gratitude expression. The choice of the word ‘commend’ instead of ‘thank’ as a Verbal process explains Obama’s great respect to the Palestinian government. He tries to show the characteristics of humbleness. The Target of the clause is ‘President Abbas and PM Salam Fayyad’.

#### 4.2.4.5 Existential Process

The analysis reveals that the Existential process in this theme is employed twice to assign the fact that there are disabilities of the peace process as shown in these examples:

##### Example 118

S2C129 (a )	There	has been	a stalemate
	*	<b>Pr: Exis</b>	<b>Exesent</b>

In the clause S2C129, the term ‘there’ does not have a functional role in Transitivity. The Existential process ‘has been’ is followed by the participant of Existent ‘a stalemate’. Clause SC130 shows that a stalemate regarding the process of peace came into existence. It is a symbolic representation of the failure of peace process.

Through the discourse of the Israel- Palestine conflict, Obama mostly aims to inform the audience of some facts about the issue of Palestine and Israel, and to remind both sides of their roles

### 4.3 MOADALITY TYPES REALIZED IN THE FOUR THEMES

This section is intended to discuss the findings of Modality analysis in the current data to answer the third question of the study. *“How is interpersonal meaning realized through modality types within the discourse of the recurring themes in the six speeches?”*

Modality can be expressed by: auxiliary verbs such as ‘must’, ‘should’, ‘can’ etc.’, lexical verbs such as ‘need’, ‘require’, adjectives such as ‘necessary’ and/or adverbs such as ‘certainly’, ‘probably’. In the current data, Modality is expressed mostly through auxiliary verbs. As one important part of interpersonal meaning, Modality can be regarded as a speaker’s comment and views of states expressed in clauses revealing the speaker’s uncertainty of things, offers and requesting of people, thus the interpersonal meaning and social roles between the speaker and the listeners can be understood (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). Through the analysis of various types of Modality, the certainty, assessments and views of the speaker on the topics being addressed in the speeches and the relationship between the speaker and the audience could be better realized.

#### 4.3.1 MODALIZATION

Modalization in the English Language is expressed through the modal markers of Probability and Usuality (Halliday, 2014, 150).

##### 4.3.1.1 Probability

The frequency of probability expressions found in the data are shown in Table 4.8

**Table 4.8 Frequency of Probability modals found in the data**

Degrees	Cooperation		War in Afghanistan		War in Iraq		Israel-Palestine Conflict	
High	3	8.82%	0	0%	2	5.88%	6	17.65%
Median	1	2.94%	1	2.94%	2	5.88%	6	17.65%
Low	4	11.76	0	0%	2	5.88%	7	20.59%
Total	8	23.53%	1	2.94%	6	17.65%	19	55.88%
NO of Probability	34							

$$\frac{\text{Number of each degree of Probability in each theme}}{\text{Total number of Probability across the themes}} \times 100 = \%$$

It can be interpreted from Table 4.12 that the theme Israel - Palestine conflict has the highest frequency of occurrence of Probability (55.88%). Followed by the theme ‘Cooperation’ with second highest frequency of occurrence (23.53%). And the theme ‘War

in Iraq’ with third highest frequency (17.65%). ‘War in Afghanistan’ has very limited usage of probability modals (2.94%). The table also shows that the Probability in the data is conveyed via the three degrees high, median and low. But the modals of median probability are exploited mostly. Examples of probability degrees are presented below:

**Examples of high Probability found in the data**

<b>Clause Code</b>	<b>–</b>	<b>High Probability</b>	<b>–</b>
S2C234	human progress	<b>can’t be</b>	denied.
S2C240	No development	<b>can be</b>	based only upon what comes out of the ground.
S2C97 (a)	I	<b>believe</b>	that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein
S1C106 (a)	America	<b>can never</b>	tolerate violence by extremists
S2C148 (b)	Israel's right to exist	<b>cannot be</b>	denied.
S2C148 (c)		<b>neither can</b>	Palestinians
S6C39(b)	One thing that I’m	<b>very certain</b>	of is that the Palestinians have the talent, the drive, and the courage to succeed in their own.

The application of high probability operators ‘cannot’, ‘no can be’, ‘believe’, ‘can never’, and ‘neither can’, and the adjective ‘very certain’ reflect what Obama is very certain about within the context of the themes. In S2C234, ‘cannot’ is the modal operator signing Obama’s realization of the human progress importance which he describes as something that is impossible to be abandoned. Clause S2C240 entails the expression of high Probability ‘can be’ in the negative clause to show Obama’s assurance about the need for cooperation which extends beyond exchanging oil and gas between the two nations. In S2C97 (a) and S1C106 (a), the operators ‘believe’ and ‘can never’ are used subjectively with the personal pronoun ‘I’ and ‘America’ respectively reflecting Obama’s certainty, because America means Obama. Obama emphasizes that his country never accepts terror in S2C106 (a).

In S1C97 (a), Obama shows his certainty about the improvements in Iraq after the fall of Dictator Saddam Hussain. The high probability by ‘cant’ and ‘neither can’ used in S2C148 (b) and (c) is to remind people of the certain fact that both Israel and Palestine should be really exist. In S6C39 (b) ‘very certain’ is employed as a direct adjective expression to indicate the president’s affirmative judgment on the Palestinians’ ability to success in life. This type and degree of modality can be considered unique across the four themes since it has a variety of positive and negative modals. The examples show these varieties which have the same function. Thus; markers of high Modality emphasize the speaker's strong pursuit for attracting people’s attention to the information which he is very certain about and the events which are likely to happen; so they believe his words.

Median probability is mostly expressed by the operator ‘will’ as in the following extracts:

**Examples of median Probability found in the data**

S2C232	Because of modernity, We	<b>will</b>	lose control over our economic choices.
S1C142 (b)	I pledge that you	<b>will</b>	have our support against the terrorist activities of the PKK or anyone else.
S2C131(b)	But if we see this conflict only from one side or the other, then we <b>will be</b> blind to the truth:	<b>will be:</b>	blind to the truth:
S4C198	Palestinian leaders	<b>will not</b>	achieve peace or prosperity if Hamas insists on a path of terror and rejection

In SFL model, the modal operator ‘will’ is used to express a median degree of Probability as a category of modalization (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). In S2C232 and S1C142 (b) Obama uses the modal verb ‘will’ to talk about some events that he is certain about to happen, but not strongly. In other words, these events can be predicted to happen in case something else occurs or with the existence of specific circumstances. This can be

interpreted from the context of the clauses which have the function of condition. For example, in S2C232 Obama predicts that the ‘loss of control over economic choices’ will occur as a result of modernity. Also in S1C142, Obama promises Iraqi people to get his support if there are terrorist attacks against them.

Modality choice in S6C131 (b) signals Obama’s views on the issue of conflict between Palestinians and Israelis and how should be viewed. Obama says that if people have a bias to one of the parties, he predicts that people then are blind to the truth of the conflict. ‘Will’ in S4C198 (b) is used to lay out his prediction on the Palestinian leaders achievement of peace through the conditional clause. His statement can be paraphrase as ‘it is predicted that the leaders of Palestinians would not achieve peace in case they continue to supporting terror’. Thus the use of ‘will’ here refers to prediction, expectations inserted by the president of what is going to happen. This contributes to make people believe and trust the president and his administration because he shows them his commitments. Thus, the median Probability through ‘will’ convey expectations by Obama of some future conditional events.

The modal words in the data indicating low level of certainty are: the modal operators ‘can’, ‘could’, and the adjective ‘possible’ as in these examples.

**Examples of low Probability found in the data**

Clause	-	Modality Word	-
S2C230	trade and investment that	<b>can</b>	bring prosperity for all people.
S4C187 (d)	partnerships that	<b>could</b>	bring greater security, prosperity, and empowerment to ordinary people.
S4C206(c)	Peace is	<b>possible.</b>	
S6C48	We	<b>can</b>	make those changes

From the extracts, the forms express low Modality which highlights Obama's doubtfulness of some actions that may occur. The subjects in which he expresses his tentativeness are the outcomes of some phenomena like globalization and partnership which may provide negative and positive outcomes on people such as in S2C230 and S4C187 (d). In S2C230 he talks about the possibility of providing a better life because of trade and investment. Obama prefers to use low probability because investment and trade may also bring about loss and debt for people. So the situation here involves possibility which is the low form of probability based on SFL.

Similarly, the possibility conveyed by 'could' in the utterance S4C187 (d) functions to inform Muslims what may happen as a result of peace and collaboration that is 'greater security, prosperity, and empowerment to ordinary people'. The possibility of creating peace is relayed in S4C206 (c) through the word 'possible'. The modality choice 'can' in S6C48 reflects Obama's low degree of certainty on the ability of people in making changes which contribute to peace within the context of the Israel- Palestine issue. By using these modal expressions; Obama reminds the public to look on the possible positive and negative sides of cooperation between the two worlds and that peace is the best solution.

Probability as a category of modalization is used in the data to express what the president is certain and not certain about, his future expectations and promises, people's ability and his doubtful positive and negative views towards some phenomenon and actions. The use of probability gives people a sense of what is probable to happen within the context of the issues, so people can be aware of future events. Clearly; the clauses of probability tell people what the president is certain about and he is doubt about; so they may feel relieved about the positive expectations and aware of the negative expectations.

### 4.3.1.2 Usuality

**Table 4.9 Frequency of Usuality modals found in the data**

Degrees	Cooperation		War in Afghanistan		War in Iraq		Israel-Palestine Conflict	
High	1	33.33%	0	0%	1	33.33	1	33.33%
Median	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Low	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	1	33.33%	0	0%	1	33.33%	1	33.33%
No of Usuality	3							

$\frac{\text{Number of each degree of Usuality in each theme}}{\text{Total number of Usuality across the themes}} \times 100 = \%$

The table depicts the frequency and percentage of modal expressions used by Obama in the data to express Usuality. It was found that the modality of Usuality is expressed through the word ‘never’ indicating a high value of Usuality. The marker ‘never’ is used only once in each of the themes: Cooperation, War in Iraq and the theme Israel-Palestine Conflict as shown in the following examples:

**Examples of high Usuality found in the data**

Clause	-	Modality Word	-
S1C159	America	<b>will never</b>	be at war with Islam.
S2C106(a)	America	<b>can never</b>	tolerate violence by extremists
S4C199	Palestinians is not and	<b>will never</b>	realize their independence by denying the right of Israel to exist.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 694) clarifies that the use of ‘never’ as a modality expression indicates high Usuality. They explain that the use of ‘never’ in clause expresses that the ‘event does not ever happen’. It reflects a non- frequency of event occurrence. From the word ‘never’ found in the examples, it can be argued that the high degree of Usuality in these examples depicts no foundation of facts or occurrence of events or things under any circumstances and at any time. In S1C159, the president wants to say that it is an absolute fact that his country will not be against the Islamic world at any time. In S2C106, he expresses the Western rejection of extremists forever. The president in S4C199 uses the



negative tool of frequency ‘never’ as the high marker of Usuality in order to convey his strong rejection of what Palestinians derive, that is, the non- existence of Israel as a country. This means that the president stresses the need for the two countries. So ‘never’ as a word of high Usuality, signifies that the utterance is negative and the proposition of the utterance conveys zero occurrences of event. The purpose of such propositions was to insert information by the president to people about the negation of some subjects and facts that people feel doubt about, so they would never doubt about again.

In conclusion, from the analysis of modalization, it is found that the President neither offers nor commands audience to do something, instead he inserts his judgements of Probability and Usuality on the propositions. He aims to give information.

### 4.3.2 MODULATION

In SFL, modulation is categorized into Inclination and Obligation (Halliday and Mattheissen, 2014: 691). Sometimes similar modal operators are used to express both Inclination and Obligation; but the function of each is realized from the context of the utterance.

#### 4.3.2.1 Inclination

Table 4.10 displays the frequencies of Inclination in the data:

**Table 4.10 Frequency of Inclination modals found in the data**

Degrees	Cooperation		War in Afghanistan		War in Iraq		Israel-Palestine Conflict	
High	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Median	14	33.33%	11	26.19%	9	21.43%	7	16.67%
Low	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	14	33.33%	11	26.190%	9	21.43%	7	16.67%
No of Inclination	42							

Number of each degree of Inclination in each theme  
Total number of Inclination across the themes

X 100 = %

From the table, the total number of Inclination found in the data is (42). It can be seen that there is a great difference of the distribution of Modality between the median value and the other values of Inclination across the four themes. There is a high frequency of the median Inclination while a zero frequency is recorded for both high and low values.

The Inclination is presented mostly through the modals ‘will’, ‘want’, with a little use of the model ‘would’ as indicators of median degree of Modality. The president used the Inclination type of modality to suggest his administration offers to people as in the following examples:

**Examples of median Inclination in the data**

-	-	<b>median inclination</b>	
S3C75	We	<b>want</b>	more Indonesian students in American schools
S2C245	On education we	<b>will</b>	expand exchange programs and increase scholarships.
S2C249	On science and technology we	<b>will</b>	launch a new fund to support technological development in Muslim majority countries.
S5C26	Our troops	<b>will be</b>	coming home
S3C143(c)	We	<b>will</b>	bring all of our troops home.
S5C52	The international community	<b>will</b>	express support to these places.
S5C34 (a)	in Chicago, we	<b>will</b>	endorse a proposal to support a strong and sustainable long-term Afghan force.

All these examples have the median Modality patterns combined with subjects denoting ‘Western side’ or the exclusive personal pronoun ‘we’. This pattern reflects the Western involvement in the performances presented. Obama in these examples tends to exchange willingness of his administration to support the Muslim World. He suggests some of the improvements to be done by the Western world in the Islamic countries. Some of these improvements are for political purposes in the countries under current political chaos, while others for economics, trade and marketing purposes. From the examples, the improvements to be done are ‘getting more Indonesian students in American schools’,

‘expanding exchange programs and increasing scholarships, science and technology, ‘supporting technological development’, ‘bringing a lot of the American troops home’ and ‘endorsing a proposal to support a strong and sustainable long-term Afghan force’. In general, the variety of these examples all contributes to one goal which is to make changes on the political, economic and social principles in the Islamic countries. And these in turn are conveyed in the form of modality Inclination to introduce these changes as an American tendency.

From the context, the modals ‘will’ and ‘want’ in these examples are identified to denote the meaning of mild Inclination. The repeated application of the median modals in all the clauses of Inclination is assigned to the pronoun ‘we’, ‘American troops’, and the ‘international community’ which all refer to the Western side. The limited use of ‘would’ with the intensive use of ‘will’ as median Inclination devices, means that the president is not concerned with telling his past desires and inclinations, instead he wants people to look forward and accept his future intentions.

The majority of the medium value operators in the data rather than other values, indicates a slight rise in the level of Western willingness to achieve goals. While the absence of the high value shows Obama’s respect of people, and it is a sign of avoiding imposing his services, the limited usage of low inclination shows that the Western commitments are not weak. That is why Obama prefers medium degrees to suggest the offers provided by his government and wants to be balanced in imposing these offers. The positive modals used represent the intermediate degree between yes and no poles. The meaning of Inclination here reflects offers of services and not commands or exchange of judgements and/or information. The Inclination realized in the data shows Obama’s

attitudes towards the audience which in this context is ‘the Muslim World’. Thus, findings show who the offers of services are from, and who will receive the services.

#### 4.3.2.2 Obligation

Table 4.11 illustrates the frequency of obligation in the data:

**Table 4.11 Frequency of Obligation modals found in the data**

Degrees	Cooperation		War in Afghanistan		War in Iraq		Israel-Palestine Conflict	
High	5	0%	2	0%	2	0%	11	0%
Median	6		9	0%	0	%	6	%
Low	4		1	0%	1	0%	2	0%
Total	15		12	0%	3	%	19	%
	49							

$\frac{\text{Number of each degree of Obligation in each theme}}{\text{Total number of Obligation across the themes}} \times 100 = \%$

The majority of Obligation expressions are found in the theme Israel- Palestine Conflict compared to the other themes. The high obligation is the most used across the four themes and mainly realized in the theme Israel Palestine Conflict, while the other values show weaker percentages across the themes.

The higher percentage of high obligation expressions indicates the president’s strong commitment to the performance of some acts he introduced. He expresses some arrangements and involvements with the audience of both worlds. This can be inferred from the following examples that exhibit a meaning of high obligation through the modals ‘must’ ‘require’ and ‘need to’.

**Examples of high Obligation found in the data**

S5C60	That	<b>requires</b>	clear timeline to wind down the war.
S2C106(b)	we	<b>must never</b>	alter our principles. 9/11 was an enormous trauma to our country
S5C41(a)	They	<b>need to</b>	accomplish two narrow security missions
S2C136 (b)	Palestinians	<b>must</b>	abandon violence.
S2C147 (c)	Hamas	<b>must</b>	put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, and recognize Israel's right to exist.
S2C148 (a)	Israelis	<b>must</b>	acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied

### Examples of high Obligation continue

S2C155	Finally, the Arab States	<b>must</b>	recognize that the Arab Peace Initiative was an important beginning.
S3C72 (a)	We	<b>must</b>	build bridges between our people.
S4C168 (a)	together	<b>must</b>	help the recover from the disruption of their democratic upheaval that will be elected

The president insists on the need to settle the war through the operator ‘require’ in S5C60. He says that the timeline is an important factor required to end the war, the pattern of modality here is objective which is interpreted from ‘clear timeline to wind down the war’.

The high obligation is expressed once again through the auxiliary model ‘must’. Obama sends his strong instructions in S2C106 (b) to ask people firmly not to forget the 11 of September attacks and its great influence on the world, In Obama’s views, this event is the most important within the context of the war on Afghanistan as a motivation to stand in front of terrorism.

In clause S5C41 (a) ‘need to’ indicates the necessity of accomplishing two narrow security missions by Afghans. The third pronoun ‘they’ refers to the people of Afghans. Obama finds that it is crucial to establish the secure Afghanistan by its people.

In the context of Israel Palestine Conflict which has the most occurrences of high obligation, Obama is keen to incite people to do necessary actions. The other examples bring a reflection of what is required from Palestine and Israel from the point view of Obama. In other words, Obama is obligating and forcing Palestinians to progress in the path of peace and to stop violence as in S2C136 (b) and S2C147 (c), while what he requires from Israel is to believe in the Palestinians’ existence as in S2C151 (a).

Beside this, Obama's use of high obligation in the data reaches out to 'the Arab States' as a part of Muslim side as declared in S2C155 when Obama asks them to recognize their attempts in the process of peace through the modal 'must'.

The term 'must' in the examples S3C72 (a) and S4C168 (a) assigns urgent actions which are required for the purpose of achieving cooperation. It sounds that the president is asking people to be aware of some important truths related to progress and cooperation such as the need to build bridges between the two worlds in S3C72, and what is needed to apply democracy in some Arab states which witnessed a fall of their political systems as in S4C168 (a). It is clear from his phrase 'we must' that Obama was balanced in obligating the groups to take the responsibility, because the personal pronoun 'we' here includes both sides 'Muslims' and 'Westerns as an assistant partner in the issues'.

It can be interpreted from these examples, that modal markers are used to give a strong assertion when there is something extremely needful. The frequent occurrence of high Obligation terms in the theme Israel Palestine Conflict means that there are several procedures which people of both nations are forced to accomplish to deal with the issue. High Obligation outlines what is needed as urgent missions from the addressee. The function of Obligation is manifested in laying out orders not only to the people of Israel and Palestine as in the context of Israel- Palestine Conflict, and Muslims as in other issues, but also to Obama himself through the use of the inclusive pronoun 'we'. He includes himself as a leader of his country and the Muslim countries. Although there is a prominent use of high obligation which signals power, the president tends to minimize the gap between himself and the audience through the use of inclusive pronoun 'we' in most clauses of Obligation in the data. On the other hand, the use of names such as 'Afghans and

Palestinians’ reflects a sense of authority, and this is found in a minimum number of clauses.

The following extracts are some examples of median Obligation:

**Examples of median Obligation found in the data**

S1C163(a)	We	<b>will</b>	listen carefully
S1C163(b)	We	<b>will</b>	bridge misunderstandings
S1C163(C)	We	<b>will</b>	seek common ground
S5C42(b)	That	<b>will be</b>	the job of the afghan people.
S4C216(a)	Palestinians	<b>should</b>	know the territorial outlines of their state
S4C216 (c)	Israel	<b>sholud</b>	know that their basic security concerns will be met.

In the extracts above, modal auxiliary ‘will’ is combined with the personal pronoun ‘we’ which can be inferred to refer to “the American government’ and ‘the Islamic communities’ together. From the context of these examples; the modal ‘will’ expresses a median degree of Obligation. It is clear from Obama’s phrases ‘We will’ in all these examples, that he wants to call on the people to participate in performing acts, like ‘listening to each other, bridging misunderstanding, and seeking common grounds’ in clauses S1C163(a), S1C163(b) and S1C163(c). He frequently expresses recommendations concerning the relationship between both worlds. It is as a way to enthuse people to their future building.

‘Should’ as another marker of median Obligation found in the data is mostly used to guide people to follow some moral concepts. He recommends people to get realization of some facts, and not to perform actions as that of ‘will’. These recommended concepts are: ‘to know the territorial outlines of their state’ in S4C216 (a) and ‘to know that their basic security concerns will be met’ in S4C216 (c). On the other hand; ‘will’ brooks both the mental side and the material actions recommended by the president. ‘Should’ and ‘will’ as modality devices are employed to express a medium degree of Obligation. The use of

‘should’ and ‘will’ for medium Obligation can be paraphrased as “it is necessary but not very urgent”.

Similar to high obligation patterns, the pattern ‘we will’ with inclusive ‘we’ indicates the speaker’s purpose of involving hearers in the commitment to perform the act or advice uttered. The function of median Obligation is to make people of both sides feel of solidarity and shows the president friendly; especially it does not convey impositions.

**Examples of low Obligation in the themes**

S2C246(d)	A teenager in Kansas	<b>can</b>	communicate instantly with a teenager in Cairo
S4C7(b)	How we	<b>can</b>	respond in a way that advances our values and strengthens our security.
S2C143	Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what they	<b>can</b>	build
S4C211 (a)	But what America and the international community	<b>can</b>	do is state frankly what everyone knows lasting peace will involve two states for two peoples

These examples show a weak degree of obligation through the application of the modal ‘can’. Obama uses this auxiliary verb when the situation is not very urgent and there is no necessity to do things, but allowance is given to people to perform some simple requirements like ‘communication between teenagers of both nations’ in S2C246(d), and advancing values and strengthening security of both worlds in S4C7(b). These aims of cooperation serve as secondary interests of Obama. It looks as if the president is giving permission to people to achieve some things that may happen in the future when they achieve cooperation. In S2C143 the president displays low obligation to call addressee ‘Palestinians’ to focus on building their country. And also he gives a permission to the American government and the international community in S4C211 (a ), to start their role towards the issue of Israel- Palestine Conflict which is the declaration of the two states of Israel and Palestine where people can live in peace. It is mostly used to denote permission.



Obama via this modal choice could transmit what are permitted to be done whether by the Muslims or westerns, and not what is required.

The only use of ‘can’ as an operator of weak command is identified when the context of the clauses implies, that the action is not urgent to be performed, but the President would like people to do it. Thus, he expresses encouragement to people to continue in supporting the Muslim world.

#### **4.4 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

The findings reveal that the most addressed and recurred themes across the six speeches made by Obama are: *Cooperation, War in Afghanistan, War in Iraq and Israel-Palestine Conflict*. For the Transitivity analysis in these themes, it was found that Material process highly dominates in the data followed by Relational processes, and then Mental processes, while the other types of Transitivity processes are seldom used. These findings can be in coordination with the study by Liping (2014) “The Material and Relational processes are most often chosen in political discourses because they present the statements of reality from the point of view of onlookers. So they seem to be more objective than other processes. And Mental processes also play a very important role in expressing the politician’s ideas in this speech” (p. 130).

The analysis of Transitivity processes and Participant roles shows that the theme Israel- Palestine Conflict takes the highest number of processes and participants. This means that the president is more concerned with this issue. The Material processes found in the data have similar functions across the four themes. They are mostly applied to inform people about the actions that have been done and will be achieved by the West to control the issues. Thus the Actor participant is the *personal pronoun (I)* and *West*, the Goal is *their*

*achievements* and the Beneficiary is the *Muslim world*; whereas the Scope encodes *the domain of these achievements*. This provides the notion that Obama is mostly interested in posing his country's achievements. This goes along the findings of Wang (2010) and Shayegh's (2012) results in which "Material process, a process of doing, has been used most in his speeches. From this process, Obama showed us what the government has achieved, what they are doing and what they will do". Furthermore, the fact that all political discourses entail Material process prominently corresponds with the conclusions by Naz, Alvi and Albaseer (2011), Alvi and Abdul Baseer (2012), Nurul (2007), Oktifarti (2014) and Kondowe (2014).

