

## MÁSTER EN LENGUAS Y TECNOLOGÍA

**Curso Académico: 2020/2021**

### TÍTULO TRABAJO FIN DE MÁSTER:

A corpus-driven analysis of Philippine presidential speeches from the CDA perspective:  
The case of G. M. Arroyo and B. Aquino

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## **Abstract**

### **A corpus-driven analysis of Philippine presidential speeches from the CDA perspective: The case of G. M. Arroyo and B. Aquino**

This study is a comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of the speeches of two presidents in the Philippines, namely Gloria Macapagal Arroyo and Benigno Aquino, III. Combining Corpus-Driven Approach and Critical Discourse Analysis, this study quantitatively and qualitatively analyzes the similarities and the differences in the speeches of the presidents in question. To achieve the objective of the study, two corpora were created: one containing 59 presidential speeches by Arroyo, and another containing 44 presidential speeches of Aquino. The word lists, keywords and their collocations, as well as four-word lexical bundles generated by Sketch Engine ([www.sketchengine.eu](http://www.sketchengine.eu)) from the two corpora were analyzed in order to identify the discursive strategies employed by the presidents and find out their ideological components. The results have shown that both presidents in question used varying discursive strategies that reflected the current socio-political background during their terms, as well as their ideologies and political goals, which has been reflected on the level of word frequencies, keywords and their collocations. The similarities identified consisted in the same usage pattern of structural and functional types of lexical bundles, which points to common features of presidential speeches.

Keywords: corpus-driven approach, critical discourse analysis, presidential discourse, Philippines

## **Resumen**

### **Un análisis del corpus de los discursos presidenciales filipinos desde la perspectiva del ACD: El caso de G. M. Arroyo y B. Aquino**

Este trabajo es un análisis comparativo de los discursos de dos presidentes de Filipinas, es decir, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo y Benigno Aquino, III desde la perspectiva del Análisis Crítico del Discurso (ACD). Combinando el enfoque impulsado por el corpus y el Análisis Crítico del Discurso, este estudio analiza cuantitativa y cualitativamente las similitudes y las diferencias entre los discursos de los presidentes en cuestión. Para lograr el objetivo del estudio, se crearon dos corpus: uno que

contiene 59 discursos presidenciales de Arroyo, y otro que contiene 44 discursos presidenciales de Aquino. Se analizaron las listas de palabras, las palabras clave y sus coapariciones, así como las secuencias frecuentes de cuatro palabras (*lexical bundles*) generadas por Sketch Engine ([www.sketchengine.eu](http://www.sketchengine.eu)) a partir de los dos corpus con el fin de identificar las estrategias discursivas empleadas por los presidentes y detectar sus componentes ideológicos. Los resultados han mostrado que ambos presidentes en cuestión utilizaron estrategias discursivas variadas que reflejan el trasfondo sociopolítico vigente durante sus mandatos, así como sus ideologías y objetivos políticos, lo cual ha quedado reflejado a nivel de frecuencias de palabras, palabras clave y sus coapariciones. Las similitudes identificadas consisten en el mismo patrón de uso de los tipos estructurales y funcionales de *lexical bundles*, lo que apunta a rasgos comunes de los discursos presidenciales.

Palabras clave: enfoque basado en corpus, análisis crítico del discurso, discurso presidencial, Filipinas

## **Resum**

### **Una anàlisi basada en el corpus dels discursos presidencials filipins des de la perspectiva del ACD: el cas de G. M. Arroyo i B. Aquino**

Aquest treballi és una anàlisi comparativa dels discursos de dos presidents a Filipines, és a dir, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo i Benigno Aquino, III des de la perspectiva del Anàlisi Crític del Discurs (ACD). Combinant l'enfocament impulsat pel corpus i l'Anàlisi Crític del Discurs, aquest estudi analitza quantitativa i qualitativament les semblances i les diferències en els discursos dels presidents en qüestió. Per assolir l'objectiu de l'estudi, es van crear dos corpus: un que contenia 59 discursos presidencials d'Arroyo i un altre que contenia 44 discursos presidencials s d'Aquino. Es van analitzar les llistes de paraules, les paraules clau i les seves coaparicions, així com les secuencias lèxiques (*lexical bundles*)de quatre paraules, tot alló generat per Sketch Engine ([www.sketchengine.eu](http://www.sketchengine.eu)) dels dos corpus per identificar les estratègies discursives utilitzades pels presidents i conèixer les seues ideologies. Els resultats han demostrat que els dos presidents en qüestió van utilitzar diverses estratègies discursives que reflectien el context sociopolític durant els seus mandats, així com les seues ideologies i objectius polítics, que s'ha reflectit