Moreover, this type of process expresses the actional impact performed by inanimate Actors which are the *war, terror and conflict* when the Goal is *their negative influence*. Therefore, this result is in accordance with the results of Liping (2014). To quote, "In Churchill's speech, the Material process expresses what the Nazi war is doing to Russia" (p. 134).

The Relational process is represented through the Attributive and Possessive process. The Relational process type provides a description of certain qualities related to the theme Cooperation such as *development, progress and modernity*. Also, it describes the past and current situations of the *Islamic world* within the context of development. Regarding the other issues, the president describes the *American military and social objectives* in the Muslim regions, the *people's attitudes* about these issues and the *violence* such as the *War in Afghanistan and Iraq*, the *terrorism* there and the *conflict between Israelis and Palestinians*. The Carrier participant is the variations described while the Attribute carries *positive and negative descriptions*.

The participant roles of Possessor and Possessed are also used in the same way, which is to describe some qualities and facts related to the issues to make people realize them. Liping (2014) showed similar results in his study on Winston S. Churchill's Speech on Hitler's Invasion of the U.S.S.R that "In English political speeches, the Relational processes are often used in explaining some abstract political concepts, elaborating the relationship between political powers or between other entities" (p. 134).

Aspects of the inner experience of the Senser participants which are the *two worlds* are conveyed via the Mental process. In using this type of process, the President explains the *knowledge, awareness* and *desiderative* sense of the people to work together, and the *cognitive perception* of people on what is going on in the areas under war. Thus the aspects of cognition and desiration are commonly used in the data, with a limited use of emotional category of Mental process which evokes the *Presidents sympathy* on the people affected by the Wars, especially in the context of Israel Palestine Conflict.

Therefore, the finding is similar with Ghachem's (2014) investigation that "Barack Obama and David Cameron root the US-British relationship through the process of desiration need and the cognitive believe, and this shows the two writers as having a good sense of judgement of what is needed and associate it to 'strong' belief in that it is what is needed, and the use of belief and the commitment expresses the two Heads of State as two leaders having a strong commitment to the US-British relations". (p. 555). Similarly, the current finding suggests that Obama has strong commitment to the relation between both worlds since he has judgements on what both sides need and to do. However, the emotional impact of Obama on Muslims is not realized yet in other studies. This means that Obama's concern is the people's intellectual reaction toward the issues more than their/ and his emotional impact.

The findings of the verbal process used are supportive to the findings by Chen (2005) in regard to the use of neutral process in discourses. This suggests that Obama tends to make his statements believable and valid because the verbal clauses he employed function to introduce and shifting his declarations. Obama through Verbal processes comments on topics in order to provide people with information about the issues rather than reporting others' words or quotations. This also supports Liping's (2014) argument when he says "It is reasonable for a political speech to have a certain percentage of verbal processes since one of its characteristics is informative" (p.135).

Besides, in the data Obama used verbal process to indicate what the West has fulfilled verbally to support the regions in the Islamic world. Thus the participant functions as Sayer is the *President himself and the Western side*, and the Verbiage is what the *Sayers say or announced*, whereas the Target is *the Muslim side*.

As for the Existential process, it is used rarely to inform people about the existence of some facts related to the themes such as the Wars, and Conflict between Israel and Palestine.

The distribution of Modality in the data shows that the Obligation and Inclination as types of modulation are frequently used, while Probability and Usuality as types of modalization are presented but less frequently. This means that the president uses proposals more than propositions in the clauses of modality. The most prominent category of modality operators in the data is represented by the modulation feature which is represented by Obligation markers, followed by the Inclination markers. The president provides services to people through his choices of Inclination and asks goods and services through the usage of Obligation. Thus he tries to pursue them by proposals. This is in contrast with Juan's (2012) argument "Obama was more inclined to make use of modalization; high

value modal expressions in his Presidential Inaugural Address”, and the findings of Hussein and Almofti (2014) “the US President Obama makes no clear obligations or commitments towards helping the Syrians, in any kind. Also, the occurrence of inclination is too low, again showing lack of desire for real engagement and the occurrences are the highest for probability” (p: 38). On the other hand, the finding is in line with THU’s (2010) proposition “imperative sentence which signals a request or command is typical in political speeches” (p: 12).

In agreement with THU’s (2010) findings “the use of wide range of Modality markers with different levels of certainty may reveal that sometimes the US Presidents should show that they were certain of the validity of the information, and sometimes, on the contrary, they should sound less asserted about some issues in a certain respect” (p: 16), using Modality markers with different levels of Probability in the data could reveal that in some situations the president is certain of the validity of the information he is providing, while in other situations, he is not or less certain. The expressions of high modality show what that Obama states is very likely to happen. They also inform people about some serious actions that certainly happen, while the low Probability modals aim to show the possibility of actions that may happen in the future, but the president is not very certain about.

Probability functions not only show what topics Obama knows and what he is not sure about, but it can also reflect the presidents’ relation to the addressee involved in the speech. The function meaning of median Probability inserted by the word ‘will’ as the most used, is to signify Obama’s future expectations and predictions of actions that may happen in future if something else happens. The use of median Probability in the data also signifies Obama’s promises to support people in the Muslim world. He provides people with

information of what is possible to happen and what is predicted to be done by the west within the context of the four themes to remind them of future negative or positive expectations. So people can get knowledge about the issues he discussed and be ready for any expected events. This shows Obama as a trustful and credible person who is concerned with others' matters. This is in line with the argument by Fengfeng (2013) "one of the meanings of 'will' in the speeches by Obama and McCain is to supply information about what will happen in the future on the basis of the speaker's prediction" (p: 81).

The application of Usuality in the data is very limited and it functions to express a zero degree of oftenness from the speaker's view through the high negative degree of Usuality by the word 'never'. The lack of other forms of Usuality means that the president is not concerned with the frequencies of events in the context of Islamic world issues. Instead he prefers to negate the occurrence of events or facts that may hinder the relationship between the West and Muslims, and this is to uncover the doubtfulness of people. Thus people can trust the speaker. This corresponds to Nur (2013) "Obama has messages in the way of expressing likelihood to be taken seriously and accepted by the audience" (p.10).

In the Modality utterances of Obama dedicated to convey the intentions of the West in the Muslim world, it was found that the markers of median Inclination are used to convey the roles of the Western governments to do improvements in the Islamic countries. All the patterns of intentions are combined either with first personal pronoun (I) or the plural form 'we' which is an exclusive pronoun referring to his administration. Li (2002), states that personal pronouns can construe the interpersonal function between speaker and listener in discourse. The use of 'will' and 'want' as expressions of median Inclination, emphasizes the speaker's administration commitments to do changes in the Muslim

communities. The intensive use of median Inclination rather than high or low to insert the intentions of the Western administration which are depicted through the modality markers of future, makes Muslim people trust the president, view the West positively, and have a hope of these future accomplishments. Thus this finding is in coordination with Hussein and Almofti's (2014) finding where "The high number of inclination in the Guardian newspaper articles reflects the UK government's seriousness in supporting the Syrians" (p. 40).

Obama uses high, median and low values of Obligation in the data to impose his orders. But the use of the different degrees of Obligation gives different functions based on the situational context. The usage of high Obligation serves to express assertions when the situation requires urgent commitments such as the situations of the issue between Israel and Palestine. On contrast, the median and low Obligations are imposed when the situation of the issue is not very serious such as in the themes of Cooperation, the War in Afghanistan and Iraq.

It was found that Obama puts the high Obligation markers in the clauses directed to both Westerns and Muslims when the inclusive pronouns 'we' and 'us' are combined with the modality marker in the clauses. These patterns are used to emphasize the speaker's desire to invite the audience to cooperate with him in achieving the acts he stated. Based on SFL "the inclusive pronoun equalizes (I) and you (the audience) by upholding emotional effectiveness of sharing same objectives" (Halliday and Hassan, 2000). Furthermore, Obama frequently used the high marker 'must' with the names 'Israelis' or 'Palestinians'. The addressees here are both sides, because the president addressed both of them directly by their nationalities. Ruijuan (2010) states that " the word 'must' helps to show Barack Obama's firm determination to overcome the difficulties and call on the audience to take

strong actions to achieve their target ” (p.149). Similarly Obama used the high Obligation mostly through the modal ‘must’ to express common assertions of the two worlds.

The aim of including both worlds to be responsible for performing the acts declared is to avoid inequality between the addresser and addressee. It sounds that the president distributes roles to his side and the other side to contribute to the issues. Hence, solidarity with the audience can be created. This supports the argument by Tran, H. P (2014) “the pattern ‘we must’ can be seen as the speaker’s strategic way to mitigate the force of imposition on hearers” (p. 86).

Through the median Obligation, Obama expresses suggestions and recommendation more than assertions. Medina Obligation is mainly expressed by the modal of future ‘will’. Besides, he used ‘should’ rarely to impose median degree of Obligation. This concurs with Nartey and Yankson (2014) conclusion that “should is obligatorily and putatively used in political discourse” (p: 27). By both markers Obama recommends both peoples to work for their benefit together. Moreover, he tends to avoid being too aggressive. Thus, this finding is in accordance with the findings of Nur (2014) “With median Obligation, the speaker’s implication can be interpreted as a suggestion for the event to be performed rather than to give an order to the hearers” (P: 94).

The low Obligation clauses involve statements about what Obama permits to be done by two nations, but mostly by the Muslim side. Although, this value is rarely used, Obama, on the one hand, tries to encourage audience to believe in their abilities to do something by the employment of low Obligation. And on the other hand, he wants to shorten the distance between himself as a leader and people as the public although of the rare use of this type.



The limitation in the use of the low expressions in the Modulation clauses reveals that the position of the speaker is not very weak. In contrast; the evidence of the strong position of the president is the frequent use of median and high expressions rather than low, but the president decreases the degree of authority through the way of including himself and his government in the assertions.

What is significantly noted in the current study is that there are some similar modal operators used in the data to express different functions within different situations, such as operators 'will' and 'can'. 'Will' as a median marker has a triple role in the data which can be distinguished by the context of situation: 'Will' as a modal of probability functions to supply information about what will happen in future based on the speaker's prediction and promises, 'will' as a modal of inclination functions to convey the Western intentions to assist the Muslim World, and 'will' as a modal of Obligation which suggests impositions in the form of advice introduced by the speaker to both worlds. In coordination with the statement by Tran, H. P (2014) "the modal 'can' is essentially used to convey three modality meanings: permission, possibility and ability in the speeches of American and British ambassadors" (p. 105); in the current data, the modal can is used to convey only two functions of modality: It is used as a modal of low Probability and low Obligation.

To sum up, the distinction between the functions of both modal patterns 'will' and 'can' found in the data is determined by the situational context of the clauses. 'Will' and 'Can' convey the sense of Probability in the situations of the clauses that are not about commitments to be performed, instead they are about predictions and possibilities of actions. Otherwise, in the clauses which convey actions and commitments to be performed, the modals 'will' and 'can' function as Obligation operators, and 'will' as an Inclination operator was found in the clauses expressing Western intentions. In conclusion, the variety

of modality degrees found in the data shows a variety of interpersonal meanings. This is along the lines of Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) as they explain that different scales of Modal commitment lead to different meanings.

#### **4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter reports on the findings and interpretation of the data analyzed within the present study. First the analysis of the speeches highlights the themes Obama repeated across his speeches. Following that is the analysis of transitivity and modality. Through the analysis of transitivity process and participants as a system of the experiential meaning, it provides an understanding of the main topics Obama is concerned with, and the analysis of modality which is a system of the interpersonal meaning has revealed Obama's opinion and certainty and his relation with the audience. In the next chapter, the conclusion of the total findings will be put forth.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

#### 5.0 INTRODUCTION

The present study explores the experiential and interpersonal meanings of SFL through the transitivity and modality systems in terms of the main issues Obama conveyed in six speeches about the Muslim world. The analysis of the data is limited to revealing the process and participant roles as parts of Transitivity, and the Modality types. It attempts to understand the construction and representation of the Muslim World issues in the six speeches. This study is based on the work of Halliday; the pioneer of SFL and Matthessen (2014), and the works of followers Eggins, Thompson, and Fontain.

#### 5.1 Summary of Findings of Research Question 1- *What are the recurring themes found in the six speeches of Obama on the Islamic world issues?*

The study contributed to detect the most frequent issues of Muslim countries Obama talked about in the six speeches selected. Thus, the analysis of Transitivity and Modality was applied on the discourses of these issues. These issues are: (a) Cooperation between the Western world and Muslims, (b) War in Afghanistan, (c) War in Iraq and (d) Israel- Palestine conflict.

The issue of cooperation between the Western world and Muslims has been addressed in the speeches made in Turkey, Jakarta, Cairo and Middle East. The issue of War in Afghanistan has been found in the speeches made in Turkey, Cairo, Jakarta and Afghanistan while the issue of War on Iraq has been mentioned in the speeches of: Turkey, Cairo, Jakarta and Middle East. Finally, the issue of Israel- Palestine Conflict was found in the speeches of: Cairo, Jakarta, Middle East and Ramallah.

## **5.2 Summary of Findings of Research Question 2 – *How is experiential meaning expressed through the process types and participants roles within the discourse of the recurring themes in the six speech?***

Based on the experiential meaning of the data concerning the speeches of Obama on Muslim World issues, the overwhelming majority of clauses in each of the themes falls into the Material process type of transitivity.

Most of the Material processes in the four themes reflect the physical accomplishments taken by the West to change the course in the fields of economic, education, science and technology in some Islamic regions, the actions performed by the West to end the wars and violence, and the terrorist acts in the Muslim countries. Therefore, Obama reflects actions rather than events or happenings since the contexts of the issues are about two main points: actions needed for collaboration that is made by people. And crimes and violence caused by inanimate participants, such as terrorism, wars and conflict which requires physical solutions performed by the animate participants.

Heavy descriptions of different items related to the issues account for the Relational process type which is employed through the attributive process. The Attributes process gives positive and negative images about the current situation of instability and what will happen if the collaboration between both worlds is achieved or failed. Obama is more concerned with descriptions rather than identification to make people more open to his thoughts about the issues.

The Mental process is applied to explain the intellectual sides of people of both sides. In most discourses it reflects their awareness of the issues, and the emotion of the president towards Muslim victims. This is a sign of a participation of feelings. Meanwhile the Verbal process reflects his declarations to inform people about what the West has done

to deal with the issues in order to create trust and emphasizes his role in solving the issues. The behavioral process is not found in the data. And the use of Existential process and participants is very limited and used to represent the presence of the issues since the issues discussed are already in existence.

### **5.3 Summary of findings of research question 3 - *How is interpersonal meaning expressed through the modality choices within the discourse of the recurring themes in the six speeches ?***

As for Modality, the analysis contributes to understand the judgments and ideas regarding the issues with a reflection of the president's social relations with the audience. The analysis shows what issues are very serious and require attention and what are not through the investigation of Modality degrees. The Modulation type of Modality is dominant in the data through which Obama locates his government as incliner and inspirer of the audience to go with him through the issues.

The high Probability shows the assurance of Obama in telling the fact about the issues to people. The median Probability was to insert expectations and predictions and the low Probability was to sign future positive and negative actions. The Usuality pattern does not contribute to find out frequencies of actions or events, instead it shows negations of some propositions uttered. It does not only function to tell how much the president knows about the subject matter; it is also a way Obama used for the purpose of assuring people by emphatically denying some things that people are doubtful about.

The use of Inclination presents Western desire and willingness to support the Muslim countries and provide them positive services and developments. This makes people anticipate what is coming in the future. The use of future form to express inclination gives

inference that the Western side desires to assist the Muslim countries to develop. Thus, inclination modality gives hope and looks toward the future. It also gives Obama credibility as the supporter who is worried about the other's future and works to repair what is damaged.

It can be found that the meaning evoked in the use of Obligation is put in the form of assertions, advice and permission. High obligation dominates the modality employed, and the use of inclusive pronoun 'We' with the high markers reduces the assertion of Obama. Although the use of high Obligation in the data represents the higher status of Obama as a leader and the people as public domain, the median Obligation is frequently used to give recommendations, and low obligations to give permission, both function to decrease authority. Thus, solidarity and friendship between Obama's government and audience of Muslims are created with high Obligations, the use of median Obligation as recommendations gives a positive image about Obama as the wise man who can guide the public and the low obligation reduces the assertions.

#### **5.4 IMPLICATION OF STUDY**

The study has resulted in some beneficial findings. The research questions have been answered. The data can be a good sample for the representation of the issues of the Muslim world in the discourse of Obama since the discourses selected cover the most common topics Obama addressed in the six speeches. Drawing on the framework of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar as the theoretical framework for this study, has been suitable in providing the conception for analysis that has met the research objectives. Transitivity analysis gives a positive image about the personality and intentions of Obama because his concern is mainly standing by the Muslim world, and sharing respect and

sympathy to Muslims. His presentation of information and truths regarding the issues through the various types of processes makes people listen to him and accept his views.

The Modality choices and degrees revealed the interaction between the American president and his audience, and his opinions on the topics discussed, therefore; the interpersonal meaning is realized. In other words, the relationship between the president and audience was positively built; as confidence is created through Probability and Usuality, credibility of the speaker is created through the use of Inclination, and solidarity between both Muslims and the Western government is established through Obligation.

## **5.5 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES**

The current study has rendered an investigation on the construction of the issues of Muslim world in Obama's speeches. It has been achieved through the analysis of Transitivity processes and participants roles to realize experiential and interpersonal meanings. Therefore; this study can open a window for further studies. A research can be conducted on other discourses of Obama on the same issues to find whether the study gives similar or different outcomes. An examination into the Interpersonal metafunction through the analysis of mood can be a complement for the current study to explore what role the president selects in the speech situations and what roles he gives to the addressee. The current data can also be employed to analyze the Textual meaning which may depict another value of meaning that is how the messages of speeches organized can be uncovered.

## 5.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has represented a summary of the findings for the research questions:

1. What are the recurring themes found in the six speeches of Obama on the Islamic world issues?
2. How is experiential meaning expressed through the process types and participants roles within the discourse of the recurring themes in the six speech?
3. How is interpersonal meaning expressed through the modality choices within the discourse of the recurring themes in the six speeches?

Through the present study, it was found how that experiential meaning contributes to show how President Obama expresses his views on the issues of Muslim World in a number of speeches. The representation of Obama's views could be realized through the different Process Types and Participant roles. The current study has also attempted to understand the interpersonal meaning in the discourse of Obama on the issues of Muslim World. The interpersonal meaning has been depicted through the Modality types found in the data. Modality analysis was essential to show how the relations between the president as a speaker and audience as listeners are established. The present study is an attempt to show the function of Transitivity processes and participants, and Modality types to convey experiential and interpersonal meanings respectively.



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**APPENDIX A (S1- S6): SPEECHES SELECTED**

APPENDIX S1: Obama's Speech Made in Turkey

APPENDIX S2: Obama's Speech Made in Cairo

APPENDIX S3: Obama's Speech Made in Jakarta

APPENDIX S4: Obama's Speech Made at The United Nations

APPENDIX S5: Obama's Speech Made in Afghanistan

APPENDIX S6: Obama's Speech Made in Ramallah

## APPENDIX A

### SPEECH 1 (S1)

#### OBAMA'S SPEECH IN TURKEY

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Mr. Speaker, Madam Deputy Speaker, distinguished members, I am honored to speak in this chamber, and I am committed to renewing the alliance between our nations and the friendship between our people.

(1) This is my first trip overseas as President of the United States. (2) I've been to the G20 summit in London, (b) and the NATO summit in Strasbourg, (c) and the European Union summit in Prague. (3) Some people have asked me (b) if I chose to continue my travels to Ankara and Istanbul to (c) send a message to the world, and my answer is simple: Evet -- yes. (Applause.) (4) Turkey is a critical ally. (5) Turkey is an important part of Europe. (6) And Turkey and the United States must stand together -- and work together -- (b) to overcome the challenges of our time.

(7) This morning I had the great privilege of visiting the tomb of your extraordinary founder of your republic. (8) And I was deeply impressed by this beautiful memorial to a man (b) who did so much to shape the course of history. (9) But it is also clear that the greatest monument to Ataturk's life is not something (b) that can be cast in stone and marble. (10) His greatest legacy is Turkey's strong, vibrant, secular democracy, and (b) that is the work (c) that this assembly carries on today. (Applause.)

(11) This future was not easily assured, (b) it was not guaranteed. (12) At the end of World War I, Turkey could have succumbed to the foreign powers (b) that were trying to claim its territory, or (c) sought to restore an ancient empire. (13) But Turkey chose a different future. (14) You freed yourself from foreign control, (b) and you founded a republic (c) that commands the respect of the United States and the wider world.

(15) And there is a simple truth to this story: (b) Turkey's democracy is your own achievement. (16) It was not forced upon you by any outside power, (b) nor did it come without struggle and sacrifice. (17) Turkey draws strength from both the successes of the past, (b) and from the efforts of each generation of Turks (c) that makes new progress for your people.

(18) Now, my country's democracy has its own story. (19) The general who led America in revolution and governed as (b) our first President was, as (c) many of you know, George Washington. (20) And like you, we built a grand monument to honor our founding father -- (b) a towering obelisk that stands in the heart of the capital city (b) that bears Washington's name. (21) I can see the Washington Monument from the window of the White House every day.

(22) It took decades to build. (23) There were frequent delays. (24) Over time, more and more people contributed to help make this monument the inspiring structure (b) that still stands tall today. (25) Among those who came to our aid were friends from all across the world (b) who offered their own tributes to Washington and the country (c) he helped to found.

(26) And one of those tributes came from Istanbul. (27) Ottoman Sultan Abdulmecid sent a marble plaque (b) that helped to build the Washington Monument. (28) Inscribed in the plaque was a poem (b) that began with a few simple words: "So as to strengthen the friendship between the two countries." (29) Over 150 years have passed since (b) those words were carved into marble. (30) Our nations have changed in many ways, but our friendship is strong, and our alliance endures.

(31) It is a friendship that flourished in the years after World War II, (b) when President Truman committed our nation to the defense of Turkey's freedom and sovereignty, (c) and Turkey committed itself into the NATO Alliance. (32) Turkish troops have served by our side from Korea to Kosovo to Kabul. Together, we withstood the great test of the Cold War. (33) Trade between our nations has steadily advanced. (34) So has cooperation in science and research.

(35) The ties among our people have deepened, as well, and more and (b) more Americans of Turkish origin live and work and succeed within our borders. (36) And as a basketball fan, (b) I've even noticed (c) that Hedo Turkoglu and Mehmet Okur have got some pretty good basketball games. (Applause.)

(37) The United States and Turkey have not always agreed on every issue, (b) and that's to be expected -- no two nations do, but we have stood together through many challenges over the last 60 years. (38) And because of the strength of our alliance and the endurance of our friendship, (b) both America and Turkey are stronger and (c) the world is more secure.

(39) Now, our two democracies are confronted by an unprecedented set of challenges: (b) An economic crisis that recognizes no borders; (c) extremism that leads to the killing of innocent men and women and children; (d) strains on our energy supply and a changing climate; (e) the proliferation of the world's deadliest weapons; and the persistence of tragic conflict.

(40) These are the great tests of our young century. (41) And the choices that we make in the coming years will determine whether (b) the future will be shaped by fear or by freedom; by poverty or by prosperity; by strife or by a just, secure and lasting peace.

(42) This much is certain: (b) No one nation can confront these challenges alone, (c) and all nations have a stake in overcoming them. (43) That is why we must listen to one another, (b) and seek common ground. (44) That is why we must build on our mutual interests, (b) and rise above our differences. (45) We are stronger when we act together. (46) That is the message (b) that I've carried with me throughout this trip to Europe. (47) That is the message (b) that I delivered (c) when I had the privilege of meeting with your President and with your Prime Minister. (48) That will be the approach of the United States of America going forward.

(49) Already, America and Turkey are working with the G20 on an unprecedented response to an unprecedented economic crisis. (50) Now, this past week, we came together to ensure (b) that the world's largest economies take strong and coordinated action to stimulate growth and restore the flow of credit; (c) to reject the pressures of protectionism, (d) and to extend a hand to developing countries and the people hit hardest by this downturn; and to dramatically reform our regulatory system so that the world never faces a crisis like this again.

(51) As we go forward, (b) the United States and Turkey can pursue many opportunities to serve prosperity for our people. (52) The President and I this morning talked about expanding the ties of commerce and trade. (53) There's enormous opportunity (b) when it comes to energy to create jobs, and we can increase new sources to not only free ourselves from dependence of other energies -- other countries' energy sources, (b) but also to combat climate change. (54) We should build on our Clean Technology Fund to leverage efficiency and renewable energy investments in Turkey. (55) And to power markets in Turkey and Europe, (b) the United States will continue to support your central role as an East-West corridor for oil and natural gas.

(56) This economic cooperation only reinforces the common security (B) that Europe and the United States share with Turkey as a NATO ally, (C) and the common values that we share as democracies. (57) So in meeting the challenges of the 21st century, (B) we must seek the strength of a Europe that is truly united, peaceful and free.

(58) So let me be clear: (B) The United States strongly supports Turkey's bid (C) to become a member of the European Union. (Applause.) (59) We speak not as members of the EU, (B) but as close friends of both Turkey and Europe. (60) Turkey has been a resolute ally and a responsible partner in transatlantic and European institutions. (61) Turkey is bound to Europe by more than the bridges over the Bosphorous. (62) Centuries of shared history, culture, and commerce bring you together. (63) Europe gains by the diversity of ethnicity, tradition and faith -- (B) it is not diminished by it. (64) And Turkish membership would broaden and strengthen Europe's foundation once more.

(65) Now, of course, Turkey has its own responsibilities. (66) And you've made important progress towards membership. (67) But I also know that Turkey has pursued difficult political reforms not simply (B) because it's good for EU membership, (C) but because it's right for Turkey.

(68) In the last several years, you've abolished state security courts, (B) you've expanded the right to counsel. (69) You've reformed the penal code and (B) strengthened laws (C) that govern the freedom of the press and assembly. (70) You've lifted bans on teaching and broadcasting Kurdish, (B) and the world noted with respect the important signal sent through a new state Kurdish television station.

(71) These achievements have created new laws (B) that must be implemented, (C) and a momentum that should be sustained. (72) For democracies cannot be static --(B) they must move forward. (73) Freedom of religion and expression lead to a strong and vibrant civil society (B) that only strengthens the state, (C) which is why steps like reopening Halki Seminary will send such an important signal inside Turkey and beyond.(74) An enduring commitment to the rule of law is the only way to achieve the security (B) that comes from justice for all people. (75) Robust minority rights let societies benefit from the full measure of contributions from all citizens.

(76) I say this as the President of a country (B) that not very long ago made it hard for somebody who looks like me to vote,(C) much less be President of the United States.(77) But it is precisely that capacity to change that enriches our countries.(78) Every challenge that we face is more easily met (B) if we tend to our own democratic foundation.(79) This work is never over. (80) That's why, in the United States, we recently ordered the prison at Guantanamo Bay closed. (81) That's why we prohibited -- without exception or equivocation -- the use of torture. (82) All of us have to change. (83) And sometimes change is hard.

(84) Another issue that confronts all democracies as (B) they move to the future is (C) how we deal with the past. (85) The United States is still working through some of our own darker periods in our history. (86) Facing the Washington Monument (B) that I spoke of is a memorial of Abraham Lincoln, (C) the man who freed those who were enslaved even after Washington led our Revolution. (87) Our country still struggles with the legacies of slavery and segregation, the past treatment of Native Americans.

(88) Human endeavor is by its nature imperfect. (89) History is often tragic, but unresolved, (B) it can be a heavy weight. (90) Each country must work through its past.(91) And reckoning with the past can help us seize a better future.(92) I know there's strong views in this chamber about the terrible events of 1915. (93) And while there's been a good deal of commentary about my views, (B)it's really about how the Turkish and Armenian people deal with the past. (94) And the

best way forward for the Turkish and Armenian people is a process (B) that works through the past in a way (C) that is honest, open and constructive.

(95) We've already seen historic and courageous steps taken by Turkish and Armenian leaders. (96) These contacts hold out the promise of a new day. (97) An open border would return the Turkish and Armenian people to a peaceful and prosperous coexistence (B) that would serve both of your nations. (98) So I want you to know (B) that the United States strongly supports the full normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia. (99) It is a cause worth working towards.

(100) It speaks to Turkey's leadership that (B) you are poised to be the only country in the region to have normal and peaceful relations with all the South Caucasus nations. (101) And to advance that peace, (B) you can play a constructive role in helping to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, (C) which has continued for far too long.

(102) Advancing peace also includes the disputes (B) that persist in the Eastern Mediterranean. (103) And here there's a cause for hope. (104) The two Cypriot leaders have an opportunity through their commitment to negotiations under the United Nations Good Offices Mission. (105) The United States is willing to offer all the help sought by the parties as (B) they work towards a just and lasting settlement (C) that reunifies Cyprus into a bizonal and bicommunal federation.

(106) These efforts speak to one part of the critical region (B) that surrounds Turkey. (107) And when we consider the challenges before us, on issue after issue, (C) we share common goals.

(108) In the Middle East, (B) we share the goal of a lasting peace between Israel and its neighbors. (109) Let me be clear: (B) The United States strongly supports the goal of two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. (110) That is a goal shared by Palestinians, Israelis, and people of goodwill around the world. (111) That is a goal (B) that the parties agreed to in the road map and at Annapolis. (112) That is a goal (B) that I will actively pursue as President of the United States.

(113) We know the road ahead will be difficult. (B) Both Israelis and Palestinians must take steps (B) that are necessary to build confidence and trust. (114) Both Israelis and Palestinians, both must live up to the commitments they have made. (115) Both must overcome longstanding passions and the politics of the moment to make progress towards a secure and lasting peace.

(116) The United States and Turkey can help the Palestinians and Israelis make this journey. (117) Like the United States, (b) Turkey has been a friend and partner in Israel's quest for security. (118) And like the United States, (b) you seek a future of opportunity and statehood for the Palestinians, so now, working together, (b) we must not give into pessimism and mistrust. (119) We must pursue every opportunity for progress, (b) as you've done by supporting negotiations between Syria and Israel. (120) We must extend a hand to those Palestinians (c) who are in need, (d) while helping them strengthen their own institutions. (121) we must reject the use of terror, and recognize that Israel's security concerns are legitimate.

(122) The peace of the region will also be advanced if (b) Iran forgoes any nuclear weapons ambitions. Now, (c) as I made clear in Prague yesterday, (d) no one is served by the spread of nuclear weapons, least of all Turkey. (123) You live in a difficult region and (b) a nuclear arm race would not serve the security of this nation well. (124) This part of the world has known enough violence. (125) It has known enough hatred. (126) It does not need a race for an ever-more powerful tool of destruction.

(127) Now, I have made it clear to the people and leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran that (b) the United States seeks engagement based on mutual interest and mutual respect. (128) We want Iran to play its rightful role in the community of nations. (129) Iran is a great civilization. (130) We want them to engage in the economic and political integration that (b) brings prosperity and security. (131) But Iran's leaders must choose whether they will try to build a weapon or build a better future for their people.

(132) So both Turkey and the United States support a secure and united Iraq (b) that does not serve as a safe haven for terrorists. (133) I know there were differences about whether to go to war. (134) There were differences within my own country, as well. (135) But now we must come together as (b) we end this war responsibly, (c) because the future of Iraq is inseparable from the future of the broader region. (136) As I've already announced, (b) and many of you are aware, (c) the United States will remove our combat brigades by the end of next August, (d) while working with the Iraqi government as (e) they take responsibility for security. (137) And we will work with Iraq, Turkey, and all Iraq's neighbors, (b) to forge a new dialogue that (c) reconciles differences and advances our common security.

(138) Make no mistake, (b) though: Iraq, Turkey, and the United States face a common threat from terrorism. (139) That includes the al Qaeda terrorists (b) who have sought to drive Iraqis apart and destroy their country. (140) That includes the PKK. (141) There is no excuse for terror against any nation. (Applause.) (142) As President, and as a NATO ally, I pledge that you will have our support against the terrorist activities of the PKK or anyone else. (143) (These efforts will be strengthened by the continued work to build ties of cooperation between Turkey, the Iraqi government, and Iraq's

Kurdish leaders, and by your continued efforts to (b) promote education and opportunity and democracy for the Kurdish population here inside Turkey.

(144) Finally, we share the common goal of denying al Qaeda a safe haven in Pakistan or Afghanistan. (145) The world has come too far (b) to let this region backslide, (c) and to let al Qaeda terrorists plot further attacks. (146) that 's why we are committed to a more focused effort to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda. (147)That is why we are increasing our efforts to train Afghans to sustain their own security, and to reconcile former adversaries.(148) That's why we are increasing our support for the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan, (149) so that we stand on the side not only of security, but also of opportunity and the promise of a better life.

(150) Turkey has been a true partner.(151) Your troops were among the first in the International Security Assistance Force. (152) You have sacrificed much in this endeavor. (153) Now we must achieve our goals together. (154) I appreciate (b) that you've offered to help us train and support Afghan security forces, (c) and expand opportunity across the region. (155) Together, we can rise to meet this challenge like we have so many before.

(156) I know there have been difficulties these last few years.(157) I know that the trust that binds the United States and Turkey has been strained, (b) and I know that strain is shared in many places where (c) the Muslim faith is practiced. (158) So let me say this as clearly (b) as I can: (159)The United States is not, and will never be, at war with Islam. (Applause.) (160) In fact, our partnership with the Muslim world is critical not just in rolling back the violent ideologies(b) that people of all faiths reject, but also to strengthen opportunity for all its people.

(161) I also want to be clear (b) that America's relationship with the Muslim community, (c) the Muslim world, cannot, and will not, just be based upon opposition to terrorism. (162) We seek broader engagement based on mutual interest and mutual respect. (163) We will listen carefully,(b) we will bridge misunderstandings, and (c) we will seek common ground. (164) We will be respectful, (b) even when we do not agree.(165) We will convey our deep appreciation for the Islamic faith, (b) which has done so much over the centuries to shape the world -- including in my own country. (166) The United States has been enriched by Muslim Americans.(167) Many other Americans have Muslims in their families or (b) have lived in a Muslim-majority country –(c) I know, (d) because I am one of them. (Applause.)

(168) Above all, above all we will demonstrate through actions our commitment to (b) a better future.(169) I want to help more children get the education that they need to succeed. (170) We want to promote health care in places where people are vulnerable. (171) We want to expand the trade and investment that can bring prosperity for all people. (172) In the months ahead, I will present specific programs to advance these goals. (173) Our focus will be on what we can do,(b) in partnership with people across the Muslim world, to advance our common hopes and our common dreams. (174) And when people look back on this time, (b) let it be said of America that (c) we extended the hand of friendship to all people.

(175) there's an old Turkish proverb: "You cannot put out fire with flames."(176) America knows this. (177) Turkey knows this.(178) There's some who must be met by force, (b) they will not compromise. (179) But force alone cannot solve our problems, and it is no alternative to extremism. (180) The future must belong to those who create, (b) not those who destroy (181) That is the future we must work for, (b) and we must work for it together.

(182) I know there are those who like to debate Turkey's future. (183) They see your country at the crossroads of continents, (b) and touched by the currents of history. (184) They know that this has been a place where (b) civilizations meet, (c) and different peoples come together. (185) They wonder (b) whether you will be pulled in one direction or another.

(186) But I believe here is what they don't understand: (b) Turkey's greatness lies in your ability to be at the center of things. (187) This is not where East and West divide –(b) this is where they come together. (Applause.) (188) In the beauty of your culture.(189) In the richness of your history. (190) In the strength of your democracy. (191) In your hopes for tomorrow.

(192) I am honored to stand here with you – (b) to look forward to the future (c) that we must reach for together – (d) and to reaffirm America's commitment to our strong and enduring friendship. Thank you very much. (Applause.) Thank you. Thank you.

END

## SPEECH TWO (S2)

### OBAMA'S SPEECH AT CAIRO UNIVERSITY

I am honored to be in the timeless city of Cairo, and to be hosted by two remarkable institutions. For over a thousand years, Al-Azhar has stood as a beacon of Islamic learning, and for over a century, Cairo University has been a source of Egypt's advancement. Together, you represent the harmony between tradition and progress. I am grateful for your hospitality, and the hospitality of the people of Egypt. I am also proud to carry with me the goodwill of the American people, and a greeting of peace from Muslim communities in my country: assalaamu alaykum.

(1) We meet at a time of tension between the United States and Muslims around the world – (2) tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate. (3) The relationship between Islam and the West includes centuries of co-existence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars. (4) More recently, tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim-majority countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations. (5) Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam.

(6) Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims. (7) The attacks of September 11th, 2001 and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence against civilians has led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western countries, but also to human rights. (8) This has bred more fear and mistrust.

(9) So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those who sow hatred rather than peace, and who promote conflict rather than the cooperation that can help all of our people achieve justice and prosperity. (10) This cycle of suspicion and discord must end.

(11) I have come here to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world; one based upon mutual interest and mutual respect; and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive, and need not be in competition. (12) Instead, they overlap, and share common principles – principles of justice and progress; tolerance and the dignity of all human beings.

(13) I do so recognizing that change cannot happen overnight. (14) No single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have all the complex questions that brought us to this point. (15) But I am convinced that in order to move forward, we must say openly the things we hold in our hearts, and that too often are said only behind closed doors. (16) There must be a sustained effort to listen to each other; to learn from each other; to respect one another; and to seek common ground. (17) As the Holy Koran tells us, "Be conscious of God and speak always the truth. (18)" That is what I will try to do – to speak the truth as best I can, humbled by the task before us, and firm in my belief that the interests we share as human beings are far more powerful than the forces that drive us apart.

(19) Part of this conviction is rooted in my own experience. (20) I am a Christian, but my father came from a Kenyan family that includes generations of Muslims. (21) As a boy, I spent several years in Indonesia and heard the call of the azaan at the break of dawn and the fall of dusk. (22) As a young man, I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith.

(23) As a student of history, I also know civilization's debt to Islam. It was Islam – at places like Al-Azhar University – that carried the light of learning through so many centuries, paving the way for Europe's Renaissance and Enlightenment. (24) It was innovation in Muslim communities that developed the order of algebra; our magnetic compass and tools of navigation; our mastery of pens and printing; our understanding of how disease spreads and how it can be healed. Islamic culture has given us majestic arches and soaring spires; timeless poetry and cherished music; elegant calligraphy and places of peaceful contemplation. (25) And throughout history, Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality.

(26) I know, too, that Islam has always been a part of America's story. (27) The first nation to recognize my country was Morocco. (28) In signing the Treaty of Tripoli in 1796, our second President John Adams wrote, "The United States has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquility of Muslims." (29) And since our founding, American Muslims have enriched the United States. (30) They have fought in our wars, served in government, stood for civil rights, started businesses, taught at our Universities, excelled in our sports arenas, won Nobel Prizes, built our tallest building, and lit the Olympic Torch. (31) And when the first Muslim-American was recently elected to Congress, he took

the oath to defend our Constitution using the same Holy Koran that one of our Founding Fathers – Thomas Jefferson – kept in his personal library.

(32) So I have known Islam on three continents before coming to the region where it was first revealed. (33) That experience guides my conviction that partnership between America and Islam must be based on what Islam is, not what it



isn't. (34) And I consider it part of my responsibility as President of the United States to fight against negative stereotypes of Islam wherever they appear.

(35) But that same principle must apply to Muslim perceptions of America. (36) Just as Muslims do not fit a crude stereotype, America is not the crude stereotype of a self-interested empire. (37) The United States has been one of the greatest sources of progress that the world has ever known. (38) We were born out of revolution against an empire. (39) We were founded upon the ideal that all are created equal, and we have shed blood and struggled for centuries to give meaning to those words – within our borders, and around the world. (40) We are shaped by every culture, drawn from every end of the Earth, and dedicated to a simple concept: E pluribus unum: "Out of many, one."

(41) Much has been made of the fact that an African-American with the name Barack Hussein Obama could be elected President. But my personal story is not so unique. (42) The dream of opportunity for all people has not come true for everyone in America, but its promise exists for all who come to our shores – that includes nearly seven million American Muslims in our country today who enjoy incomes and education that are higher than average.

(43) Moreover, freedom in America is indivisible from the freedom to practice one's religion. (44) That is why there is a mosque in every state of our union, and over 1,200 mosques within our borders. (45) That is why the U.S. government has gone to court to protect the right of women and girls to wear the hijab, and to punish those who would deny it.

(46) So let there be no doubt: Islam is a part of America. (47) And I believe that America holds within her the truth that regardless of race, religion, or station in life, all of us share common aspirations – to live in peace and security; to get an education and to work with dignity; to love our families, our communities, and our God. (48) These things we share. (49) This is the hope of all humanity.

(50) Of course, recognizing our common humanity is only the beginning of our task. (51) Words alone cannot meet the needs of our people. (52) These needs will be met only if we act boldly in the years ahead; and if we understand that the challenges we face are shared, and our failure to meet them will hurt us all.

(53) For we have learned from recent experience that when a financial system weakens in one country, prosperity is hurt everywhere. (54) When a new flu infects one human being, all are at risk. (55) When one nation pursues a nuclear weapon, the risk of nuclear attack rises for all nations. (56) When violent extremists operate in one stretch of mountains, people are endangered across an ocean. (57) And when innocents in Bosnia and Darfur are slaughtered, that is a stain on our collective conscience. (58) That is what it means to share this world in the 21st century. (59) That is the responsibility we have to one another as human beings.

(60) This is a difficult responsibility to embrace. (61) For human history has often been a record of nations and tribes subjugating one another to serve their own interests. (62) Yet in this new age, such attitudes are self-defeating. Given our interdependence, any world order that elevates one nation or group of people over another will inevitably fail. So whatever we think of the past, we must not be prisoners of it. (63) Our problems must be dealt with through partnership; progress must be shared.

(64) That does not mean we should ignore sources of tension. (65) Indeed, it suggests the opposite: we must face these tensions squarely. (66) And so in that spirit, let me speak as clearly and plainly as I can about some specific issues that I believe we must finally confront together.

(67) The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all of its forms.

(68) In Ankara, I made clear that America is not – and never will be – at war with Islam. (69) We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security. (70) Because we reject the same thing that people of all faiths reject: the killing of innocent men, women, and children. (71) And it is my first duty as President to protect the American people.

(72) The situation in Afghanistan demonstrates America's goals, and our need to work together. (73) Over seven years ago, the United States pursued al Qaeda and the Taliban with broad international support. (74) We did not go by choice, we went because of necessity. (75) I am aware that some question or justify the events of 9/11. But let us be clear: al Qaeda killed nearly 3,000 people on that day. (76) The victims were innocent men, women and children from America and many other nations who had done nothing to harm anybody. (77) And yet Al Qaeda chose to ruthlessly murder these people, claimed credit for the attack, and even now states their determination to kill on a massive scale. (78) They have affiliates in many countries and are trying to expand their reach. (79) These are not opinions to be debated; these are facts to be dealt with.

(80) Make no mistake: we do not want to keep our troops in Afghanistan. (81) We seek no military bases there. (82) It is agonizing for America to lose our young men and women. (83) It is costly and politically difficult to continue this conflict. (84) We would gladly bring every single one of our troops home if we could be confident that there were not

violent extremists in Afghanistan and Pakistan determined to kill as many Americans as they possibly can. But that is not yet the case.

(85) That's why we're partnering with a coalition of forty-six countries. (86) And despite the costs involved, America's commitment will not weaken. Indeed, none of us should tolerate these extremists. (87) They have killed in many countries. (88) They have killed people of different faiths – more than any other, they have killed Muslims. (89) Their actions are irreconcilable with the rights of human beings, the progress of nations, and with Islam. (90) The Holy Koran teaches that whoever kills an innocent, it is as if he has killed all mankind; and whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind. (91) The enduring faith of over a billion people is so much bigger than the narrow hatred of a few. (92) Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism – it is an important part of promoting peace.

(93) We also know that military power alone is not going to solve the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan. (94) That is why we plan to invest \$1.5 billion each year over the next five years to partner with Pakistanis to build schools and hospitals, roads and businesses, and hundreds of millions to help those who have been displaced. (95) And that is why we are providing more than \$2.8 billion to help Afghans develop their economy and deliver services that people depend upon.

(96) Let me also address the issue of Iraq. Unlike Afghanistan, Iraq was a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country and around the world. (97) Although I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible. (98) Indeed, we can recall the words of Thomas Jefferson, who said: "I hope that our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us that the less we use our power the greater it will be."

(99) Today, America has a dual responsibility: to help Iraq forge a better future – and to leave Iraq to Iraqis. (100) I have made it clear to the Iraqi people that we pursue no bases, and no claim on their territory or resources. (101) Iraq's sovereignty is its own. (102) That is why I ordered the removal of our combat brigades by next August. (103) That is why we will honor our agreement with Iraq's democratically-elected government to remove combat troops from Iraqi cities by July, and to remove all our troops from Iraq by 2012. (104) We will help Iraq train its Security Forces and develop its economy. (105) But we will support a secure and united Iraq as a partner, and never as a patron.

(106) And finally, just as America can never tolerate violence by extremists, we must never alter our principles. (107) 9/11 was an enormous trauma to our country. (108) The fear and anger that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases, it led us to act contrary to our ideals. (109) We are taking concrete actions to change course. (110) I have unequivocally prohibited the use of torture by the United States, and I have ordered the prison at Guantanamo be closed by early next year.

(111) So America will defend itself respectfully of the sovereignty of nations and the rule of law. (112) And we will do so in partnership with Muslim communities which are also threatened. (113) The sooner the extremists are isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities, the sooner we will all be safer.

(114) The second major source of tension that we need to discuss is the situation between Israelis, Palestinians and the Arab world.

(115) America's strong bonds with Israel are well known. (116) This bond is unbreakable. (117) It is based upon cultural and historical ties, and the recognition that the aspiration for a Jewish homeland is rooted in a tragic history that cannot be denied.

(118) Around the world, the Jewish people were persecuted for centuries, and anti-Semitism in Europe culminated in an unprecedented Holocaust. (119) Tomorrow, I will visit Buchenwald, which was part of a network of camps where Jews were enslaved, tortured, shot and gassed to death by the Third Reich. (120) Six million Jews were killed – more than the entire Jewish population of Israel today. (121) Denying that fact is baseless, ignorant, and hateful. (122) Threatening Israel with destruction – or repeating vile stereotypes about Jews – is deeply wrong, and only serves to evoke in the minds of Israelis this most painful of memories while preventing the peace that the people of this region deserve.

(123) On the other hand, it is also undeniable that the Palestinian people – Muslims and Christians – have suffered in pursuit of a homeland. (124) For more than sixty years they have endured the pain of dislocation. (125) Many wait in refugee camps in the West Bank, Gaza, and neighboring lands for a life of peace and security that they have never been able to lead. (126) They endure the daily humiliations – large and small – that come with occupation. (127) So let there be no doubt: the situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable. (128) America will not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own.

(129) For decades, there has been a stalemate: two peoples with legitimate aspirations, each with a painful history that makes compromise elusive. (130) It is easy to point fingers – for Palestinians to point to the displacement brought by Israel's founding, and for Israelis to point to the constant hostility and attacks throughout its history from within its

borders as well as beyond. (131) But if we see this conflict only from one side or the other, then we will be blind to the truth: the only resolution is for the aspirations of both sides to be met through two states, where Israelis and Palestinians each live in peace and security.

(132) That is in Israel's interest, Palestine's interest, America's interest, and the world's interest. (133) That is why I intend to personally pursue this outcome with all the patience that the task requires. (134) The obligations that the parties have agreed to under the Road Map are clear. (135) For peace to come, it is time for them – and all of us – to live up to our responsibilities.

(136) Palestinians must abandon violence. (137) Resistance through violence and killing is wrong and does not succeed. (138) For centuries, black people in America suffered the lash of the whip as slaves and the humiliation of segregation. (139) But it was not violence that won full and equal rights. (140) It was a peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals at the center of America's founding. (141) This same story can be told by people from South Africa to South Asia; from Eastern Europe to Indonesia, it's a story with a simple truth: that violence is a dead end. It is a sign of neither courage nor power to shoot rockets at sleeping children, or to blow up old women on a bus. (142) That is not how moral authority is claimed; that is how it is surrendered.