en el nivell de freqüència de paraules, paraules clau i les seues coaparicions. Les similituds identificades consisteixen en el mateix patró d'ús dels tipus estructurals i funcionals de *lexical bundles*, que apunta a trets comuns dels discursos presidencials.

Paraules clau: enfocament impulsat pel corpus, anàlisi crítica del discurs, discurs presidencial, Filipines

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I would never have been able to finish my thesis without the guidance of my supervisor, help from friends, and support from my family.

First, and most importantly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Hanna Teresa Skorczynska Sznajder for her constant guidance, immense knowledge, countless hours, and continuous support throughout the research process. I could not wish for a better supervisor.

Besides my supervisor, I would like to thank the members of the UPV Department of Applied Linguistics and all my other professors who dedicated their time and knowledge to teach the Master's degree in Language and Technology. I am sincerely grateful for their inspiring guidance, invaluable constructive criticisms and friendly advice during my stay at the university.

I am also indebted to my circle here in Spain, the closest that I can get to have a family away from home, for being so patient and providing all the support that they can give. Especially to my two thoughtful and generous roommates, Janine for dedicating your time and assistance whenever I needed them and without a question, thank you; and Jerrielle, for all the times that you unselfishly thought of me and open-handedly included me in all the meals that you cooked, thank you. To my ever so understanding and supportive boyfriend Juan Carlos, for tolerating my 3 am spurts of ideas and the never-ending cups of coffee that got me through the writing process, thank you.

Finally, I would also like to thank my family for believing in me at times when I did not believe in myself and in particular, it is an honor to be grateful to my parents, Lourdes and Samuel, without whose unceasing and unparalleled love and support, I would not have finished this thesis. Also, my little sister Sandra, thank you for always being there for me and patiently encouraging me to explore new directions in life.

This journey would not have been possible if not for all of them, and I dedicate this milestone to them and most especially to my fellow Filipinos.

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## CHAPTER 1. Introduction

In today's Information Age where everything is accessible and channels for mass media information are faster, unlimited, and wide-ranging, political discourse plays an even greater role in most societies. Politicians use language as a tool to achieve a broad range of aims. Some use it to divide society into binary oppositions (Helander, 2014). Some use it as a tool to validate their governance (Hargreaves, 1994). Some even use the language as a tool for mind control through prevailing ideology (Van Dijk, 1995, 2006; De Wet, 2010). Therefore, political discourse should be analyzed to uncover the underlying meanings and motives confined in the politicians' supposedly innocuous speeches.

Political leaders do not only use political discourse to communicate and influence their audience, they also use it to manipulate the audience into how they should be viewed, and in this way, dominate the political realm. Beard (2002:2) established the importance of language in the political arena because through this, one can "understand how language is used by those who wish to gain power, those who wish to exercise power and those who wish to keep power".

In the Philippine milieu, a limited number of studies focused on the State of the Nation Address (SONA) of the presidents of the Philippines (Navera, 2012; Autida-van der Zee, 2013; Dumlao, 2018; Gumiran-Quijano, 2019; Ancho et al., 2020; Daantos, 2020). These studies looked into metaphORIZATION and key themes and concepts in the post-dictatorship SONAs of Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada, and Gloria Macapagal Arroyo (Navera, 2012), the use of verbs and pronouns in Benigno Aquino III's SONAs and his inaugural address (Autida-van der Zee, 2013), the discursive strategies used by the current president Rodrigo Duterte in his speeches (Dumlao, 2018); the use of modal verbs and pronouns in the first SONAs of Arroyo, Aquino and Duterte (Gumiran-Quijano, 2019), into how education is addressed in the last three presidents' SONAs (Ancho et al., 2020) and how women are represented in Duterte's speeches (Daantos, 2020).

However, none of the studies mentioned examined a corpus of political speeches as extensive as this research has used, and only three took a quantitative approach. Moreover, and to the best of my knowledge, only one study employed a corpus-driven approach as its method of analysis (Huesca-Palmares, 2017). This study took on Searle's (1979) Speech Act Theory and particularly focused only on

inaugural speeches of Arroyo, Aquino, and Duterte to analyze nouns, modal auxiliaries, and pronouns, and in this way discussed the political views of the mentioned presidents. Therefore, and in order to provide more corpus data on political discourse in the Philippines, I have combined the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with a corpus-driven approach to the analysis of language data. In this way, I have been able to carry out a more in-depth examination of the speeches delivered by two former presidents of the Philippines: Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and Benigno Aquino III. This study, thus, aims to report data extracted from the corpora created and discuss the strategies used by the two politicians to use their speeches as a controlling and influencing tool.

As mentioned previously, this Master's thesis has been completed within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, which aims to analyze discourse with the goal of finding concealed ideologies and power relations (Fairclough, 2001, 2014; Wodak, 1995, 1997; Van Dijk, 1995, 2015), with a special focus on the use of language in social problems and social constructions, and in propagating power and control. CDA, therefore, plays a significant role in the identification of the society's construction of reality and inequality. Even though CDA provides a convenient and solid framework of analysis, it can be critiqued for subjective interpretations in uncovering hidden power relations. Corpus linguistics, in this case, can provide a rigorous analytic approach and nurture CDA with corpus quantitative data, ensuring in this way a more unbiased interpretation of political discourse (Baker et al., 2008; Salama, 2011; Partington, Duguid & Taylor, 2013; Montiel et al., 2021). In this sense, this study combines quantitative and qualitative approaches, as the word patterns identified have been analyzed in context and interpreted accordingly.

This Master's thesis, therefore, through the combination of CDA and a corpus-driven approach aims to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What are the similarities and differences found in the political speeches of Arroyo and Aquino in terms of:
  - a. the most frequent words
  - b. keywords and their collocations
  - c. key multi-word terms
  - d. lexical bundles

- 2) What discursive strategies did the two presidents use in order to present themselves and enact their ideologies?

This Master's thesis is organised in the following way. Chapter 2 will focus on the theoretical framework of this study. First, it will provide a definition of discourse and discourse analysis. After that, I will discuss what Critical Discourse Analysis is and then describe the background research relevant to this study. The chapter then ends with a section explaining the use of corpus linguistics in CDA studies. Chapter 3 deals with political discourse analysis. This chapter is divided into three sections: a definition of political discourse analysis, the background studies relevant to this thesis, and corpus linguistic approaches to political discourse analysis. After that, I will briefly discuss the socio-political context of the terms of each president, Arroyo and Aquino (Chapter 4). I will then move on to describe the methodology used for this investigation (Chapter 5). The methodology chapter is divided into two sections: corpus design and structure, and method of analysis. Chapter 6 reports the results obtained and includes the discussion of these results. Finally, the last part of this thesis presents the conclusions drawn from the analysis.

## CHAPTER 2. Theoretical framework

This chapter aims to review the theoretical and methodological background of this Master's thesis, namely Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics (CL). It starts with a description of the concept of discourse and Discourse Analysis. Even though the emphasis is placed on CDA, a short discussion of discourse analysis is also provided. Besides CDA, this chapter also explores CL, and the combination of CDA and CL methods, which have been so fruitful over the past years, but which also have received certain criticism. Finally, different approaches to corpus-based or corpus-assisted critical discourse studies will be mentioned, as well as the most important previous studies completed in this field.

### 2.1. Discourse and Discourse Analysis

The concept of discourse has been continuously defined in various fields, such as linguistics, sociology or philosophy, and thus, defining it has been a constant struggle for most academics (e.g., Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Van Dijk, 1977, 1997; Philips & Hardy, 2002; Van Leeuwen & Kress, 2011; Smith & Higgins, 2013; Mautner, 2016).