(143) Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what they can build. (144) The Palestinian Authority must develop its capacity to govern, with institutions that serve the needs of its people. (145) Hamas does have support among some Palestinians, but they also have responsibilities. (146) To play a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations, and to unify the Palestinian people. (147) Hamas must put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, and recognize Israel's right to exist.

(148) At the same time, Israelis must acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine's. (149) The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements. (150) This construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace. (151) It is time for these settlements to stop.

(152) Israel must also live up to its obligations to ensure that Palestinians can live, and work, and develop their society. (153) And just as it devastates Palestinian families, the continuing humanitarian crisis in Gaza does not serve Israel's security; neither does the continuing lack of opportunity in the West Bank. (154) Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be part of a road to peace, and Israel must take concrete steps to enable such progress.

(155) Finally, the Arab States must recognize that the Arab Peace Initiative was an important beginning, but not the end of their responsibilities. (156) The Arab-Israeli conflict should no longer be used to distract the people of Arab nations from other problems. (157) Instead, it must be a cause for action to help the Palestinian people develop the institutions that will sustain their state; to recognize Israel's legitimacy; and to choose progress over a self-defeating focus on the past.

(158) America will align our policies with those who pursue peace, and say in public what we say in private to Israelis and Palestinians and Arabs. (159) We cannot impose peace. (160) But privately, many Muslims recognize that Israel will not go away. Likewise, many Israelis recognize the need for a Palestinian state. (161) It is time for us to act on what everyone knows to be true.

(162) Too many tears have flowed. (163) Too much blood has been shed. (164) All of us have a responsibility to work for the day when the mothers of Israelis and Palestinians can see their children grow up without fear; when the Holy Land of three great faiths is the place of peace that God intended it to be; when Jerusalem is a secure and lasting home for Jews and Christians and Muslims, and a place for all of the children of Abraham to mingle peacefully together as in the story of Isra, when Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed (peace be upon them) joined in prayer.

(165) The third source of tension is our shared interest in the rights and responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons.

(166) This issue has been a source of tension between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran. (167) For many years, Iran has defined itself in part by its opposition to my country, and there is indeed a tumultuous history between us. In the middle of the Cold War, the United States played a role in the overthrow of a democratically-elected Iranian government. (168) Since the Islamic Revolution, Iran has played a role in acts of hostage-taking and violence against U.S. troops and civilians. (169) This history is well known. (170) Rather than remain trapped in the past, I have made it clear to Iran's leaders and people that my country is prepared to move forward. (171) The question, now, is not what Iran is against, but rather what future it wants to build.

(172) It will be hard to overcome decades of mistrust, but we will proceed with courage, rectitude and resolve. (173) There will be many issues to discuss between our two countries, and we are willing to move forward without preconditions on the basis of mutual respect. (174) But it is clear to all concerned that when it comes to nuclear weapons, we have reached a decisive point. (175) This is not simply about America's interests. (176) It is about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world down a hugely dangerous path.

(177) I understand those who protest that some countries have weapons that others do not. (178) No single nation should pick and choose which nations hold nuclear weapons. (179) That is why I strongly reaffirmed America's commitment to seek a world in which no nations hold nuclear weapons. (180) And any nation – including Iran – should have the right to access peaceful nuclear power if it complies with its responsibilities under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. (181) That commitment is at the core of the Treaty, and it must be kept for all who fully abide by it. (182) And I am hopeful that all countries in the region can share in this goal.

(183)The fourth issue that I will address is democracy.

(184) I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq. (185) So let me be clear: no system of government can or should be imposed upon one nation by any other.

(186) That does not lessen my commitment, however, to governments that reflect the will of the people. (187) Each nation gives life to this principle in its own way, grounded in the traditions of its own people. (188) America does not presume to know what is best for everyone, just as we would not presume to pick the outcome of a peaceful election. (189) But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose. (190) Those are not just American ideas, they are human rights, and that is why we will support them everywhere.

(191) There is no straight line to realize this promise. (192) But this much is clear: governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful and secure. (193) Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away. (194) America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them. (195) And we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments – provided they govern with respect for all their people.

(196) This last point is important because there are some who advocate for democracy only when they are out of power; once in power, they are ruthless in suppressing the rights of others. (197) No matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single standard for all who hold power: you must maintain your power through consent, not coercion; you must respect the rights of minorities, and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise; you must place the interests of your people and the legitimate workings of the political process above your party. (198) Without these ingredients, elections alone do not make true democracy.

(199)The fifth issue that we must address together is religious freedom.

(200) Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance. (201) We see it in the history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition. (202) I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim country. (203) That is the spirit we need today. (204) People in every country should be free to choose and live their faith based upon the persuasion of the mind, heart, and soul. (205) This tolerance is essential for religion to thrive, but it is being challenged in many different ways.

(206) Among some Muslims, there is a disturbing tendency to measure one's own faith by the rejection of another's. (207) The richness of religious diversity must be upheld – whether it is for Maronites in Lebanon or the Copts in Egypt. (208) And fault lines must be closed among Muslims as well, as the divisions between Sunni and Shia have led to tragic violence, particularly in Iraq.

(209) Freedom of religion is central to the ability of peoples to live together. (210) We must always examine the ways in which we protect it. (211) For instance, in the United States, rules on charitable giving have made it harder for Muslims to fulfill their religious obligation. (212) That is why I am committed to working with American Muslims to ensure that they can fulfill zakat.

(213) Likewise, it is important for Western countries to avoid impeding Muslim citizens from practicing religion as they see fit – for instance, by dictating what clothes a Muslim woman should wear. (214) We cannot disguise hostility towards any religion behind the pretence of liberalism.

(215) Indeed, faith should bring us together. (216) That is why we are forging service projects in America that bring together Christians, Muslims, and Jews. (217) That is why we welcome efforts like Saudi Arabian King Abdullah's Interfaith dialogue and Turkey's leadership in the Alliance of Civilizations. (218) Around the world, we can turn dialogue into Interfaith service, so bridges between peoples lead to action – whether it is combating malaria in Africa, or providing relief after a natural disaster.

(219) The sixth issue that I want to address is women's rights.

(220) I know there is debate about this issue. (221) I reject the view of some in the West that a woman who chooses to cover her hair is somehow less equal, but I do believe that a woman who is denied an education is denied equality. And it is no coincidence that countries where women are well-educated are far more likely to be prosperous.

(222) Now let me be clear: issues of women's equality are by no means simply an issue for Islam. (223) In Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia, we have seen Muslim-majority countries elect a woman to lead. Meanwhile, the struggle for women's equality continues in many aspects of American life, and in countries around the world.

(224) Our daughters can contribute just as much to society as our sons, and our common prosperity will be advanced by allowing all humanity – men and women – to reach their full potential. (225) I do not believe that women must make the same choices as men in order to be equal, and I respect those women who choose to live their lives in traditional roles. But it should be their choice. (226) That is why the United States will partner with any Muslim-majority country to support expanded literacy for girls, and to help young women pursue employment through micro-financing that helps people live their dreams.

(227) Finally, I want to discuss economic development and opportunity.

(228) I know that for many, the face of globalization is contradictory. (229) The Internet and television can bring knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence. (230) Trade can bring new wealth and opportunities, but also huge disruptions and changing communities. (231) In all nations – including my own – this change can bring fear. (232) Fear that because of modernity we will lose of control over our economic choices, our politics, and most importantly our identities – (233) those things we most cherish about our communities, our families, our traditions, and our faith.

(234) But I also know that human progress cannot be denied. (235) There need not be contradiction between (236) development and tradition. (237) Countries like Japan and South Korea grew their economies while maintaining distinct cultures. (238) The same is true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai. (239) In ancient times and in our times, Muslim communities have been at the forefront of innovation and education.

(240) This is important because no development strategy can be based only upon what comes out of the ground, nor can it be sustained while young people are out of work. (241) Many Gulf States have enjoyed great wealth as a consequence of oil, and some are beginning to focus it on broader development. (242) But all of us must recognize that education and innovation will be the currency of the 21st century, and in too many Muslim communities there remains underinvestment in these areas. (243) I am emphasizing such investments within my country. (244) And while America in the past has focused on oil and gas in this part of the world, we now seek a broader engagement.

(245) On education, we will expand exchange programs, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America, while encouraging more Americans to study in Muslim communities. (246) And we will match promising Muslim students with internships in America; invest in on-line learning for teachers and children around the world; and create a new online network, so a teenager in Kansas can communicate instantly with a teenager in Cairo.

(247) On economic development, we will create a new corps of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim-majority countries. (248) And I will host a Summit on Entrepreneurship this year to identify how we can deepen ties between business leaders, foundations and social entrepreneurs in the United States and Muslim communities around the world

(249) On science and technology, we will launch a new fund to support technological development in Muslim-majority countries, and to help transfer ideas to the marketplace so they can create jobs. (250) We will open centers of scientific excellence in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and appoint new Science Envoys to collaborate on programs that develop new sources of energy, create green jobs, digitize records, clean water, and grow new crops. (251) And today I am announcing a new global effort with the Organization of the Islamic Conference to eradicate polio. (252) And we will also expand partnerships with Muslim communities to promote child and maternal health.

(253) All these things must be done in partnership. (254) Americans are ready to join with citizens and governments; community organizations, religious leaders, and businesses in Muslim communities around the world to help our people pursue a better life.

(255) The issues that I have described will not be easy to address. (256) But we have a responsibility to join together on behalf of the world we seek – a world where extremists no longer threaten our people, and American troops have come home; a world where Israelis and Palestinians are each secure in a state of their own, and nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes; a world where governments serve their citizens, and the rights of all God's children are respected. (257) Those are mutual interests. (258) That is the world we seek. But we can only achieve it together.

(259) I know there are many – Muslim and non-Muslim – who question whether we can forge this new beginning. (260) Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to stand in the way of progress. (261) Some suggest that it isn't worth the effort – that we are fated to disagree, and civilizations are doomed to clash. (262) Many more are simply skeptical that real change can occur. (263) There is so much fear, so much mistrust. (264) But if we choose to be bound by the past, we

will never move forward. (265) And I want to particularly say this to young people of every faith, in every country – you, more than anyone, have the ability to remake this world.

(266) All of us share this world for but a brief moment in time. (267) The question is whether we spend that time focused on what pushes us apart, or whether we commit ourselves to an effort – a sustained effort – to find common ground, to focus on the future we seek for our children, and to respect the dignity of all human beings.

(268) It is easier to start wars than to end them. (269) It is easier to blame others than to look inward; to see what is different about someone than to find the things we share. (270) But we should choose the right path, not just the easy path. (271) There is also one rule that lies at the heart of every religion – that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. (272) This truth transcends nations and peoples – a belief that isn't new; that isn't black or white or brown; that isn't Christian, or Muslim or Jew. (273) It's a belief that pulsed in the cradle of civilization, and that still beats in the heart of billions. (274) it's a faith in other people, and it's what brought me here today.

(275) We have the power to make the world we seek, but only if we have the courage to make a new beginning, keeping in mind what has been written.

(276) The Holy Koran tells us, "O mankind! We have created you male and a female; and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another."

(277) The Talmud tells us: "The whole of the Torah is for the purpose of promoting peace."

(278) The Holy Bible tells us, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God."

(279) The people of the world can live together in peace. (280) We know that is God's vision. (281) Now, that must be our work here on Earth. Thank you. (282) And may God's peace be upon you.

### SPEECH THREE (S3)

#### OBAMA'S SPEECH AT JAKARTA UNIVERSITY

Terima kasih. Terima kasih, thank you so much, thank you, everybody. Selamat pagi. (Applause.) It is wonderful to be here at the University of Indonesia. To the faculty and the staff and the students, and to Dr. Gumilar Rusliwa Somantri, thank you so much for your hospitality. (Applause.)

Assalamualaikum dan salam sejahtera. Thank you for this wonderful welcome. Thank you to the people of Jakarta and thank you to the people of Indonesia.

Pulang kampung nih. (Applause.) (2) I am so glad that I made it back to Indonesia and that Michelle was able to join me. (3) We had a couple of false starts this year, but I was determined to visit a country that's meant so much to me. (4) And unfortunately, this visit is too short, but I look forward to coming back a year from now when Indonesia hosts the East Asia Summit. (Applause.)

(5) Before I go any further, I want to say that our thoughts and prayers are with all of those Indonesians who are affected by the recent tsunami and the volcanic eruptions -- particularly those who've lost loved ones, and those who've been displaced. (6) And I want you all to know that as always, the United States stands with Indonesia in responding to natural disasters, and we are pleased to be able to help as needed. (7) As neighbors help neighbors and families take in the displaced,. (8) I know that the strength and the resilience of the Indonesian people will pull you through once more.

(9) Let me begin with a simple statement: Indonesia bagian dari didi saya. (10) (Applause.) I first came to this country when my mother married an Indonesian named Lolo Soetoro. (11) And as a young boy I was -- as a young boy I was coming to a different world. (12) But the people of Indonesia quickly made me feel at home.

(13) Jakarta -- now, Jakarta looked very different in those days. (14) The city was filled with buildings that were no more than a few stories tall. (15) This was back in 1967, '68 -- most of you weren't born yet. (Laughter.) (16) The Hotel Indonesia was one of the few high rises, and there was just one big department store called Sarinah. (17) That was it. (Applause.) (18) Betchaks and bemos, that's how you got around. (19) They outnumbered automobiles in those days. (20) And you didn't have all the big highways that you have today. (21) Most of them gave way to unpaved roads and the kampongs.

(22) So we moved to Menteng Dalam, where -- (applause) -- hey, some folks from Menteng Dalam right here. (Applause.) (104) And we lived in a small house. (23) We had a mango tree out front. (24) And I learned to love Indonesia while flying kites and running along the paddy fields and catching dragonflies, buying satay and baso from the street vendors. (Applause.) I still remember the call of the vendors. (25) Satay! (Laughter.) I remember that. Baso! (Laughter.) (26) But most of all, I remember the people -- the old men and women who welcomed us with smiles; the children who made a foreign child feel like a neighbor and a friend; and the teachers who helped me learn about this country.

(27) Because Indonesia is made up of thousands of islands, and hundreds of languages, and people from scores of regions and ethnic groups, my time here helped me appreciate the common humanity of all people. (28) And while my stepfather, like most Indonesians, was raised a Muslim, he firmly believed that all religions were worthy of respect. (29) And in this way -- (applause) -- in this way he reflected the spirit of religious tolerance that is enshrined in Indonesia's Constitution, and that remains one of this country's defining and inspiring characteristics. (Applause.)

(30) Now, I stayed here for four years -- a time that helped shape my childhood; a time that saw the birth of my wonderful sister, Maya; a time that made such an impression on my mother that she kept returning to Indonesia over the next 20 years to live and to work and to travel -- and to pursue her passion of promoting opportunity in Indonesia's villages, especially opportunity for women and for girls. (31) And I was so honored -- (applause) -- (32) I was so honored when President Yudhoyono last night at the state dinner presented an award on behalf of my mother, recognizing the work that she did. (33) And she would have been so proud, because my mother held Indonesia and its people very close to her heart for her entire life. (Applause.)

(34) So much has changed in the four decades since I boarded a plane to move back to Hawaii. (35) If you asked me -- or any of my schoolmates who knew me back then -- I don't think any of us could have anticipated that one day I would come back to Jakarta as the President of the United States. (36) (Applause.) And few could have anticipated the remarkable story of Indonesia over these last four decades.

(37) The Jakarta that I once knew has grown into a teeming city of nearly 10 million, with skyscrapers that dwarf the Hotel Indonesia, and thriving centers of culture and of commerce. (38) While my Indonesian friends and I used to run in fields with water buffalo and goats -- (laughter) -- a new generation of Indonesians is among the most wired in the world -

- connected through cell phones and social networks. (39) And while Indonesia as a young nation focused inward, a growing Indonesia now plays a key role in the Asia Pacific and in the global economy. (Applause.)

(40) Now, this change also extends to politics. (41) When my stepfather was a boy, he watched his own father and older brother leave home to fight and die in the struggle for Indonesian independence. (42) And I'm happy to be here on Heroes Day to honor the memory of so many Indonesians who have sacrificed on behalf of this great country. (Applause.)

(43) When I moved to Jakarta, it was 1967, and it was a time that had followed great suffering and conflict in parts of this country. (44) And even though my stepfather had served in the Army, the violence and killing during that time of political upheaval was largely unknown to me because it was unspoken by my Indonesian family and friends. (45) In my household, like so many others across Indonesia, the memories of that time were an invisible presence. (46) Indonesians had their independence, but oftentimes they were afraid to speak their minds about issues.

(47) In the years since then, Indonesia has charted its own course through an extraordinary democratic transformation -- from the rule of an iron fist to the rule of the people. (48) In recent years, the world has watched with hope and admiration as Indonesians embraced the peaceful transfer of power and the direct election of leaders. (49) And just as your democracy is symbolized by your elected President and legislature, your democracy is sustained and fortified by its checks and balances: a dynamic civil society; political parties and unions; a vibrant media and engaged citizens who have ensured that -- in Indonesia -- there will be no turning back from democracy.

(50) But even as this land of my youth has changed in so many ways, those things that I learned to love about Indonesia -- that spirit of tolerance that is written into your Constitution; symbolized in mosques and churches and temples standing alongside each other; that spirit that's embodied in your people -- that still lives on. (Applause.) Bhinneka Tunggal Ika -- unity in diversity. (51) (Applause.) This is the foundation of Indonesia's example to the world, and this is why Indonesia will play such an important part in the 21st century.

(52) So today, I return to Indonesia as a friend, but also as a President who seeks a deep and enduring partnership between our two countries. (53) (Applause.) Because as vast and diverse countries; as neighbors on either side of the Pacific; and above all as democracies -- the United States and Indonesia are bound together by shared interests and shared values.

(54) Yesterday, President Yudhoyono and I announced a new Comprehensive Partnership between the United States and Indonesia. (55) We are increasing ties between our governments in many different areas, and -- just as importantly -- we are increasing ties among our people. (56) This is a partnership of equals, grounded in mutual interests and mutual respect.

(57) So with the rest of my time today, I'd like to talk about why the story I just told -- the story of Indonesia since the days when I lived here -- is so important to the United States and to the world. (58) I will focus on three areas that are closely related, and fundamental to human progress -- development, democracy and religious faith.

(59) First, the friendship between the United States and Indonesia can advance our mutual interest in development.

(60) When I moved to Indonesia, it would have been hard to imagine a future in which the prosperity of families in Chicago and Jakarta would be connected. (61) But our economies are now global, and Indonesians have experienced both the promise and the perils of globalization: from the shock of the Asian financial crisis in the '90s, to the millions lifted out of poverty because of increased trade and commerce. (62) What that means -- and what we learned in the recent economic crisis -- is that we have a stake in each other's success.

(63) America has a stake in Indonesia growing and developing, with prosperity that is broadly shared among the Indonesian people -- because a rising middle class here in Indonesia means new markets for our goods, just as America is a market for goods coming from Indonesia. (64) So we are investing more in Indonesia, and our exports have grown by nearly 50 percent, and we are opening doors for Americans and Indonesians to do business with one another.

(65) America has a stake in an Indonesia that plays its rightful role in shaping the global economy. Gone are the days when seven or eight countries would come together to determine the direction of global markets. (66) That's why the G20 is now the center of international economic cooperation, so that emerging economies like Indonesia have a greater voice and also bear greater responsibility for guiding the global economy. (67) And through its leadership of the G20's anti-corruption group, Indonesia should lead on the world stage and by example in embracing transparency and accountability. (Applause.)

(68) America has a stake in an Indonesia that pursues sustainable development, because the way we grow will determine the quality of our lives and the health of our planet. (69) And that's why we're developing clean energy technologies that can power industry and preserve Indonesia's precious natural resources -- (70) -- and America welcomes your country's strong leadership in the global effort to combat climate change.



(71) Above all, America has a stake in the success of the Indonesian people. (72) Underneath the headlines of the day, we must build bridges between our people, because our future security and prosperity is shared. (73) And that is exactly what we're doing -- by increasing collaboration among our scientists and researchers, and by working together to foster entrepreneurship. (74) And I'm especially pleased that we have committed to double the number of American and Indonesian students studying in our respective countries. (75) (Applause.) We want more Indonesian students in American schools, and we want more American students to come study in this country. (Applause.) (76) We want to forge new ties and greater understanding between young people in this young century.

(77) These are the issues that really matter in our daily lives. (78) Development, after all, is not simply about growth rates and numbers on a balance sheet. (79) It's about whether a child can learn the skills they need to make it in a changing world. (80) It's about whether a good idea is allowed to grow into a business, and not suffocated by corruption. (81) It's about whether those forces that have transformed the Jakarta I once knew -- technology and trade and the flow of people and goods -- can translate into a better life for all Indonesians, for all human beings, a life marked by dignity and opportunity.

(82) Now, this kind of development is inseparable from the role of democracy.

(83) Today, we sometimes hear that democracy stands in the way of economic progress. (84) This is not a new argument. (85) Particularly in times of change and economic uncertainty, some will say that it is easier to take a shortcut to development by trading away the right of human beings for the power of the state. (86) But that's not what I saw on my trip to India, and that is not what I see here in Indonesia. (87) Your achievements demonstrate that democracy and development reinforce one another.

(180) Like any democracy, you have known setbacks along the way. (88) America is no different. (89) Our own Constitution spoke of the effort to forge a "more perfect union," and that is a journey that we've traveled ever since. (90) We've endured civil war and we struggled to extend equal rights to all of our citizens. (91) But it is precisely this effort that has allowed us to become stronger and more prosperous, while also becoming a more just and a more free society.

(92) Like other countries that emerged from colonial rule in the last century, Indonesia struggled and sacrificed for the right to determine your destiny. (93) That is what Heroes Day is all about -- an Indonesia that belongs to Indonesians. (94) But you also ultimately decided that freedom cannot mean replacing the strong hand of a colonizer with a strongman of your own.

(95) Of course, democracy is messy. (96) Not everyone likes the results of every election. (97) You go through your ups and downs. (98) But the journey is worthwhile, and it goes beyond casting a ballot. (99) It takes strong institutions to check the power -- the concentration of power. (100) It takes open markets to allow individuals to thrive. (101) It takes a free press and an independent justice system to root out abuses and excess, and to insist on accountability. (102) It takes open society and active citizens to reject inequality and injustice.

(103) These are the forces that will propel Indonesia forward. (104) And it will require a refusal to tolerate the corruption that stands in the way of opportunity; a commitment to transparency that gives every Indonesian a stake in their government; and a belief that the freedom of Indonesians -- that Indonesians have fought for is what holds this great nation together.

(105) That is the message of the Indonesians who have advanced this democratic story -- from those who fought in the Battle of Surabaya 55 years ago today; to the students who marched peacefully for democracy in the 1990s; to leaders who have embraced the peaceful transition of power in this young century. (106) Because ultimately, it will be the rights of citizens that will stitch together this remarkable Nusantara that stretches from Sabang to Merauke, an insistence -- (applause) -- an insistence that every child born in this country should be treated equally, whether they come from Java or Aceh; from Bali or Papua. (Applause.) (107) That all Indonesians have equal rights.

(108) That effort extends to the example that Indonesia is now setting abroad. Indonesia took the initiative to establish the Bali Democracy Forum, an open forum for countries to share their experiences and best practices in fostering democracy. (109) Indonesia has also been at the forefront of pushing for more attention to human rights within ASEAN. (110) The nations of Southeast Asia must have the right to determine their own destiny, and the United States will strongly support that right. (111) But the people of Southeast Asia must have the right to determine their own destiny as well. (112) And that's why we condemned elections in Burma recently that were neither free nor fair. (113) That is why we are supporting your vibrant civil society in working with counterparts across this region. (114) Because there's no reason why respect for human rights should stop at the border of any country.

(115) Hand in hand, that is what development and democracy are about -- the notion that certain values are universal. Prosperity without freedom is just another form of poverty. (116) Because there are aspirations that human beings share -- the liberty of knowing that your leader is accountable to you, and that you won't be locked up for disagreeing with them; the opportunity to get an education and to be able to work with dignity; the freedom to practice your faith without fear or restriction. (117) Those are universal values that must be observed everywhere.

(118) Now, religion is the final topic that I want to address today, and -- like democracy and development -- it is fundamental to the Indonesian story.

(119) Like the other Asian nations that I'm visiting on this trip, Indonesia is steeped in spirituality -- a place where people worship God in many different ways. (120) Along with this rich diversity, it is also home to the world's largest Muslim population -- a truth I came to know as a boy when I heard the call to prayer across Jakarta.

(121) Just as individuals are not defined solely by their faith, Indonesia is defined by more than its Muslim population. (121) But we also know that relations between the United States and Muslim communities have frayed over many years. (122) As President, I have made it a priority to begin to repair these relations. (Applause.) (123) As part of that effort, I went to Cairo last June, and I called for a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world -- one that creates a path for us to move beyond our differences.

(124) I said then, and I will repeat now, that no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust. But I believed then, and I believe today, that we do have a choice. (125) We can choose to be defined by our differences, and give in to a future of suspicion and mistrust. (126) Or we can choose to do the hard work of forging common ground, and commit ourselves to the steady pursuit of progress. (127) And I can promise you -- no matter what setbacks may come, the United States is committed to human progress. (128) That is who we are. (129) That is what we've done. (130) And that is what we will do. (Applause.)

(131) Now, we know well the issues that have caused tensions for many years -- and these are issues that I addressed in Cairo. (132) In the 17 months that have passed since that speech, we have made some progress, but we have much more work to do.

(133) Innocent civilians in America, in Indonesia and across the world are still targeted by violent extremism. (134) I made clear that America is not, and never will be, at war with Islam. Instead, all of us must work together to defeat al Qaeda and its affiliates, who have no claim to be leaders of any religion --- certainly not a great, world religion like Islam. (135) But those who want to build must not cede ground to terrorists who seek to destroy. (136) And this is not a task for America alone. (137) Indeed, here in Indonesia, you've made progress in rooting out extremists and combating such violence.

(138) In Afghanistan, we continue to work with a coalition of nations to build the capacity of the Afghan government to secure its future. (139) Our shared interest is in building peace in a war-torn land -- a peace that provides no safe haven for violent extremists, and that provide hope for the Afghan people.

(140) Meanwhile, we've made progress on one of our core commitments -- our effort to end the war in Iraq. (141) Nearly 100,000 American troops have now left Iraq under my presidency. (142) (Applause.) Iraqis have taken full responsibility for their security. (143) And we will continue to support Iraq as it forms an inclusive government, and we will bring all of our troops home.

(144) In the Middle East, we have faced false starts and setbacks, but we've been persistent in our pursuit of peace. Israelis and Palestinians restarted direct talks, but enormous obstacles remain. (145) There should be no illusion that peace and security will come easy. (146) But let there be no doubt: America will spare no effort in working for the outcome that is just, and that is in the interests of all the parties involved -- two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. (147) That is our goal. (Applause.)

(148) The stakes are high in resolving all of these issues. (149) For our world has grown smaller, and while those forces that connect us have unleashed opportunity and great wealth, they also empower those who seek to derail progress. (150) One bomb in a marketplace can obliterate the bustle of daily commerce. (151) One whispered rumor can obscure the truth and set off violence between communities that once lived together in peace. (152) In an age of rapid change and colliding cultures, what we share as human beings can sometimes be lost.

(153) But I believe that the history of both America and Indonesia should give us hope. (154) It is a story written into our national mottos. (155) In the United States, our motto is E pluribus unum -- out of many, one. (156) Bhinneka Tunggal Ika -- unity in diversity. (Applause.) (157) We are two nations, which have traveled different paths. (158) Yet our nations show that hundreds of millions who hold different beliefs can be united in freedom under one flag. (159) And we are now building on that shared humanity -- through young people who will study in each other's schools; through the entrepreneurs forging ties that can lead to greater prosperity; and through our embrace of fundamental democratic values and human aspirations.

(160) Before I came here, I visited Istiqlal mosque -- a place of worship that was still under construction when I lived in Jakarta. (161) And I admired its soaring minaret and its imposing dome and welcoming space. (162) But its name and history also speak to what makes Indonesia great. (163) Istiqlal means independence, and its construction was in part a testament to the nation's struggle for freedom. (164) Moreover, this house of worship for many thousands of Muslims was designed by a Christian architect. (Applause.)

(165) Such is Indonesia's spirit. (166) Such is the message of Indonesia's inclusive philosophy, Pancasila. (Applause.) (167) Across an archipelago that contains some of God's most beautiful creations, islands rising above an ocean named for peace, people choose to worship God as they please. (168) Islam flourishes, but so do other faiths. Development is strengthened by an emerging democracy. (169) Ancient traditions endure, even as a rising power is on the move.

(170) That is not to say that Indonesia is without imperfections. (171) No country is. But here we can find the ability to bridge divides of race and region and religion -- by the ability to see yourself in other people. (172) As a child of a different race who came here from a distant country, I found this spirit in the greeting that I received upon moving here: Selamat Datang. (173) As a Christian visiting a mosque on this visit, I found it in the words of a leader who was asked about my visit and said, "Muslims are also allowed in churches. (174) We are all God's followers."

(175) That spark of the divine lives within each of us. (176) We cannot give in to doubt or cynicism or despair. (177) The stories of Indonesia and America should make us optimistic, because it tells us that history is on the side of human progress; that unity is more powerful than division; and that the people of this world can live together in peace. (178) May our two nations, working together, with faith and determination, share these truths with all mankind.

(179) Sebagai penutup, saya mengucapkan kepada seluruh rakyat Indonesia: terima kasih atas. Terima kasih. Assalamualaikum. Thank you.

## SPEECH FOUR (S4)

### OBAMA'S SPEECH AT THE UNITED NATIONS

I want to thank Hillary Clinton, who has traveled so much these last six months that she is approaching a new landmark -- one million frequent flyer miles. I count on Hillary every day, and I believe that she will go down as of the finest Secretaries of State in our nation's history.

(1)The State Department is a fitting venue to (B) mark a new chapter in American diplomacy. (2)For six months, we have witnessed an extraordinary change take place in the Middle East and North Africa. (3) Square by square; town by town; country by country; the people have risen up to demand their basic human rights.(4) Two leaders have stepped aside. (5) More may follow. (6) And though these countries may be a great distance from our shores,(B) we know (C) that our own future is bound to this region by the forces of economics and security; history and faith.

(7) Today, I would like to talk about this change -- (B) the forces that are driving it,(c) and how we can respond in a way (d) that advances our values and strengthens our security. (8) Already, we have done much to shift our foreign policy following a decade defined by two costly conflicts.(9) After years of war in Iraq, we have removed 100,000 American troops (b) and ended our combat mission there.(10) In Afghanistan, we have broken the Taliban's momentum, (b) and this July we will begin to bring our troops home and (c) continue transition to Afghan lead. (11) And after years of war against al Qaeda and its affiliates, we have dealt al Qaeda a huge blow by killing its leader -- Osama bin Laden.

(12) Bin Laden was no martyr. (13) He was a mass murderer (b) who offered a message of hate -- an insistence (c) that Muslims had to take up arms against the West, and (d) that violence against men, women and children was the only path to change. (14) He rejected democracy and individual rights for Muslims in favor of violent extremism; (b) this agenda focused on what he could destroy -- (c) not what he could build.

(15) Bin Laden and his murderous vision won some adherents. (16) But even before his death, al Qaeda was losing its struggle for relevance, (b) as the overwhelming majority of people saw (c) that the slaughter of innocents did not answer their cries for a better life.(17) By the time we found bin Laden,(b) al Qaeda's agenda had come to be seen by the vast majority of the region as a dead end, (c) and the people of the Middle East and North Africa had taken their future into their own hands.

(18) That story of self-determination began six months ago in Tunisia. (19) On December 17, a young vendor named Mohammed Bouazizi was devastated (b) when a police officer confiscated his cart.(20) This was not unique. (21) It is the same kind of humiliation (b) that takes place every day in many parts of the world --(c) the relentless tyranny of governments that deny their citizens dignity. (22) Only this time, something different happened. (23) After local officials refused to hear his complaint, (b) this young man (c) who had never been particularly active in politics went to the headquarters of the provincial government, (d) doused himself in fuel, and lit himself on fire.

(24) Sometimes, in the course of history, the actions of ordinary citizens spark movements for change because (b) they speak to a longing for freedom (c) that has built up for years. (25) In America, think of the defiance of those patriots in Boston (b) who refused to pay taxes to a King, or (c) the dignity of Rosa Parks (d) as she sat courageously in her seat. (26) So it was in Tunisia, as that vendor's act of desperation tapped into the frustration felt throughout the country. (27) Hundreds of protesters took to the streets, then thousands. (28) And in the face of batons and sometimes bullets, they refused to go home -- day after day, week after week, until (b) a dictator of more than two decades finally left power.

(29) The story of this Revolution, and the ones that followed, should not have come as a surprise. (30) The nations of the Middle East and North Africa won their independence long ago, (b) but in too many places their people did not. (31) In too many countries, power has been concentrated in the hands of the few. (32) In too many countries, a citizen like that young vendor had nowhere to turn --(b) no honest judiciary to hear his case; (c) no independent media to give him voice; (e) no credible political party to represent his views; no free and fair election (f) where he could choose his leader.

(33) This lack of self-determination --the chance to make of your life (b) what you will -- has applied to the region's economy as well. (34) Yes, some nations are blessed with wealth in oil and gas, and (b) that has led to pockets of prosperity. (35) But in a global economy based on knowledge and innovation, no development strategy can be based solely upon (b) what comes out of the ground. (36) Nor can people reach their potential (37) when you cannot start a business without paying a bribe.

(38) In the face of these challenges, too many leaders in the region tried to direct their people's grievances elsewhere. (39) The West was blamed as the source of all ills, a half century after the end of colonialism. (40) Antagonism toward Israel became the only acceptable outlet for political expression. (41) Divisions of tribe, ethnicity and religious sect were manipulated as a means of holding on to power, or (b) taking it away from somebody else.

(42) But the events of the past six months show us that strategies of repression and diversion won't work anymore. (43) Satellite television and the Internet provide a window into the wider world -- a world of astonishing progress in places like India, Indonesia and Brazil. (44) Cell phones and social networks allow young people to connect and organize like never before. (45) A new generation has emerged. (46) And their voices tell us (b) that change cannot be denied. (47) In Cairo, we heard the voice of the young mother who said, "It's like I can finally breathe fresh air for the first time." (48) In Sanaa, we heard the students who chanted, "The night must come to an end."

(49) In Benghazi, we heard the engineer who said, "Our words are free now. It's a feeling you can't explain."

(50) In Damascus, we heard the young man who said, "After the first yelling, the first shout, you feel dignity."

(51) Those shouts of human dignity are being heard across the region. (52) And through the moral force of non-violence, the people of the region have achieved more change in six months than (b) terrorists have accomplished in decades.

(53) Of course, change of this magnitude does not come easily. (54) In our day and age -- a time of 24 hour news cycles, and constant communication -- (b) people expect the transformation of the region to be resolved in a matter of weeks. (55) But it will be years (b) before this story reaches its end. (56) Along the way, there will be good days, and bad days. (57) In some places, change will be swift; in others, gradual. (58) And as we have seen, (b) calls for change may give way to fierce contests for power.

(59) The question before us is what role America will play as this story unfolds. (60) For decades, the United States has pursued a set of core interests in the region: (b) countering terrorism and (c) stopping the spread of nuclear weapons; (d) securing the free flow of commerce, (e ) and safe-guarding the security of the region; (f) standing up for Israel's security and pursuing Arab-Israeli peace.

(61) We will continue to do these things, (b) with the firm belief that America's interests are not hostile to peoples' hopes; (c) they are essential to them. (62) We believe (b) that no one benefits from a nuclear arms race in the region, or al Qaeda's brutal attacks. (63) People everywhere would see their economies crippled by a cut off in energy supplies. (64) As we did in the Gulf War, (b) we will not tolerate aggression across borders, (c) and we will keep our commitments to friends and partners.

(65) Yet we must acknowledge (b) that a strategy based solely upon the narrow pursuit of these interests will not fill an empty stomach (c) or allow someone to speak their mind. (66) Moreover, failure to speak to the broader aspirations of ordinary people will only feed the suspicion (b) that has festered for years (c) that the United States pursues our own interests at their expense. (67) Given that this mistrust runs both ways -- (b) as Americans have been seared by hostage taking, violent rhetoric, and terrorist attacks (c) that have killed thousands of our citizens -- (d) a failure to change our approach threatens a deepening spiral of division between the United States and Muslim communities.

(68) That's why, two years ago in Cairo, I began to broaden our engagement based upon mutual interests and mutual respect. (69) I believed then -- and (b) I believe now -- (c) that we have a stake not just in the stability of nations, but in the self determination of individuals. (70) The status quo is not sustainable. (71 ) Societies held together by fear and repression may offer the illusion of stability for a time, (b) but they are built upon fault lines (c) that will eventually tear asunder.

(72) So we face an historic opportunity. (73) We have embraced the chance to show (b) that America values the dignity of the street vendor in Tunisia more than the raw power of the dictator. (74) There must be no doubt (b) that the United States of America welcomes change that advances self-determination and opportunity. (75) Yes, there will be perils that accompany this moment of promise. (76) But after decades of accepting the world as it is in the region, (b) we have a chance to pursue the world as it should be.

(77) As we do, (b) we must proceed with a sense of humility. (78) It is not America (b) that put people into the streets of Tunis and Cairo -- (c) it was the people themselves (d) who launched these movements, (e ) and must determine their outcome. (79) Not every country will follow our particular form of representative democracy, and (b) there will be times (c) when our short term interests do not align perfectly with our long term vision of the region. (78) But we can -- and will -- speak out for a set of core principles -- (b) principles that have guided our response to the events over the past six months (79) The United States opposes the use of violence and repression against the people of the region.

(80) We support a set of universal rights. ( 81) Those rights include free speech; the freedom of peaceful assembly; freedom of religion; equality for men and women under the rule of law; and (b) the right to choose your own leaders -- whether (c) you live in Baghdad or Damascus; Sanaa or Tehran.

(82) And finally, we support political and economic reform in the Middle East and North Africa (b) that can meet the legitimate aspirations of ordinary people throughout the region.

(83) Our support for these principles is not a secondary interest- (b) today I am making it clear (c) that it is a top priority (c) that must be translated into concrete actions, and (d) supported by all of the diplomatic, economic and strategic tools at our disposal.

(84) Let me be specific. (85) First, (b) it will be the policy of the United States to promote reform across the region, and (c) to support transitions to democracy.

(86) That effort begins in Egypt and Tunisia, (b) where the stakes are high –(c) as Tunisia was at the vanguard of this democratic wave, (d) and Egypt is both a longstanding partner and (e) the Arab World's largest nation. (87) Both nations can set a strong example through free and fair elections; a vibrant civil society; accountable and effective democratic institutions; and responsible regional leadership. (88) But our support must also extend to nations where (89) transitions have yet to take place.

(90) Unfortunately, in too many countries, calls for change have been answered by violence. (91) The most extreme example is Libya, (b) where Moammar Gaddafi launched a war against his people, (c) promising to hunt them down like rats. (92) As I said when the United States joined an international coalition to intervene, (b) we cannot prevent every injustice perpetrated by a regime against its people, (c) and we have learned from our experience in Iraq just (d) how costly and difficult it is to impose regime change by force – (e) no matter how well-intended it may be.

(93) But in Libya, we saw (b) the prospect of imminent massacre, had a mandate for action, and (c) heard the Libyan people's call for help. (94) Had we not acted along with our NATO allies and regional coalition partners, (b) thousands would have been killed. (95) The message would have been clear: (b) keep power by killing as many people as it takes. (96) Now, time is working against Gaddafi. (97) He does not have control over his country. (98) The opposition has organized a legitimate and credible Interim Council. (99) And when Gaddafi inevitably leaves or is forced from power, (b) decades of provocation will come to an end, and (c) the transition to a democratic Libya can proceed.

(100) While Libya has faced violence on the greatest scale, (b) it is not the only place (d) where leaders have turned to repression to remain in power. (101) Most recently, the Syrian regime has chosen the path of murder and the mass arrests of its citizens. (102) The United States has condemned these actions, and working with the international community (b) we have stepped up our sanctions on the Syrian regime -- including sanctions announced yesterday on President Assad and those around him.

(103) The Syrian people have shown their courage in demanding a transition to democracy. (104) President Assad now has a choice: (B) he can lead that transition, (C) or get out of the way. (105) The Syrian government must stop shooting demonstrators and (B) allow peaceful protests; (C) release political prisoners and (d) stop unjust arrests; (e) allow human rights monitors to have access to cities like Dara'a; and (f) start a serious dialogue to advance a democratic transition. (106) Otherwise, President Assad and his regime will continue to be challenged from within and isolated abroad

(107) Thus far, Syria has followed its Iranian ally, (b) seeking assistance from Tehran in the tactics of suppression. (108) This speaks to the hypocrisy of the Iranian regime, (b) which say (c) it stand for the rights of protesters abroad; (d) yet suppresses its people at home. (109) Let us remember (b) that the first peaceful protests were in the streets of Tehran, (c) where the government brutalized women and men, (d) and threw innocent people into jail. (110) We still hear the chants echo from the rooftops of Tehran. (111) The image of a young woman dying in the streets is still seared in our memory. (112) And we will continue to insist (b) that the Iranian people deserve their universal rights, (c) and a government that does not smother their aspirations.

Our opposition to Iran's intolerance -- as well as (113) its illicit nuclear program, and its sponsorship of terror -- is well known. (114) But if America is to be credible, (b) we must acknowledge (c) that our friends in the region have not all reacted to the demands for change consistent with the principles (d) that I have outlined today. (115) That is true in Yemen, (b) where President Saleh needs to follow through on his commitment (d) to transfer power. (116) And that is true, today, in Bahrain.

(117) Bahrain is a long-standing partner, (B) and we are committed to its security. (118) We recognize that Iran has tried to take advantage of the turmoil there, (B) and that the Bahraini government has a legitimate interest in the rule of law. (119) Nevertheless, we have insisted publicly and privately that (b) mass arrests and brute force are at odds with the universal rights of Bahrain's citizens, (c) and will not make legitimate calls for reform go away. (120) The only way forward is for the government and opposition to engage in a dialogue, (b) and you can't have a real dialogue (c) when parts of the peaceful opposition are in jail. (121) The government must create the conditions for dialogue, (b) and the opposition must participate to forge a just future for all Bahrainis.

(122) Indeed, one of the broader lessons to be drawn from this period is that sectarian divides need not lead to conflict. (123) In Iraq, we see the promise of a multi-ethnic, multi-sectarian democracy. (124) There, the Iraqi people have rejected the perils of political violence for a democratic process, even (b) as they have taken full responsibility for their own

security. (125) Like all new democracies, they will face setbacks. (126) But Iraq is poised to play a key role in the region (b) if it continues its peaceful progress. (127) As they do, (b) we will be proud to stand with them as a steadfast partner.

(128) So in the months ahead, America must use all our influence to encourage reform in the region. (129) Even as we acknowledge (b) that each country is different. (130) We will need to speak honestly about the principles (d) that we believe in, with friend and foe alike. (131) Our message is simple: (b) if you take the risks that reform entails, (c) you will have the full support of the United States. (132) We must also build on our efforts to broaden our engagement beyond elites, (b) so that we reach the people (c) who will shape the future -- particularly young people.

(133) We will continue to make good on the commitments (b) that I made in Cairo -- (c) to build networks of entrepreneurs, and (d) expand exchanges in education; (e) to foster cooperation in science and technology, (f) and combat disease. (134) Across the region, we intend to provide assistance to civil society, including (b) those that may not be officially sanctioned, (c) and who speak uncomfortable truths. (135) And we will use the technology to connect with -- and listen to -- the voices of the people.

(136) In fact, real reform will not come at the ballot box alone. (137) Through our efforts we must support those basic rights (b) to speak your mind and access information. (138) We will support open access to the Internet, (b) and the right of journalists to be heard -- (c) whether it's a big news organization or a blogger. (139) In the 21st century, information is power; (b) the truth cannot be hidden; (c) and the legitimacy of governments will ultimately depend on active and informed citizens.

(140) Such open discourse is important even (b) if what is said does not square with our worldview. (141) America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard, (b) even if we disagree with them. (142) We look forward to working with all (b) who embrace genuine and inclusive democracy. (143) What we will oppose is an attempt by any group to restrict the rights of others, (b) and to hold power through coercion -- not consent. (144) Because democracy depends not only on elections, (b) but also strong and accountable institutions, (c) and respect for the rights of minorities.

(145) Such tolerance is particularly important (b) when it comes to religion. In Tahrir Square, (146) we heard Egyptians from all walks of life chant, "Muslims, Christians, we are one." (147) America will work (b) to see that this spirit prevails -- (c) that all faiths are respected; (d) and that bridges are built among them. (148) In a region that was the birthplace of three world religions, (b) intolerance can lead only to suffering and stagnation. (149) And for this season of change to succeed, (b) Coptic Christians must have the right to worship freely in Cairo, (c) just as Shia must never have their mosques destroyed in Bahrain.

(150) What is true for religious minorities is also true when it comes to the rights of women. History shows that countries are more prosperous and peaceful when women are empowered. (151) That is why we will continue to insist that universal rights apply to women as well as men -- (b) by focusing assistance on child and maternal health; (c) by helping women to teach, or (d) start a business; (e) by standing up for the right of women to have their voices heard, (f) and to run for office. (152) For the region will never reach its potential (b) when more than half its population is prevented from achieving their potential.

(153) Even as we promote political reform and human rights in the region, (b) our efforts cannot stop there. So the second way that (c) we must support positive change in the region is through our efforts to advance economic development for nations that transition to democracy.

(154) After all, politics alone has not put protesters into the streets. (155) The tipping point for so many people is the more constant concern of putting food on the table and providing for a family. (156) Too many in the region wake up with few expectations other than making it through the day, (b) and perhaps the hope that their luck will change. (157) Throughout the region, many young people have a solid education, but closed economies leave them unable to find a job. (158) Entrepreneurs are brimming with ideas, but corruption leaves them unable to profit from them.

(159) The greatest untapped resource in the Middle East and North Africa is the talent of its people. (160) In the recent protests, we see that talent on display, (b) as people harness technology to move the world. (161) It's no coincidence (b) that one of the leaders of Tahrir Square was an executive for Google. (162) That energy now needs to be channeled, in country after country, (b) so that economic growth can solidify the accomplishments of the street. (163) Just as democratic revolutions can be triggered by a lack of individual opportunity, (b) successful democratic transitions depend upon an expansion of growth and broad-based prosperity.

(164) Drawing from what we've learned around the world, (b) we think it's important to focus on trade, not just aid; and investment, not just assistance. (165) The goal must be a model in (b) which protectionism gives way to openness; (c) the reigns of commerce pass from the few to the many, (d) and the economy generates jobs for the young. (166) America's support for democracy will therefore be based on ensuring financial stability; (b) promoting reform; and integrating competitive markets with each other and the global economy -- starting with Tunisia and Egypt.

(167) First, we have asked the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (B) to present a plan at next week's G-8 summit (C) for what needs to be done to stabilize and modernize the economies of Tunisia and Egypt. (168) Together, we must help them recover from the disruption of their democratic upheaval, (B) and support the governments that will be elected later this year. (169) And we are urging other countries (B) to help Egypt and Tunisia meet its near-term financial needs.

(170) Second, we do not want a democratic (171) Egypt to be saddled by the debts of its past. (172) So we will relieve a democratic Egypt of up to \$1 billion in debt, (B) and work with our Egyptian partners to invest these resources (C) to foster growth and entrepreneurship. (173) We will help Egypt regain access to markets by guaranteeing \$1 billion in borrowing (B) that is needed to finance infrastructure and job creation. (174) And we will help newly democratic governments recover assets that were stolen.

(175) Third, we are working with Congress (B) to create Enterprise Funds (C) to invest in Tunisia and Egypt. (176) These will be modeled on funds (B) that supported the transitions in Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall. (177) OPIC will soon launch a \$2 billion facility (B) to support private investment across the region. (178) And we will work with allies (B) to refocus the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development so (C) that it provides the same support for democratic transitions and economic modernization in the Middle East and North Africa as (d) it has in Europe.

(179) Fourth, the United States will launch a comprehensive Trade and Investment Partnership Initiative in the Middle East and North Africa. (180) If you take out oil exports, (b) this region of over 400 million people exports roughly the same amount as Switzerland. (181) So we will work with the EU to facilitate more trade within the region, (b) build on existing agreements to promote integration with U.S. and European markets, (c) and open the door for those countries (d) who adopt high standards of reform and trade liberalization to construct a regional trade arrangement. (182) Just as EU membership served as an incentive for reform in Europe, (b) so should the vision of a modern and prosperous economy create a powerful force for reform in the Middle East and North Africa.

(183) Prosperity also requires tearing down walls (b) stand in the way of progress –(c) the corruption of elites who steal from their people; (d) the red tape that stops an idea from becoming a business; (e) the patronage that distributes wealth based on tribe or sect. (184) We will help governments meet international obligations, (b) and invest efforts anti-corruption; by working with (c) parliamentarians who are developing reforms, and (d) activists who use technology to hold government accountable.

(185) Let me conclude by talking about another cornerstone of our approach to the region, (b) and that relates to the pursuit of peace.

(186) For decades, the conflict between Israelis and Arabs has cast a shadow over the region. (187) For Israelis, it has meant living with the fear (b) that their children could get blown up on a bus or by (c) rockets fired at their homes, as well as the pain of knowing that (d) other children in the region are taught to hate them. (188) For Palestinians, it has meant suffering the humiliation of occupation, and (b) never living in a nation of their own. Moreover, (189) this conflict has come with a larger cost (b) the Middle East, as it impedes partnerships (c) that could bring greater security, prosperity, and empowerment to ordinary people.

(190) My Administration has worked with the parties and the international community for over two years to end this conflict, yet (b) expectations have gone unmet. (191) Israeli settlement activity continues. (192) Palestinians have walked away from talks. (193) The world looks at a conflict (b) that has grinded on for decades, and sees a stalemate. (194) Indeed, there are those (b) who argue that with all the change and uncertainty in the region, (c) it is simply not possible to move forward.

(195) I disagree. At a time when the people of the Middle East and North Africa are casting off the burdens of the past, (b) the drive for a lasting peace that ends the conflict and resolves all claims is more urgent than ever.

(196) For the Palestinians, efforts to delegitimize Israel will end in failure. (197) Symbolic actions to isolate Israel at the United Nations in September won't create an independent state. (198) Palestinian leaders will not achieve peace or prosperity (b) if Hamas insists on a path of terror and rejection. (199) And Palestinians will never realize their independence by denying the right of Israel to exist.

(200) As for Israel, our friendship is rooted deeply in a shared history and shared values. (201) Our commitment to Israel's security is unshakable. (202) And we will stand against attempts (b) to single it out for criticism in international forums. (203) But precisely because of our friendship, it is important (b) that we tell the truth: (c) the status quo is unsustainable, (d) and Israel too must act boldly to advance a lasting peace.

(204) The fact is, a growing number of Palestinians live west of the Jordan River. (205) Technology will make it harder for Israel to defend itself. (206) A region undergoing profound change will lead to populism in (b) which millions of people -- not just a few leaders -- must believe peace is possible. (207) The international community is tired of an endless



process (b) that never produces an outcome. (208) The dream of a Jewish and democratic state cannot be fulfilled with permanent occupation.

(209) Ultimately, it is up to Israelis and Palestinians to take action. (210) No peace can be imposed upon them, (b) nor can endless delay make the problem go away. (211) But what America and the international community can do is state frankly what everyone knows (b) a lasting peace will involve two states for two peoples. (212) Israel as a Jewish state and the homeland for the Jewish people, and the (b) state of Palestine as the homeland for the Palestinian people; (c) each state enjoying self-determination, mutual recognition, and peace.

(213) So while the core issues of the conflict must be negotiated, (b) the basis of those negotiations is clear: a viable Palestine, and a secure Israel. (214) The United States believes that negotiations should result in two states, with permanent Palestinian borders with Israel, Jordan, and Egypt, and permanent Israeli borders with Palestine. (215) The borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps, (b) so that secure and recognized borders are established for both states. (216) The Palestinian people must have the right to govern themselves, and (b) reach their potential, in a sovereign and contiguous state.

(217) As for security, every state has the right to self-defense, (b) and Israel must be able to defend itself -- by itself -- against any threat. (218) Provisions must also be robust enough to prevent a resurgence of terrorism; (b) to stop the infiltration of weapons; (c) and to provide effective border security. (219) The full and phased withdrawal of Israeli military forces should be coordinated with the assumption of Palestinian security responsibility in a sovereign, (b) non-militarized state. (220) The duration of this transition period must be agreed, (b) ( and the effectiveness of security arrangements must be demonstrated.

(221) These principles provide a foundation for negotiations. (222) Palestinians should know the territorial outlines of their state; (b) Israelis should know (b) that their basic security concerns will be met.(223) I know that these steps alone will not resolve this conflict. (224) Two wrenching and emotional issues remain: (b) the future of Jerusalem, (c) and the fate of Palestinian refugees. (225) But moving forward now on the basis of territory and security provides a foundation (b) to resolve those two issues in a way (c) that is just and fair, and (d) that respects the rights and aspirations of Israelis and Palestinians.

(226) Recognizing that negotiations need to begin with the issues of territory and security does not mean that (b) it will be easy to come back to the table. (227) In particular, the recent announcement of an agreement between Fatah and Hamas raises profound and legitimate questions for Israel – (b) how can one negotiate with a party that has shown itself unwilling to recognize your right to exist. (228) In the weeks and months to come, Palestinian leaders will have to provide a credible answer to that question. (229) Meanwhile, the United States, our Quartet partners, and the Arab states will need to continue every effort to get beyond the current impasse.

(230) I recognize how hard this will be. (231) Suspicion and hostility has been passed on for generations, (b) and at times it has hardened. (232) But I'm convinced that the majority of Israelis and Palestinians would rather look to the future than be trapped in the past. (233) We see that spirit in the Israeli father (b) whose son was killed by Hamas, (c) who helped start an organization (d) that brought together Israelis and Palestinians (e) who had lost loved ones. He said, "I gradually realized that the only hope for progress was to recognize the face of the conflict." And we see it in the actions of a Palestinian who lost three daughters to Israeli shells in Gaza. "I have the right to feel angry," he said. "So many people were expecting me to hate. My answer to them is I shall not hate.... Let us hope," he said, "for tomorrow"

(234) That is the choice that must be made – (b) not simply in this conflict, but (c) across the entire region -- a choice between hate and hope; between the shackles of the past, and the promise of the future. (235) It's a choice that must be made by leaders and by people, (b) and it's a choice that will define the future of a region (c) that served as the cradle of civilization and a crucible of strife.

(236) For all the challenges that lie ahead, we see many reasons to be hopeful. (237) In Egypt, we see it in the efforts of young people(b) who led protests. (238) In Syria, we see it in the courage of those (b) who brave bullets while chanting, 'peaceful,' 'peaceful.' (239) In Benghazi, a city threatened with destruction, (b) we see it in the courthouse square (c) where people gather to celebrate the freedoms (d) that they had never known. (240) Across the region, those rights that (b) we take for granted are being claimed with joy by those (c) who are prying loose the grip of an iron fist.

(241) For the American people, the scenes of upheaval in the region may be unsettling, (b) but the forces driving it are not unfamiliar. (242) Our own nation was founded through a rebellion against an empire. (243) Our people fought a painful civil war (b) that extended freedom and dignity to those (c) who were enslaved. (244) And I would not be standing here today (b) unless past generations turned to the moral force of non-violence (c) as a way to perfect our union -- organizing, marching, and protesting peacefully together (d) to make real those words (e) that declared our nation: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal."

(245) Those words must guide our response to the change (b) that is transforming the Middle East and North Africa – (c) words which tell us that repression will fail, (c) that tyrants will fall, (d) and that every man and woman is endowed with

certain inalienable rights. (e) It will not be easy. (246) There is no straight line to progress, (b) and hardship always accompanies a season of hope. (247) But the United States of America was founded on the belief (b) that people should govern themselves. (248) Now, we cannot hesitate to stand squarely on the side of those (b) who are reaching for their rights, (c) knowing that their success will bring about a world (d) that is more peaceful, more stable, and more just.

## SPEECH FIVE (S5)

### OBAMA'S SPEECH IN AFGHANISTAN

THE PRESIDENT: Good evening from Bagram Air Base. This outpost is more than 7,000 miles from home, but for over a decade it's been close to our hearts. Because here, in Afghanistan, more than half a million of our sons and daughters have sacrificed to protect our country.

(1) Today, I signed a historic agreement between the United States and Afghanistan that (b) defines a new kind of relationship between our countries -- a future in which Afghans (C) care responsible for the security of their nation, and (d) we build an equal partnership between two sovereign states; a future in which war ends, and a new chapter begins.

Tonight, I'd (2) like to speak to you about this transition. (3) But first, let us remember why we (b) came here. (4) It was here, in Afghanistan, where Osama bin Laden (b) established a safe haven for his terrorist organization. (5) It was here, in Afghanistan, where al Qaeda (b) brought new recruits, (c) trained them, and (d) plotted acts of terror. (6) It was here, from within these borders, that al Qaeda (b) launched the attacks that (c) killed nearly 3,000 innocent men, women and children.

(7) And so, 10 years ago, the United States and our allies went to war to (b) make sure that al Qaeda (c) could never again use this country to (d) launch attacks against us. (8) Despite initial success, for a number of reasons, this war has taken longer than most anticipated. (9) In 2002, bin Laden and his lieutenants escaped across the border and (b) established safe haven in Pakistan. (10) America spent nearly eight years (b) fighting a different war in Iraq. (11) And al Qaeda's extremist allies within the Taliban have waged a brutal insurgency.

(12) But over the last three years, the tide has turned. (13) We broke the Taliban's momentum. (14) We've built strong Afghan security forces. (15) We devastated al Qaeda's leadership, (b) taking out over 20 of their top 30 leaders. (16) And one year ago, from a base here in Afghanistan, our troops launched the operation that (b) killed Osama bin Laden. (17) The goal that I set -- to defeat al Qaeda and (b) deny it a chance to rebuild -- (c) is now within our reach.

(18) Still, there will be difficult days ahead. (19) The enormous sacrifices of our men and women are not over. (20) But tonight, I'd like to tell you how we will complete our mission and (b) end the war in Afghanistan.

(21) First, we've begun a transition to Afghan responsibility for security. (22) Already, nearly half of the Afghan people live in places (b) where Afghan security forces are moving into the lead. (23) This month, at a NATO Summit in Chicago, our coalition will set a goal for Afghan forces (b) to be in the lead for combat operations across the country next year. (24) International troops will continue to train, advise and assist the Afghans, and fight alongside them when needed. (25) But we will shift into a support role as Afghans step forward.

(26) As we do, our troops will be coming home. (27) Last year, we removed 10,000 U.S. troops from Afghanistan. (28) Another 23,000 will leave by the end of the summer. (29) After that, reductions will continue at a steady pace, (b) with more and more of our troops coming home. (30) And as our coalition agreed, (b) by the end of 2014 the Afghans will be fully responsible for the security of their country.

(31) Second, we are training Afghan security forces to (b) get the job done. (32) Those forces have surged, (b) and will peak at 352,000 this year. (33) The Afghans will sustain that level for three years, and (b) then reduce the size of their military. (34) And in Chicago, will endorse a proposal (b) to support a strong and sustainable long-term Afghan force.

(35) Third, we're building an enduring partnership. (36) The agreement we signed today sends a clear message to the Afghan people: (37) As you stand up, (B) you will not stand alone. (38) It establishes the basis for our cooperation over the next decade, (B) including shared commitments (C) to combat terrorism and strengthen democratic institutions. (39) It supports Afghan efforts (B) to advance development and dignity for their people. (40) And it includes Afghan commitments to transparency and accountability, (B) and to protect the human rights of all Afghans -- men and women, boys and girls.

(41) Within this framework, we'll work with the Afghans to (B) determine what support they need to accomplish two narrow security missions beyond 2014 -- counter-terrorism and (C) continued training. (42) But we will not build permanent bases in this country, (B) nor will we be patrolling its cities and mountains. (43) That will be the job of the Afghan people.

(44) Fourth, we're pursuing a negotiated peace. (45) In coordination with the Afghan government, (46) my administration has been in direct discussions with the Taliban. (47) We've made it clear (B) that they can be a part of this future (C) if they break with al Qaeda, renounce violence and abide by Afghan laws. (48) Many members of the Taliban -- from foot soldiers to leaders -- have indicated an interest in reconciliation. (49) The path to peace is now set before them. (50) Those who refuse to walk it (B) will face strong Afghan security forces, backed by the United States and our allies.

(51) Fifth, we are building a global consensus to (B) support peace and stability in South Asia.(52) In Chicago, the international community will express support for this plan and for Afghanistan's future.(53) And I have made it clear to its neighbor -- Pakistan -- (B) that it can and should be an equal partner in this process in a way that(C) respects Pakistan's sovereignty, interests and democratic institutions.(54) In pursuit of a durable peace, America has no designs beyond an end to al Qaeda safe havens and respect for Afghan sovereignty.

(55) As we move forward, (B) some people will ask (C) why we need a firm timeline. (56) The answer is clear: (B) Our goal is not to build a country in America's image,(C) or to eradicate every vestige of the Taliban. (57) These objectives would require many more years, many more dollars, and most importantly, many more American lives. (58) Our goal is to destroy al Qaeda, (B) and we are on a path to do exactly that. (59) Afghans want to assert their sovereignty and (B) build a lasting peace. (60) That requires a clear timeline to wind down the war.

(61) Others will ask, (B) why don't we leave immediately? (C) That answer is also clear (62) We must give Afghanistan the opportunity to stabilize. (63) Otherwise, our gains could be lost and (B) al Qaeda could establish itself once more. (64) And as Commander-in-Chief, (B) I refuse to let that happen.

(65)I recognize that many Americans are tired of war. (66)As President, nothing is more wrenching than signing a letter to a family of the fallen, (B) or looking into the eyes of a child (C) who will grow up without a mother or father.(67) I will not keep Americans in harm's way (B) a single day longer than is absolutely required for our national security. (68) But we must finish the job we started in Afghanistan and end this war responsibly.

(69 )My fellow Americans, (B) travelled through more than a decade under the dark cloud of war. (70)Yet here, in the pre-dawn darkness of Afghanistan, we can see the light of a new day on the horizon. (71)The Iraq war is over. (72) The number of our troops in harm's way has been cut in half, (B) and more will soon be coming home. (73)We have a clear path to fulfill our mission in Afghanistan, (74) while delivering justice to al Qaeda.

(75) This future is only within reach because of our men and women in uniform. (76) Time and again, they have answered the call to serve in distant and dangerous places.(77) In an age when so many institutions have come up short, (B) these Americans stood tall. (78)They met their responsibilities to one another,(B) and to the flag they serve under.(79) I just met with some of them and(B) told them that as Commander-in-Chief,(C) I could not be prouder.(80) And in their faces, we see (B)what is best in ourselves and our country.

(81) Our soldiers, our sailors, our airmen, Marines, Coast Guardsmen and civilians in Afghanistan have done their duty. (78) Now we must summon that same sense of common purpose. (82) We must give our veterans and military families the support they deserve, (B) and the opportunities they have earned. (83) And we must redouble our efforts to build a nation worthy of their sacrifice.

(84) As we emerge from a decade of conflict abroad and economic crisis at home,(B) it's time to renew America --(B) an America where our children live free from fear and (C) have the skills to claim their dreams.(85) A united America of grit and resilience, (B)where sunlight glistens off soaring new towers in downtown Manhattan, and(C) we build our future as one people, as one nation.

(86) Here in Afghanistan, Americans answered the call to defend their fellow citizens and uphold human dignity. (87) Today, we recall the fallen and those who suffered wounds, both seen and unseen. (88) But through dark days, we have drawn strength from their example and the ideals that (B) have guided our nation and led the world -- (C) a belief that all people are treated equal and deserve the freedom to (D) determine their destiny. That is the light that guides us still.

(89) This time of war began in Afghanistan and (B) this is where it will end. (90) With faith in each other and our eyes fixed on the future, (B) let us finish the work at hand and forge a just and lasting peace.

May God bless our troops, and may God bless the United States of America.

## SPEECH SIX (S6)

### OBAMA'S SPEECH IN RAMALLAH

Marhaba. Thank you, President Abbas, for your generous words and for welcoming me to Ramallah. I was last here five years ago, and it's a pleasure to be back — to see the progress that's happened since my last visit, but also to bear witness to the enduring challenges to peace and security that so many Palestinians seek. I've returned to the West Bank because the United States is deeply committed to the creation of an independent and sovereign state of Palestine.

(1) The Palestinian people deserve an end to occupation and the daily indignities that come with it. Palestinians deserve to move and travel freely, and to feel secure in their communities. (2) Like people everywhere, Palestinians deserve a future of hope — that their rights will be respected, that tomorrow will be better than today and that they can give their children a life of dignity and opportunity. (3) Put simply, Palestinians deserve a state of their own.

(4) I want to commend President Abbas and his Prime Minister, Salam Fayyad, for the progress that they've made in building the institutions of a Palestinian state. (5) And the United States is a proud partner in these efforts — as the single largest donor of assistance that improves the lives of Palestinians, both in the West Bank and Gaza. (6) As your partner, we salute your achievements and we mourn your losses. (7) We offer condolences, in particular, over the loss of your fellow Palestinians last weekend in the tragic accident in Jordan.

(8) Ramallah is a very different city than the one I visited five years ago. (9) There's new construction. There's new businesses, new start-ups, including many high-tech companies, connecting Palestinians to the global economy. (10) The Palestinian Authority is more efficient and more transparent. (11) There are new efforts to combat corruption so entrepreneurs and development can expand. (12) Palestinian security forces are stronger and more professional — serving communities like Bethlehem, where President Abbas and I will visit the Church of the Nativity tomorrow.

(13) Moreover, this progress has been achieved under some extremely challenging circumstances. (14) So I want to pay tribute to President Abbas and Prime Minister Fayyad for their courage, for their tenacity, and for their commitment to building the institutions upon which a lasting peace and security will depend.

(15) I would point out that all this stands in stark contrast to the misery and repression that so many Palestinians continue to confront in Gaza — because Hamas refuses to renounce violence; because Hamas cares more about enforcing its own rigid dogmas than allowing Palestinians to live freely; and because too often it focuses on tearing Israel down rather than building Palestine up. (16) We saw the continuing threat from Gaza again overnight, with the rockets that targeted Sderot. (17) We condemn this violation of the important cease-fire that protects both Israelis and Palestinians — a violation that Hamas has a responsibility to prevent.

(18) Here in the West Bank, I realize that this continues to be a difficult time for the Palestinian Authority financially. (19) So I'm pleased that in recent weeks the United States has been able to provide additional assistance to help the Palestinian Authority bolster its finances. (20) Projects through USAID will help strengthen governance, rule of law, economic development, education and health. (21) We consider these to be investments in a future Palestinian state — investments in peace, which is in all of our interests.

(22) And more broadly, in our discussions today I reaffirmed to President Abbas that the United States remains committed to realizing the vision of two states, which is in the interests of the Palestinian people, and also in the national security interest of Israel, the United States, and the world. (23) We seek an independent, a viable and contiguous Palestinian state as the homeland of the Palestinian people, alongside the Jewish State of Israel — two nations enjoying self-determination, security and peace.

(24) As I have said many times, the only way to achieve that goal is through direct negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians themselves. (25) There is no shortcut to a sustainable solution.

(26) In our discussion with President Abbas, I heard him speak eloquently about the difficult issues that cannot be ignored — among them, problems caused by continued settlement activities, the plight of Palestinian prisoners, and access to holy sites in Jerusalem. (27) I understand that the status quo isn't really a status quo, because the situation on the ground continues to evolve in a direction that makes it harder to reach a two-state solution. (28) And I know that the Palestinian people are deeply frustrated.

(29) So one of my main messages today — the same message I'm conveying in Israel — is that we cannot give up. (30) We cannot give up on the search for peace, no matter how hard it is. (31) As I said with Prime Minister Netanyahu

yesterday, we will continue to look for steps that both Israelis and Palestinians can take to build the trust and the confidence upon which lasting peace will depend. (32) And I very much appreciate hearing President Abbas's ideas on what those steps could be.

(33) I want both sides to know that as difficult as the current situation is, my administration is committed to doing our part. (34) And I know that Secretary of State John Kerry intends to spend significant time, effort, and energy in trying to bring about a closing of the gap between the parties. (35) We cannot give up on the search for peace. Too much is at stake.

(36) And if we're going to succeed, part of what we're going to have to do is to get out of some of the formulas and habits that have blocked progress for so long. Both sides are going to have to think anew. (37) Those of us in the United States are going to have to think anew. (38) But I'm confident that we can arrive at our destination to advance the vision of two nations, two neighbors at peace — Israel and Palestine.

(39) If given the chance, one thing that I'm very certain of is that the Palestinians have the talent, the drive, and the courage to succeed in their own state. (40) I think of the villages that hold peaceful protests because they understand the moral force of nonviolence. (41) I think of the importance that Palestinian families place on education. (42) I think of the entrepreneurs determined to create something new, like the young Palestinian woman I met at the entrepreneurship summit that I hosted who wants to build recreation centers for Palestinian youth. (43) I think of the aspirations that so many young Palestinians have for their future — which is why I'm looking forward to visiting with some of them right after we conclude this press conference.

(44) That's why we can't give up, because of young Palestinians and young Israelis who deserve a better future than one that is continually defined by conflict. (45) Whenever I meet these young people, whether they're Palestinian or Israeli, I'm reminded of my own daughters, and I know what hopes and aspirations I have for them. (46) And those of us in the United States understand that change takes time but it is also possible, because there was a time when my daughters could not expect to have the same opportunities in their own country as somebody else's daughters.

(47) What's true in the United States can be true here as well. (48) We can make those changes, but we're going to have to be determined. (49) We're going to have to have courage. (50) We're going to have to be willing to break out of the old habits, the old arguments, to reach for that new place, that new world. (51) And I want all the people here and throughout the region to know that you will have the President of the United States and an administration that is committed to achieving that goal.

**APPENDIX B (1): TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS  
TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS OF THE THEME COOPERATION**

S1C161	I	also	want	to be	clear			
	Senser	*	Pr Mental	Relational	Attribute			
S1C161 (b)	that	America's relationship with the Muslim community, the Muslim world,	cannot	and	will not	just	be	based upon opposition to terrorism.
	*	Carrier		*		*		Attribute
					Pr Relational			
S1C162	We	seek	broader engagement based on mutual interest and mutual respect					
	Senser	Pr Men	Phenomenon					
S1C163(a)	We	will listen	carefully					
	Senser	Pr: Mental	*					
S2C163 (b)	We	will bridge	misunderstanding					
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal					
S2C163(e)	and	we	will seek	common ground				
	*	Senser	Pr: Mental	Phenomenon				
S2C163 (c)	We	will be	respectful					
	Carrier	Pr: Rel- Attr	Attribute					
S2C163( d)	even when	we	do not agree					
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat					
S1C165(a)	We	will convey	our deep appreciation	for the Islamic faiths				
	Actor	Pr Mat	Goal	Beneficiary				
S1C165(b)	which	has done	so much	to	shape	the world including in my own country		
	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	*	Pr: Mat	Goal		
S1C166	The United States	has been enriched	by Muslim Americans					
	Goal	Pr: Mat	Actor					
S1C167(a)	Many other Americans	have	Muslims	in their families				
	Possessor	Rel-Possessive	Possessed	*				
S1C167 (b) (c)	or	have lived	in a Muslim majority country					
		Pr: Mat	*					
S1C176 (d)	I	know	because	I	am	one of them		
	Senser	Pr: Mental	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attr	Attribute		
S4C165 (a)	First	we	have asked	the world bank and the International Monetary	to	present	a plan	at next week's G-8 summit
	*	Sayer	Pr: Verbal	Target	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	*

S4C166(b)	for what	needs	to	be done	to	stabilize	the economies of Tunisia and Egypt
	*	Pr: Men	*	Pr: Mat	*	Pr: Mat	Goal
S4C166(a)	Together	we	must help	them	recover	from the disruption of their democratic upheaval	
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Pr: Mat	*	
S4C166(b)	and	the government		that	will be elected		later in this year
		Goal		*	Pr: Material		*
S4C167	And	we	urging	other countries			
	*	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal			
S4C167 (b)	to help	Egypt and Tunisia		meet	its near term financial needs.		
		Actor		Pr: Mat	Goal		
	Pr: Mat	Goal					
S2C228 (a)	I	know	for many years that				
	Senser	Pr: Mental	*				
S2C228 (b)	the face of globalization		is	contradictory			
	Carrier		Pr: Rel, Attr	Attribute			
	Phenomenon						
S2C229	The internet and TV		can bring	knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence.			
	Actor		Pr: Material	Goal			
S2C230	Trade	can bring	new wealth and opportunities, but also huge disruptions and changing communities.				
	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal				
S2C231	In all nations including my own			change	can bring	fear	
	*			Actor	Pr: Material	Goal	
S2C232(a)	Fear that because of modernity		we	will lose	of control over our economic choices, our politics, and most importantly our identities		
	*		Actor	Pr: Material	Goal		
S2C233	Those things	we	must cherish	about our communities, our families, our traditions, and our faith			
	*	Senser	Pr: Mental	Phenomenon			
S2C234	But	I	also	know	that	human progress	cant be denied
	*	Senser	*	Pr: Mental	*	Phenomenon	Pr: Men
					Phenomenon		
S2C235	There	need not be	contradiction between development and tradition				
	*	Pr Existential	Existent				



S2C237(a)	Countries like Japan and Korea	grew	their economies	
	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal	
S2C238(b)	while maintaining	their cultures		
	Pr Material	Goal		
S2C258	The same	is	true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai.	
	Carrier	Pr: Relational	Attribute	
S2C239	In ancient times and in our times	Muslim communities	have been	at the forefront of innovation and education
	*	Carrier	Pr :Rel , Attr	Attribute
S2C240 (a)	This	is	important	
	Carrier	Pr: Rel, Attr	Attribute	
S2C240 (b)	because	no development strategy	can be	based only upon what comes out of the ground
	*	Carrier	Pr Relational	Attribute
S2C240 (c)	nor	can	It	be
	*		Carrier	Sustained
			Pr: Rel, Attributive	
S2C240 (d)	while	young people	are	out of work
	*	Carrier	Pr: Material	Attributr
S2C241 (a)	Many Gulf States	have enjoyed	wealth	as consequence of oil
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Scope	*
S2C241 (b)	and	some	are beginning	to focus
	Senser	Pr Material	Pr Mental	it on broader development
				Phenomenon
S2C242	But	All of us	must recognize	S2C243 (b)
				that education and innovation
				will be
				the currency of the 21 st century
				Carrier
				Pr: Re,Att
				Attribute
	Senser	Pr Mental	Phenomenon	
S2C243	And in too many Muslim communities	there	remains	underinvestment in these areas
	*	*	Pr: Existential	Existent
S2C244	I	am emphasizing	such these investments	within my country
	Senser	Pr: Mental	Phenomenon	*
S2C244(b)	And while	America	in the past	has focused
	*	Senser	*	Pr Mental
				on oil and gas in this part of the world
				Phenomenon

S2C244 (c)	We	now	seek	a broader engagement				
	Senser	*	Pr: Mental	Phenomenon				
S2C245 (a) (b)	On education	we	will expand	exchange programs	and	increase	scholarships	
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal		Pr: Mat	Goal	
S2C245 (c)(d)	like the one that	brought	my father	to America	while	encouraging	more Americans	to study in Muslim communities
	Actor	Pr Material	Goal	*	*	Pr: Material	Goal	*
S2C246	And	we	will match promising	Muslim students with internships in America.				
		Actor	Pr: Material	Beneficiary				
S2C246(b)	invest in	on line learning	for teachers and children					
	Pr: Mat	Scope	Beneficiary					
S2C246	create	a new online network						
	Pr: Mat	Goal						
S2C246 (c)	so	a teenager in Kansas	can communicate	instantly with a teenager in Cairo				
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	*				
S2C247 (a)	On economic development	we	will create					
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat					
S2C247 (b)	to partner	with	counterparts in Muslim-majority countries.					
	Pr: Mat	*	Scope					
S2C248	And	I	will host	a summit on entrepreneurship this year				
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Scope				
S2C248 (b)	to	identify	how	we	can deepen	ties between business leaders, foundations and social entrepreneurs in the United States and Muslim communities around the world.		
	*	Pr: Mat	*	Actor	Pr Material	Goal		
S2C249	On science and technology	we	will launch	a new fund	to support	technological development in Muslim-majority countries,		
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Pr: Mat	Goal		
S2C250(a)	We	will open	centers of scientific excellence in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia					
	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal					
S2C250( b)	and	appoint	new science envoys					
	*	Pr: Material	Goal					
S2C250( c)	to	collaborate	on programs	that				
	*	Pr: Material	Goal	*				

S2C250(c)(d)	develop	new sources of energy	create	green jobs
	Pr: Material	Goal	Pr: Material	Goal

S2C250(e) (f)	digitize	records	clean	water
	Pr: Material	Goal	Pr: Material	Goal

S2C251 (a)	I	am announcing	a new global effort with the organization of the Islamic conference	
	Sayer	Pr: Verbal	Verbiage	

S2C251 (b)	to		eradicate	polio
	*		Pr:Material	Goal

S2C252	And	we	will	also	expand	partnerships with Muslim communities	to promote	child and maternal health
	*	Actor		*		Goal	Pr: Material	Goal
		Pr: Material						

S2C253	All these things		must be done	in partnership
	Goal		Pr Material	*

S2C254	Americans	are	ready to join with citizens and governments community organizations, religious leaders, and businesses in Muslim communities around the world,	
	Carrier	Pr: Rel-,Attr	Attr	

S2C254 (b)	to help	people	pursue	a better life
	Pr Material	Goal	Pr: Material	Scope

S3C63(a)	America	has	a stake in Indonesia growing and developing	
	Possessor	Pr: Rel-Poss	Possessive	

S3C63(b)	with prosperity that		is broadly shared	among the Indonesian people
	Phenomenon		Pr: Mental	*

S3C63 (c)	because	a rising middle class here in Indonesia	means	new markets for our goods
	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel- Attr	Attribute

S3C63 (d)	Just as	America	is	a market of goods	coming out	from Indonesia
				Actor	Pr: Material	*
	*	Carrier	Pr Relational	Attribute		

S3C64(a)	So	We	are investing	more	in Indonesia
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	*	*

S3C64 (b)	and	our exports	have grown	nearly	50 percent
	*	Goal	Pr: Material	*	Scope

S3C1 65	And	we	are opening	doors	for	Americans and Indonesians	to do	business	with one another
	*	Actor	Pr Mat	Goal		Actor	Pr Mat	Goal	*
	*	Actor	Pr Mat	Goal	Beneficiary				
S3C71	Above all	America	has	a stake in the success of the Indonesian people					
	*	Carrier	Pr Rel- Attr	Attribute					
S3C72(a)	Underneath the headlines of the day			we	must build	bridges	between our people		
	*			Actor	Pr : Mat	Goal	Scope		
S3C72 (b)	but	our future security and prosperity				is shared			
	*	Phenomenon				Pr: Mental			
S3C73 (a)	And that	is	exactly	what	we	are doing			
	*	Pr: Rel-Attr	*	*	Actor	Pr: Material			
	*	Pr: Rel-Attr	*	Attribute					
S3C73 (b)	by working together			to	foster	entrepreneurship			
	*			*	Pr Mat	Goal			
S3C74(c)	And	I	am	especially	pleased				
	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel	*	Attribute				
S3C74 (b)	that	we	have committed	to double	the number of American and Indonesian students		studying	in our respective countries	
					Actor		Pr: Mat	*	
	*	Actor	Pr : Mat	Pr : Mat	Goal				
S3C75(a)	We	want	more Indonesian students			in our schools			
	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon			*			
S3C75 (b)	and	we	want	American students	to	come study	in this country		
				Actor	*	Pr: Mat	*		
	*	Senser	Pr Men	Phenomenon					
S3C76 (b)	We	want forge	new ties and greater understanding between young people in this young century.						
	Actor	Material	Scope						
S4C167	Egypt and Tunisia			meet	its near term financial needs				
	Actor			Pr: Material	Goal				

**TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS OF THE THEME WAR IN AFGHANISTAN**

S1C150	Turkey	has been	a true partner
	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attr	Attribute

S1C151	Younger troops	were	a mong the first in the You have sacrificed much in this endeavor
	Carrier	Rel-Attr	Attribute

S1C152	You	have sacrificed	much in this endeavor
	Actor	Pr: Material	Scope

S1C153	Now	we	must achieve	our goals	together
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	*

S1C154 (a)(b)	I	appreciate	you	have offered	to	help	us	train and support	Afghan security forces
	Senser	Pr: Mental	Actor	Pr: Mat	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	Pr: Mat	Goal
	Phenomenon								

S1C154 (c)	and	expand	opportunity across the region
	*	Pr: Material	Goal

S1C155(a)	Together	we	can rise	to	meet	this change
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	*	Pr: Mat	Goal

S1C155 (b)	like	we	have	so many	before
	*	Possessor	Pr: Rel-Poss	Possessed	*

S2C93(a)	We	also know	that
	Senser	Pr: Mental	*

S2C93 (b)	military power alone	is not going to solve	the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan
	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal

S2C94 (a)	That	is	why we plan to invest
	*	Pr: Relational	Attribute

S2C94 (b)	We	plan to invest	\$1.5 billion each year over the next five years
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal

S2C94 (c)	to partner	with Pakistanies	to build	schools and hospitals, roads and businesses,.
	Pr:Material	*	Pr: Material	Goal

S2C94 (d)	And	to help	those who have been displaced
	*	Pr: Mat	Goal

S2C95	That	is	why	we	are providing	more than \$2.8 billion
	*	Pr: Rel- Attr	*	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal
			Attribute			

S2C95 (C)	to	help	Afghans develop it's country				
		Pr: Material	Goal				
S3C138	We	continue to work	with a coalition of nations	to	build	the capacity of the Afghan governments	
	*	Pr: Mat	*	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	
S3C138 (b)	to	secure	its future				
	*	Pr: Material	Goal				
S3C139 (a)	Our shared interest	is	in building peace in a war-torn land –				
	Carrier	Rel-Attr	Attribute				
S3C139 (b)	peace that	provides	no safe haven for violent extremists				
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal				
S3C139 (c)	We	have begun	a transition to Afghan responsibility for security				
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal				
S5C22	Already nearly	half the Afghan people	live	in places where	Afghan Security Forces	are moving	into the lead
	*	Actor	Pr Mat	*	Actor	Mat	*
							Goal
S5C23	This month, at a NATO Summit in Chicago	our coalition	will set	a goal for Afghan forces	to	be	in the lead for combat operations across the country next year
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal		Pr : Rel	
S5C24	International troops	will continue to train	and	assist	the Afghans		
	Actor	Pr Mat	*	Pr Mat	Goal		
S5C24 (b)	and	fight	alongside them	when	needed		
	*	Pr Mat	*	*	Pr Mental		
S5C25	But	we	will shift	into support role	as	Afghans	step forward
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	*	*	Actor	Pr: Mat
S5C26	As	we	do	our troops	will be coming	home	
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Actor	Pr: Mat	Scope	
S5C27	Last year	We	Removed	10,000 U.S. troops from Afghanistan			
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal			
S5C28	Another 23,000	will leave	by the end of the summer				
	Actor	Pr: Material	*				

S5C29	After that	reductions Actor	will continue	at a steady pace,	with more of our troops	comming	home.
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	*	Actor	Pr Mat	Value
Goal							
S5C30	And as	our coalition	agreed	by the end of 2014,	the Afghans	will be	fully responsible for the security of their country.
	*	Actor	Pr Mat	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attr	Attribute
S5C31	Second	we	are training	Afghan forces	to	get	the job done
	*	Actor	Pr Mat		*		Goal Pr Mat
S5C32	Those forces		have surged	and	will peak	at 352,000 this year.	
	Actor		Pr: Material	*	Pr: Mat	Scope	
S5C33	The Afghans		will sustain	that level for three years			
	Actor		Pr: Mat	Goal			
S5C33 (b)	and then		reduce	the size of their military.			
	*		Pr: Mat	Goal			
S5C34	In Chicago	we	will endorse	the proposal	to	support	A strong and sustainable long-term Afghan force.
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	*	Pr: Mat	Goal
S5C35	Third	we	are building	an enduring partnership			
	*	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal			
S5C36	The agreement signed today			sends	a clear message to the Afghan people:		
	Actor			Pr: Mat	Goal		
S5C37	As	you	stand up	you	will not stand	alone	
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Actor	Pr: Material	*	
S5C38	It	establishes	the basis of our cooperation over the next decade,		Including	shared commitments	
	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal		Pr: Rel- Poss	Possessed	
S5C38(b)	to	combat	terrorism	and	strengthen	democratic institutions	
	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	*	Pr: Material	Goal	
S5C39	It	supports	Afghan efforts				
	*	Pr: Material	Goal				
S5C39 (b)	to	advance	development and dignity for their people.				
	*	Pr: Material	Goal				
S5C40	And	it	includes	Afghan commitments to transparency and accountability			
	*	Possessed	Pr: Possessive	Possessed			

S5C340(b)	And to *	protect Pr: Mat	the human rights of all Afghans- men women, boys and girls Goal				
S5C41	Within the framework *	we Actor	will work Pr: Material	with the Afghans *			
S5C41 (b)	to *	determine Pr Ment	what support Phen	they Senser	need Pr: Men	to accomplish Pr: Material	two narrow security missions beyond 2014 counter-terrorism and continued training. Goal
			Phenomenon				
S5C42	But *	we Actor	will not build Pr: Material	permanent bases in this country Goal			
S5C42 (b)	nor *	will *	we Actor	be patrolling Pr: Mat	its cities and mountains. Goal		
S5C43	That *	will be Pr: Rel-Attr	the job of the Afghan people Attribute				
S5C44	Fourth *	we Actor	are pursuing Pr: Material	a negotiated peace Goal			
S5C45	With the Afghan government coordination, *	My Administration Carrier	has been Pr: Rel-Attr	in direct discussions with the Taliban Attribut			
S5C47	We Acor	have made Pr Material	it clear Goal				
S5C47 (b)	that *	they Carrier	can be Pr: Rel[-Att	a part of this future Goal			
S5C47 (c)	if *	they Actor	break Pr: Mat	with Al Qaeda *			
S5C47 (d)	renounce Pr: Material	violence Goal	and *	abide Pr: Mat	by Afghan laws. Actor		
S5C48	Many members of the Taliban -- from foot soldiers to leaders Actor		have indicated Pr: Mat	an interest in reconciliation Goal			
S5C49	A path of peace Carrier	is Pr: Relational- Attributive	now *	set Pr: Mat	before them		



S5C50 (b)	Those	who	refuse	to	walk	it	will face	strong Afghan Security Forces
	Senser	*	Pr: Men	*	Pr: Mat	Goal		
Actor							Pr Mat	Goal

S5C50 (c)	backed	by	the United States and our allies				
Pr Material		*	Actor				

S5C48	fifth	we	are building	a global consensus
*		Actor	Pr: Material	Goal

S5C48 (b)	to	support	peace and stability in South Asia	
*		Pr: Material	Goal	

S5C49	In Chicago	the international community	will express	support for this plan, and for Afghanistan's future
*		Actor	Verbal	Verbiage

S5C50	I	have made	it	clear	to	Afghanistan's neighbor – Pakistan
Actor		Pr: Material	Actor	*	*	

S5C50 (b)	that	it	can	and	should	be	an equal partner in this process
*		Carrier	*	*	*	Rel-Attr	Attribute

S5C50 (c)	in a way that	respects	Pakistan's sovereignty, interests, and democratic institutions			
*		Pr: Material	Goal			

S5C51	In pursuit of a durable peace	America	has no	designs beyond an end to al Qaeda safe-havens, and respect for Afghan sovereignty
*		Possessor	Pr:Rela- Poss	Possessed

S5C52 (a)	As	we	move forward
		Actor	Pr: Material

S5C55(b)	Some people	will ask	why	We	need	a firm timeline
Sayer		Pr: Verbal	*	Senser	Pr: Mental	Phenomenon
Verbiage						

S5C56 (a)	The answer	is	clear
Carrier		Pr: Rel-Attributive	Attribute

S5C56(b)	Our goal	is	to	build	a country in America's image
Carrier		Pr: Relational Attributive		Pr: Mat	Goal
Attribute					

S5C56(c)	or to	eradicate	every vestige of the Taliban
*		Pr: Mat	Goal

S5C57	These objectives	would require	many more years, and most importantly, many more American lives.		
	Senser	Pr: Men	Goal		

S5C58	Our goal	is	to	destroy	Al Qaeda
	Carrier	Pr: Relational- Attributive		Pr: Mat	Goal

S5C58 (b)	We	are	on a path	to	do	exactly that
	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attr	*	*	Pr: Mat	Goal
			Attribute			

S5C59 (a)	Afghans	want to	assert	their sovereignty
	Senser	Pr: Mental	Pr: Mat	Goal

S5C59 (b)	and	build	a lasting peace
	*	Pr: Material	Goal

S5C60	That	requires	a clear time line	to	wind down
	Actor	Pr: Mental	Goal	*	Pr: Material

### TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS IN THE THEME WAR IN IRAQ

S1C132(a)	So *	Both Turkey and United States Actor	support Pr: Mat	a secure and united Itaq Goal			
S1C132 (b)	That *	does not serve Pr: Material	as a safe haven for terrorists Goal				
S1C133(a)	I	know	there	were	differences about whether to go to war within my country		
	Sensor	Pr: Men	*	Existential	Attribute		
Phenomenon							
S1C135(a)	But now *	we Actor	must come Pr: Material	together *			
S1C135 (b)	because *	the future of Iraq Carrier	is Pr: Rel- Attributiv	inseparable from the future of the broader region Attribute			
S1C136	As *	I Sayer	have	already	announced		
Pr: Verbal							
S1C136 (b)	And *	many of you Carrier	are Pr: Relational- Attributive		aware Attribute		
S1C136 (c)	The United States Actor	will remove Pr: Material	our combat brigades by the end of August Goal				
S1C136 (d)	while growing with the Iraqi Government *		as *	they Actor	take Pr: Mat	responsibility for security Goal	
S1C136 (e)	as *	we Actor	end Pr: Mat	this war responsibility Goal			
S1C137(a)	And *	we Actor	will work Pr: Mat	with Iraq, Turkey and all Iraq's neighbors *			
S1C137 (b)	to *	forge Pr: Mat	a new dialogue Goal	that *	Reconciles Pr: Mat	differences Goal	
S1C137 (c)	and *	advances Pr: Material	our common security Goal				
S1C138	Make	no mistake through Iraq , Turkey, and the United States		face	a common threat from terrorism		
	Pr: Material	Goal *		Pr: Material	Goal		
S1C139	That *	includes Pr: Rel-Poss	Al Qaeda terrorists Possessed	who *	have sought Pr: Men	to	drive Pr:Mat

S1C139 (b)	Iraqis apart	and destroy	their country			
	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal			
S1C140	That	includes	the PPK			
	*	Pr: Relational – Attributive	Attribute			
S1C141	There	is	no excuse for terror against any nation			
	*	Existential	Attribute			
S1C142	I	pledge	that	you	will have	our support against the terrorist activities of the PKK or anyone else.
	Sayer	Pr: Verbal	*	Possessor	Pr: Rel- Poss	Possessed
S1C143 (a)	These efforts	will be strengthened	by the continued work	to	build	ties of cooperation between Turkey, the Iraqi government, and Iraq's Kurdish leaders
	Goal	Pr: Material	Actor	*	Pr: Mat	Goal
S1C143 (b)	and by your continued effort	to	Promote	education and opportunity and democracy for the Kurdish population here inside Turkey		
	*	*	Pr: Mat	Goal		
S1C144	Finally	we	share	the common goal of denying al Qaeda a safe haven in Pakistan or Afghanistan		
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal		
S1C145	The world	has come	too far	to	let	this region
	Actor	Pr: Mat	*	*	Pr: Mat	*
S1C145 (b)	And to	let	al Qaeda terrorists	plot	further attacks	
	*	Pr: Material	Goal	Pr: Material	Goal	
S1C146	That	is	why	we	are committed	to a more focused effort
			*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal
		Pr Re-Attributive	Attribute			
S1C146 (b)	to	disrupt	dismantle	and	defeat	Al Qaeda
	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	*	Pr: Mat	Goal
S1C147	That	is	Why	we	are increasing	our efforts
	*	Rel-Attr	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal
			Attribute			
S1C147 (b)	to	sustain	their own security	and to	reconcile	former adversaries
	*	Pr: Mat	Goal		Pr: Mat	Goal
S1C148	That	is	why	We	are increasing	our support for the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan,
			*	Actor	Pr: Mat	
	*	Pr Rel- Attr	Attribute			

S1C149	so that	we	stand	on	the side not only of security . but also of opportunity and the promise of a better life.		
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	*			
S2C96(a)	let	me	also	address	the issue of Iraq		
	*	Actor	*	Pr: Verbal	Verbiage		
S2C96(b)	Unlike Afghanistan	Iraq	was	a war of choice			
	*	Carrier	Pr:Rel-Attr	Attribute			
S2C96 (c)	that	provoked	strong differences in my country and around the world				
	*	Pr: Mat	Goal				
S2C97	I	believe	that	the Iraqi people	are	ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein	
			*	Carrier	Pr:Rel-Attr	Attribute	
	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon				
S2C98	I	also	believe	that	events in Iraq	have reminded	America of the need to use diplomacy
					Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal
	Senser	*	Pr: Men	*	Phenomenon		
S2C98 (b)	and	build	International consensus	to	resolve	our problems	
	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	
S2C100(a)	Today	America	has	a dual responsibility			
	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attr	Attribute			
S2C100 (b)	to	help	Iraq	forge	a better future		
	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	Pr: Mat	Scope		
S2C100(c )	and to	leave	Iraq	to	Iraqis		
	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	*	Goal		
S2C101 (a)	I	have made	it clear to the Iraqi people				
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal				
S2C101(b)	that	we	pursue	no bases and no claim on their territory or resources..			
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal			
S2C102	Iraq's sovereignty	is	its own				
	Carrier	Pr: Relational- Attributive	Attribute				
S2C103	That	is	why	I	ordered	the removal of our combat brigades by next August	
	*	Pr: Rel- Attr	*	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal	
S2C104	That	is	why	we	will honor	our agreement with Iraq's democratically-elected	
	*	Pr: Rel-Attr	*	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon	

S2C104 (b)	to *	remove Pr: Material	combat troops from Iraqi cities by July Goal		
S2C104(c)	and to *	remove Pr: Mat	all our troops from Iraq by 2012 Goal		
S2C105	We Actor	will help Pr: Mat	Iraq Goal	train Pr: Material	its security Goal
S2C106	But *	we Actor	will support Pr: Material	a secure and united Iraq as a partner, and never as a patron. Goal	
S2C107(a)	And finally just as *	America Senser	can never tolerate Pr: Men	violence by extremists Phenomenon	
S2C107(b)	we Actor	must never alter Pr: Material	our principles Goal		
S2C108	9/11 Carrier	was Pr: Rel-Attr	an enormous trauma to our country Attribute		
S2C109	The fear and anger that Goal	it Actor	provoked Pr: Mat	was Pr: Rel Attr	Understandable Attribute
	Carrier				
S2C109 (b)	but in some cases *	it Actor	led Pr: Mat	us to our ideals Goal	
S2C110	We Actor	are taking Pr: Mat	concrete actions to Goal	change Pr: Mat	Course Goal
S2C111(a)	I Actor	have unequivocally prohibited Pr: Mat	the use of torture by the United States, Goal		
S2C111(b)	and *	I Actor	have ordered Pr: Material	the prison at Guantanamo be closed by early next year Goal	
S2C112	so *	America Actor	will defend Pr: Material	itself respectful of the sovereignty of nations and the rule of law Goal	
S2C113(a)	And *	we Actor	will do Pr: Mat	in partnership with Muslim communities	
S2C112 (b)	which *	are	also	Threatened Pr: Material	
S2C113(a)	The sooner *	the extremists Carrier	are Pr:Rel- Attr	isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities Attribute	

S2C113(b)	the sooner *	we Carrier	will Pr: Relational	all *	be	Safer Attribute		
S3C140(a)	Meanwhile *	we Actor	have made Pr: Mat	Progress on one of our commitments Goal				
S3C140 (b)	to *	End Pr: Material		the war in Iraq Goal				
S3C141	Nearly *	1000,000 American troops Actor	have now left Pr: Material	Iraq under my presidenc Goal				
S3C142	Iraqis Actor	have taken Pr: Material	full responsibility Goal	for their security Beneficiary				
S3C143(a)	And *	we Actor	will continue Pr: Material	to *	support Pr: Mat	Iraq Goal		
S2C143 (b)	as *	it Actor	Forms Pr: Material	an inclusive government Goal				
S2C143 (c )	and *	we Actor	will bring Pr: Mat	all of our troops home Goal				
S4C7(a)	Today *	I Sayer	would like to talk Pr: Verbal	about this change Verbiage				
S4C7 (b)	the forces Actor	that *	are driving it Pr: Material	and how *	we Actor			
S4C7 (c )	can respond Pr: Material	in a way Actor	that *	advances Pr: Mat	our values Goal	and *	strengthens Pr: Material	our security Goal
S4C8(a)	Already *	we Actor	have done Pr: Mat	Much Goal	to shit Pr: Mat	our foreign policy Goal		
S4C8(b)	following a decade *		defined Pr: Material	by tow costly conflicts Actor				
S4C9	After years of war in Iraq *		we Actor	have removed Pr: Mat	100,000 American troops Goal			

**TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS IN THE THEME ISRAEL - PALESTINE CONFLICT**

S2C129(a)	For decades	there	has been	a statement
	*	Sub	Pr: Existential	Existent

S2C130 (b)	two peoples with legitimate aspirations, each with a painful history.	that	makes	compromise elusive
	*	*	Pr: Mat	Goal

S2C130 (c)	It	is	easy	to	point	fingers
	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attributive	Attribute	*	Pr: Mat	Goal

S2C130(d)	For Palestinians	to	point	to the displacement	brought	by Israel's founding,
	Senser	*	Pr: Men	Phenomenon	Pr: Mat	Actor

S2C130 (e)	And for Israelis	to	point	to the constant hostility and attacks throughout its history from within its borders as well as beyond
	Senser	*	Pr:Men	Phenomenon

S2C131(a)	But if	we	see	this conflict only from one side or the other,
	*	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon

S2C131 (b)	then	we	will be	blind to the truth
	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attr	Attribute

S2C131(c)	The only resolution	is	for the aspirations of both sides	be met	through two states
	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attr	Goal	Pr: Mat	*
			Attribute		

SC132(d)	where	Israelis and Palestinians each	live	in peace and security
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	*

S2C136	Palestinians	must abandon	violence
	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal

S2C137	Resistance through violence and killing	is	wrong	and	does not succeed
	Carrier	Pr: Rel- Attr	Attribute	*	Pr: Material

S2C143	Now	is	the time for	Palestinians	to	focus	on	what	they	can build
			*	Actor	*	Pr Men	*	*	Actor	Pr: Mat
								Phenomenon		
	*	Pr: Attr	Attribute							

S2C144	The Palestinian Authority	must develop	its capacity to govern	with institutions	that	serve	the needs of its people
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Actor	*	Pr: Mat	Goal



S2C145	Hamas	does have	support among some Palestinians	but	they	also	have	responsibilities
	Possessor	Pr: Poss	Possessed	*	Possessor	*	Pr: Rel-Attr	Possessed
S2C146	To	play	a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations	and to	unify	the Palestinian people		
	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	*	Pr: Mat	Goal		
S2C147(a)	Hamas	must put	an end to violence	recognize	past agreements			
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	Pr: Men	Phenomenon			
S2C147 (b)	and	recognize	Israel's right	to	exist			
	*	Pr Men	Actor	*	Pr : Material			
			Phenomenon					
S2C148	At the same time	Israel	must acknowledge	that just as	Israel's right	to	exist	cannot be denied
	*	Senser	Pr Men	*	Phenomenon		Pr Mental	
			Phenomenon					
S2C149	The United States	does not accept	the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements.					
	Senser	Pr: Mental	Goal					
S2C150	The construction	violates	previous agreements and undermines efforts	to	achieve	peace		
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	*	Pr: Material	Goal		
S2C151	It	is	time for these settlements			to	Stop	
			Actor			*	Pr: Material	
	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attributive	Attribute					
S2C152(a)	Israel	must live up	to	its obligations	to	ensure	that Palestinians	can live
	Actor	Pr: Material	*	Scope	*	Pr: Men	Actor	Pr: Mat
S2C152 (b)	and	work	and	develop	their society			
	*	Pr: Mat	*	Pr: Mat	Goal			
S2C153(a)	And just as	it	devastates	Palestinian families				
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal				
S2C153 (b)	the continuing humanitarian crisis in Gaza			does not	Israel's security;			
	Actor			Pr: Mat	Goal			
S2C153 (c)	neither	does	the continuing lack of opportunity in the West Bank					
	*	Pr: Mat	Goal					
S2C154	Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people				must be	part of a road to peace		
	Carrier				Pr: Rel-Attr	Attribute		

S2C154 (b)	and	Israel	must take	concrete steps	to	enable	such progress				
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal	*	Pr: Mat	Goal*				
S2C155	Finally	the Arab States	must recognize	that the Arab Peace Initiative		was	an important training				
	*	Senser	Pr: Men	Carrier		Pr: Rel Attr	Attribute				
				Phenomenon							
S2C156	The Arab-Israeli conflict		should no longer	be used to distract		the people of Arab nations from other problems					
	Carrier		*	Pr: Rel-Attr		Attributive					
S2C157(a)	Instead	it	must be			a cause for action					
	*	Carrier	Pr: Relational –Attributive			Attribute					
S2C157(b)	to	help	the Palestinian people		develop	institutions					
	*	*	Pr: Mat	Goal		Pr: Material	Goal				
S2C157(C)	that	will sustain	their state	to	recognize	Israel's legitimacy					
	*	Pr: Material	Goal	*	Pr: Mental	Phenomenon					
S2C157 (b)	and to	choose	progress over a self-defeating focus on the past.								
	*	Pr: Mat	Goal								
S4C186	For decades	the conflict between Israelis and Arabs		has cast	a shadow over the region						
	*	Actor		Pr: Mat	Goal						
S4C187	For Israelis	it	has meant	living with the fear	that	their children	could get blown up	on a bus	or by rocks	fired	at their homes
	*	senser	Pr Men	Goal	*	Actor	Pr Mat		Goal	Mat	
				Phenomenon							
S4C187 (c)	as well as the pain of knowing		that	other children in the region	are taught	to	hate	them			
	*		*	Goal	Pr: Mat	*	Pr: Men	Phenomenon			
S4C188	It	has meant	suffering the humiliation of occupation,		and never	living	in a nation of their own				
	Carrier	Pr: Attr	Attribute		*	Pr: Mat	*				
S4C189	Moreover	this conflict	has come	with a larger cost the Middle East							
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal							

S4C189	as	it	impedes	Partnerships	that	could bring	greater security, prosperity, and empowerment to ordinary.	
				People	*	Pr Mat	Goal	
		Actor	Pr Mat	Goal				
S4C196	For the Palestinians		efforts	to	delegitimize	Israel	will end	in failure
			Actor	*	Pr: Mat	Goal		
	*	Pr: Material				Pr: Mat	*	
S4C197	Symbolic actions to isolate Israel at the United Nations in September				won't create	an independent state		
	Actor				Pr: Material	Goal		
S4C198	Palestinian leaders		will not achieve		peace or prosperity			
	Actor		Pr: Material		Goal			
S4C198(b)	if	Hamas	insists	on a path of terror and rejection				
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal				
S4C199	And	Palestinians	will never realize	their independence	by denying the right of Israel to		exist	
	*	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon	*		Pr: Mat	
S4C204	A growing number of Palestinians				live	west of the Jordan River		
	Actor				Pr: Mat	*		
S4C205	Technology	will make	it harder for Israel		to	defend	itself.	
	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal			Pr: Mat	Goal	
S4C206	A region undergoing profound change				will lead	to populism		
	Actor				Pr: Material	*		
S4C206(b)	millions of people not just a few leaders				must believe	peace is possible		
	Senser				Pr: Mental	Phenomenon		
S4C207	The international community		is	tired of an endless process	that	never produces	outcome	
	Carrier		Pr: Rel- Attr	Attribute	*	Pr: Material	Goal	
S4C208	The dream of a Jewish and democratic state				cannot be	fulfilled with permanent occupation		
	Carrier				Pr: Rel- Attributive	Attribute		
S4C209	It	is	up to Israel and Palestinians		to	take	action	
			Actor		*	Pr: Mat	Goal	
	Carrier	Pr: Rel- Attr	Attribute					

S4C210(a)	No peace	can be imposed	upon them
	Goal	Pr: Material	*

S4C210(b)	nor can	endless delay	make	the problem	go away
	*	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	Pr: Material

S4C211	But what	America and the International community	can do	is	state frankly	what	everyone	knows
	*	Actor	Mat		*	*	Senser	Pr Men
	Carrier			Pr -Attr	Attribute			

S4C209 (b)	A lasting peace	will involve	two states for two peoples
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal

S4C212	Each state	enjoying	self-determination, mutual recognition, and peace.
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal

S4C211	So while	the core issues of the conflict	must be	negotiated
	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel	Attribute

S4C212	The United States	believes	that	negotiations	should result	in two states,
			*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Scope
	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon			

S5C200	As for Israel	Our friendship	is	rooted deeply in a shared values
	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel- Attr	Attribute

S5C201	Our commitment to Israel's security	is	Unshakable
	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attributive	Attribute

S5C202	As	we	will stand	against attempts	to	single	it	out for criticism in international forums
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	*	*	Pr: Mat	Goal	*

S5C203	But precisely because of our friendship,	it	is	important	that	we	tell	the truth
	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attr	Ttribute	*	Sayer	Pr: Sayer	Verbiage

S5C203	The status quotion	is	unsustainable
	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attr	Attribute

S5C203	and	Israel	too	must act bodily	to	advance	a lasting peace
	*	Actor	*	Pr: Mat	*	Pr: Mat	Goal

S6C1	The Palestinian people	deserve	an end to occupation and the daily indignities that come with it
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal

S6C1 (a)	Palestinians	deserve	to move and travel freely	and to	feel	secure	in their commun
			Pr: Material	*	Men	Phenom	*
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal				

S6C2(a)	Like people everywhere	Palestinians	deserve	a future of hope			
	*	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal			

S6C2(b)	that	their rights	will be	Respected			
	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel-	Attribute			

S6C2(c)	that	tomorrow	will be	better than today			
	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attributive	Attribute			

S6C2(d)	and	they	can give	their children	a life of dignity and opportunity		
	*	Actor	Pr: Material	Beneficiary	Goal		

S6C3	Palestinians	deserve	a state of their own				
	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon				

S6C4	I	want	to	commend	President Abbas and his Prime Minister, Salam Fayyad		
	Senser	Pr: Mental		Pr: Verbal	Target		
	Phenomenon						

S6C4(b)	for the progress	have made	in building the institutions of a Palestinian state				
	Goal	Pr: Material	Scope				
	Verbiage						

S6C5(a)	And	the United States	is	a proud partner in these efforts			
	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attr	Attribute			

S6C5(b)	as	the single largest donor of assistance	that	improves	the lives of Palestinians, both in the West Bank and Gaza.		
	*	Actor	*	Pr: Material	Goal		

S6C6(a)	As your partner,	we	salute	you achievements			
	*	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon			

S6C5(b)	and	we	mourn	your losses.			
	*	Senser	Pr: Mental	Phenomenon			

S6C7(a)	We	offer	condolences, in particular, over the loss of your fellow Palestinians last weekend in the tragic accident in Jordaimply,				
	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon				

S6C15(a) (b)	I	would point	that	all this	stands	in stake contrast	
			*	Actor	Pr: Material	*	
	Sayer	Pr: Verbal	Verbiage				

S6C15	the misery and repression	that	so many Palestinians	continue to confront	in Gaza.		
	Goal	*	Actor	Pr: Material	*		

S6C15(b)	because	Hamas	refuses to renounce	violence
	*	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon

S6C15(c)	because	Hamas	cares	more about enforcing its own rigid dogmas than allowing Palestinians to live freely
	*	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal

S6C16	We	saw	the continuing threat from Gaza again overnight, with the rockets that targeted Sderot.
	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon

S6C17	We	condemn	this violation of the important cease-fire that protects both Israelis and Palestinians —
	Actor	Pr: Mat	Goal

S6C17	a violation	that	Hamas	has	a responsibility	to	Prevent
	Goal	*	Possessor	Pr: Rel-Possissive	Possessed	*	Pr: Mat

S6C39 (a)	one thing	that	I	am	very certain of	is
		*	Carrier	Pr: Rel- Att	Attribute	
	Carrier					Pr: Rel

S6C39(b)	Palestinians	have	the talent
	Possessor	Pr: Possessive	Possessed
	Attribute		

S6C40	I	think	of the villages that hold peaceful protests
	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon

S6C40(b)	because	they	understand	the moral force of nonviolence
	*	Senser	Pr: Menl	

S6C41	I	think	of the importance that Palestinian families	place	on education
			Actor	Pr: Material	*
	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon		

S6C43	I	think	of the aspirations	that	so many young Palestinians	have	for their future
			Possessed	*	Possessor	Pr: Possessive	*
	Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon				

S6C46	and	Those of us the United States	understand	that change takes time
	*	Senser	Pr: Mental	Phenomenon

S6C46(b)	but	it	is	also possible
	*	Carrier	Pr: Rel-Attr	Attribute

S6C47	What is true in the United States	can be	true here as well
	Carrier	Pr: Rel	Attribute

S6C48	We	can make	those changes,
	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal

S6C48(b)	We	a're going to have to be	determined
	Carrier	Pr: Rel- Attributive	Attribute

S6C49	We	are going to have
	Possessed	Pr: Rel- Possessive

S6C50(a)	We	are going to have to be willing to break out	of the old habits, the old arguments
	Actor	Pr: Material	Goal

S6C50(b)	to	reach	for that new place, that new world
	*	Pr: Material	Scope

S6C51(a)	and	I	want	all peple here and throughout the region
		Senser	Pr: Men	Phenomenon

S6C51(b)	to know	that you will have the president of the USA and an administration that uis committed to achieving that goal
	Pr: Men	Phenomenon

**APPENDIX B (2) MODALITY ANALYSIS  
MODALITY ANALYSIS IN THE THEME COOPERATION**

Clause No	Clauses Analyzed	Modality Types and Degrees											
		Modalization						Modulation					
		Probability			Usuality			Obligation			Inclination		
		H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
S1C159	America is not and will <b>never</b> be at war with Islam.						√					√	
S1C163(a)	We <b>will</b> listen carefully.								√				
S1C163(b)	we <b>will</b> bridge misunderstandings								√				
S1C163(d)	We <b>will</b> be respectful even when we do not agree								√				
S1C163(C)	And we <b>will</b> seek common ground.								√				
S1C165	We <b>will</b> convey our deep appreciation for the Islamic faith, which has done so much over the centuries to shape the world -- including in my own country.											√	
S2C229	The internet and TV <b>can</b> bring knowledge but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence.			√									
S2C230	Trade <b>can</b> bring new wealth and opportunity, but also huge disruptions and changing communities.			√									
S2C231	This change <b>can</b> bring fear.			√									
S2C232	Because of modernity, we <b>will</b> lose control over our economic choices.		√										
S2C234	But I also know that human progress <b>can't</b> be denied.	√											
S2C240	No development strategy <b>can</b> be based only upon what comes out of the ground.	√											
S2C141	Nor <b>can</b> it be sustainable while young people are out of work.	√											
S2C242(a)	But all of us <b>must</b> recognize that-							√					
S2C242(b)	Education and innovation <b>will</b> be the currency of the 21 <sup>st</sup> century.								√				
S2C245	On education, we <b>will</b> expand exchange programs and increase scholarships.											√	





## MODALITY ANALYSIS IN THE THEM WAR IN AFGHANISTAN

Clause No	Clauses analyzed	Modality Types and Degrees												
		Modalization						Modulation						
		Probability			Usuality			Obligation			Inclination			
		H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	
S2C93(b)	We also know that Military power alone <b>is not going to</b> solve the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan.												√	
S5C23(a)	Our Coalition <b>will</b> set a goal for Afghan forces to be in the lead for combat operations across the country next year.												√	
S5C24	International troops <b>will</b> continue to train, advice and assist the Afghans, and fight alongside them when needed.												√	
S5C25(b)	But we <b>will</b> shift into a support role as Afghans step forward.												√	
S5C26	As we do, our troops <b>will be</b> coming home.												√	
S5C28	Another 23.000 <b>will</b> leave by the end of the summer.												√	
S5C29	After that, reductions <b>will</b> continue at a steady pace.								√					
S5C30(b)	by the end of 2014 the Afghans <b>will</b> be fully responsible for the security of their country.								√					
S5C32(b)	We <b>will</b> peak at 35.0000 this year												√	
S5C33	The Afghans <b>will</b> sustain that leave for three years, and then reduce the size of their military.								√					
S5C34	And in Chicago, we <b>will</b> endorse a proposal to support a strong and sustainable long-term Afghan force.												√	
S5C37(b)	You <b>will</b> not stand alone.								√					
S5C41(a)	We will work with the Afghans to determine what support they <b>need to</b> accomplish two narrow security missions beyond in this country.							√						
S5C42	We <b>will</b> not build peranent bases in this country												√	
S5C42(b)	Nor we <b>will be</b> patrolling it's cites, that will be the job of Afghan people.												√	
S5C42(b)	Nor we <b>will</b> be patrolling it's cites, that <b>will be</b> the job of Afghan people.								√					
S5C47(b)	They <b>can</b> be a part of this future									√				
S5C50	Those who refuse to talk <b>will</b> face strong Afghan security forces.								√					

S5C52	The international community <b>will</b> express support to these places.												√	
S5C53(b)	It can and <b>should be</b> an equal partner in this process in a way that respects Pakistanis sovereignty, interests and democratic institutions.									√				
	It <b>will</b> face strong Afghan Security Forces									√				
S5C55(b)	Some people <b>will</b> ask why we need a firm timeline		√											
S5C57	Those objectives <b>would</b> require many more years , and most importantly more American lives									√				
S5C60	That requires a clear timeline								√					

### MODALITY ANALYSIS IN THE THEME WAR IN IRAQ

Clause No	Clauses Analyzed	Modality Types and Degrees													
		Modalization						Modulation							
		Probability			Usuality			Obligation			Inclination				
		H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L		
S1C142(b)	I pledge that you <b>will</b> have our support against the terrorist activities of the PKK or anyone else.		√												
S1C143(a)	These efforts <b>will be</b> strengthened by the continued work to build ties of cooperation between Turkey, the Iraqi government, and Iraq's Kurdish leaders, and by your continued efforts to promote education and opportunity and democracy for the Kurdish population here inside Turkey.												√		
S1C153	Now we <b>must</b> achieve our goals together.							√							
S1C155	Together, we <b>can</b> rise to meet this challenge like we have so many before			√											
S2C97(a)	I <b>believe</b> that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein	√													
S2C97(b)	I also <b>believe</b> that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible. Indeed,	√													
S2C97 (f)	to resolve our problems whenever <b>possible</b> .			√											
S2C103	we <b>will</b> honor our agreement with Iraq's democratically-elected government												√		
S2C104	We <b>will</b> help Iraq train its Security Forces and develop its economy												√		
S2C105	But we <b>will</b> support a secure and united Iraq as a partner, and never as a patron.												√		
S2C106(a)	And finally, just as America <b>can never</b> tolerate violence by extremists						√								

S2C106(b)	We <b>must</b> never alter our principles. 9/11 was an enormous trauma to our country								√					
S2C111	So America <b>will</b> defend itself respectful of the sovereignty of nations and the rule of law												√	
S2C112	And we <b>will</b> do so in partnership with Muslim communities which are also threatened												√	
S2C113	The sooner the extremists are isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities, the sooner we <b>will</b> all be safer		√											
S3C143(a)	And we <b>will</b> continue to support Iraq as it forms an inclusive government, and we will bring all of our troops home.												√	
S3C143(c)	and we <b>will</b> bring all of our troops home												√	
S4C7(a)	I <b>would</b> like to talk about this change												√	
S4C7(b)	-- the forces that are driving it, and how we <b>can</b> respond in a way that advances our values and strengthens our security										√			

**MODALITY ANALYSIS IN THE THEME PALESTINE-ISRAEL CONFLICT**

Clause No	Clauses Analyzed	Modality Types and Degrees											
		Modalization						Modulation					
		Probability			Usuality			Obligation			Inclination		
		H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
S2C131(b)	.But if we see this conflict only from one side or the other, then we <b>will</b> be blind to the truth:		√										
S2C136	Palestinians <b>must</b> abandon violence.							√					
S2C143	Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what they <b>can</b> build			√									
S2C144	The Palestinian Authority <b>must</b> develop its capacity to govern, with institutions that serve the needs of its people.							√					
S2C147(c)	Hamas <b>must</b> put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, and recognize Israel's right to exist.							√					
S2C148	At the same time, Israelis <b>must</b> acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied							√					
S2C148(b)	At the same time, Israelis must acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist <b>cannot</b> be denied	√											
S2C148(c)	<b>neither can</b> Palestine's	√											
S2C152	Israel <b>must</b> also live up to its obligations to ensure that Palestinians <b>can</b> live, and work, and develop their society.			√				√					
S2C154(a)	Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people <b>must</b> be part of a road to peace,							√					
S2C154(b)	Israel <b>must</b> take concrete steps to enable such progress.							√					
S2C155	Finally, the Arab States <b>must</b> recognize that the Arab Peace Initiative was an important beginning, but not the end of their responsibilities.							√					
S2C156	The Arab-Israeli conflict <b>should</b> no longer be used to distract the people of Arab nations from other problems.								√				
S2C157(a)	Instead, it <b>must</b> be a cause for action to help the Palestinian people develop the institutions that will sustain their state							√					
S2C157(c)	Instead, it must be a cause for action to help the Palestinian people develop the institutions that <b>will</b> sustain their state		√										

S4C187(c)	Moreover, this conflict has come with a larger cost the Middle East, as it impedes partnerships that <b>could</b> bring greater security, prosperity, and empowerment to ordinary people.			√									
S4C196	For the Palestinians, efforts to delegitimize Israel <b>will</b> end in failure.		√										
S4C197	Symbolic actions to isolate Israel at the United Nations in September <b>won't</b> create an independent state.		√										
S4C198	Palestinian leaders <b>will</b> not achieve peace or prosperity if Hamas insists on a path of terror and rejection.		√										
S4C199	And Palestinians will <b>never</b> realize their independence by denying the right of Israel to exist.						√						
S4C202	And we <b>will</b> stand against attempts to single it out for criticism in international forums.											√	
S4C203(d)	, and Israel too <b>must</b> act boldly to advance a lasting peace.							√					
S4C206	A region undergoing profound change <b>will</b> lead to populism in which millions of people.		√										
S4C206(b)	not just a few leaders -- <b>must</b> believe _							√					
S4C206(c)	Peace is <b>possible</b> .			√									
S4C208	The dream of a Jewish and democratic state <b>cannot</b> be fulfilled with permanent occupation.	√											
S4C210	No peace <b>can</b> be imposed upon them, nor can endless delay make the problem go away.	√											
S4C211	But what America and the international community <b>can</b> do is state frankly what everyone knows										√		
S4C211 (b)	a lasting peace <b>will</b> involve two states for two peoples. Israel as a Jewish state and the homeland for the Jewish people, and the state of Palestine as the homeland for the Palestinian people.									√			
S6C2(b)	Like people everywhere, Palestinians deserve a future of hope — that their rights <b>will</b> be respected,									√			
S6C2(c)	that tomorrow <b>will</b> be better than today and									√			

S6C2(d)	that they <b>can</b> give their children a life of dignity and opportunity.									√			
S6C4	I <b>want to</b> commend President Abbas and his Prime Minister, Salam Fayyad, for the progress that they've made in building the institutions of a Palestinian state.								√			√	
S5C15	I <b>would</b> point out that all this stands in stark contrast to the misery and repression that so many Palestinians continue to confront in Gaza											√	
S6C39	One thing that I'm <b>very certain</b> of is that the Palestinians have the talent, the drive, and the courage to succeed in their own state.	√											
S6C44	That's why we <b>can't</b> give up,	√											
S6C46(c)	And those of us in the United States understand that change takes time but it is also <b>possible</b>			√									
S6C47	What's true in the United States <b>can</b> be true here as well.			√									
S6C48	We <b>can</b> make those changes,			√									
S6C48(b)	but we're <b>going to</b> have to be determined											√	
S6C49	We're <b>going to</b> have to have courage.											√	
S6C50	We're <b>going to</b> have to be <b>willing to</b> break out of the old habits, the old arguments, to reach for that new place, that new world.											√	
S6C51	And I <b>want</b> all the people here and throughout the region to know that you <b>will</b> have the President of the United States and an administration that is committed to achieving that goal.											√	
S6C51 (c)	You <b>will</b> have the president of the United States								√				