Van Dijk (1977:3) referred to discourse as an action and process, as text in context and as a concept that is broader than text. Regarding this statement, Fairclough (1989:24) further supported it by saying that discourse is “the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part”. The author (1992:12) later referred to discourse in terms of “not only describing discursive practice, but also viewing how discourse is formed by power and ideological relations, and the discourse of constructive effects has of social identity, both of which are not clear to discourse participants”. Philips and Hardy (2002) also linked discourse with social reality and pointed out that a discourse analyst tries to understand the link between discourse and reality. Conversely, Van Leeuwen and Kress (2011:113) suggested establishing discourse as merely social and cognitive constructs. They defined discourses as “socially constructed knowledges about some aspect of reality”. Finally, Mautner (2016:12) noted that discourse is a “variety of linguistic choices” that helps us “conjure up different versions of reality; nothing more, nothing less”. She then provided an alternate view treating discourse as a “cluster concept”. She argued that this complexity means that discourse refers to “the micro-level of language use at a given

moment” and “the macro-level of discursive patterns that are associated with particular values, ideologies and identities” (Mautner, 2016:20).

Discourse Analysis investigates the relationship between the language use and its communicative context. Paltridge (2012) referred to Discourse Analysis as an enquiry into what there is beyond the word, clause, phrase, and sentence. Discourse Analysis is a general term for different methods of analyzing the use of language, either spoken or written. It can be expressed in the form of sentence sequences, propositions, or speech acts, which are then viewed as social interaction. Therefore, this concept clearly relates social context with discourse in which the latter is embedded.

## 2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

In this section, we will see that discourse analysts are also interested in the critical component of discourse. The word “critical” implies “showing connections and causes which are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change” (Fairclough, 1992:9). CDA views language as “discourse and as social practice” (Fairclough, 2001:21). Social practice is any form of social activity such as home situation, work commute, dates, etc. The use of language in different social practices can be ideologically loaded. Thus, examining power relations in the mentioned practices is sometimes unclear. CDA, then, aims to make mentioned blurred features more obvious.

What distinguishes CDA from Discourse Analysis is that the former is used in the “special sense of aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people – such as the connections between language, power, and ideology” (Fairclough, 2001:4). In his more recent writings, Fairclough (2014:6) placed emphasis on how CDA “combines critique of discourse and explanation of how it figures within and contributes to the existing social reality, as a basis for action to change that existing reality in particular respects”. This view of CDA highlights the key role that communicative practices play in social and political change, which distinguishes CDA from other models of discourse analysis. CDA does not only critique discourse, but also provides explanation on how discourse relates to other elements such as power relations, ideologies, and social institutions.

One of the analytical frameworks used in CDA studies is the socio-semiotic approach. It “combines relational and dialectal elements – negative critique in the

sense of diagnosis of the problem, positive critique in the sense of identification of hitherto unrealized possibilities in the way things are for tackling the problem” (Fairclough, 2001:125). According to the author (2001:125), CDA has three stages: first, to identify the underlying lexico-grammatical choices; second, to describe the production and probable analysis of said lexico-grammatical choices; and lastly, to explain how these text-features relate with the socio-cultural context among other things. In other words, Fairclough’s model divides discourse into three distinct elements: the physical text, the discourse practice, and the social practice.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997:258) further explained that this “implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s) which frame it”. This makes CDA an interdisciplinary approach to discourse. CDA does not view language and social studies as two independent realms; rather it views language as a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak (1997:258). Therefore, CDA does not so much focus on the obvious message of the discourse, but rather on the linguistic features which generate it. However, according to Wodak and Meyer (2009:28) “this does not mean (...) that topics and contents play no role, but the operationalizations depend on linguistic concepts such as actors, mode, time, tense, argumentation, and so on”.

According to Wodak (1995:204) CDA is fundamentally interested in analyzing “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language”. The author further specified that CDA analyses “real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form (1997:173.)” This view on discourse analysis further supports the relationship between society, power, and knowledge. It reiterates the concept of identity construction and societal knowledge, which means finding a way to describe reality in a certain way. Wodak (2013:187) echoed in her later studies how language can be used to change what people see as reality, eventually driving social change. She pointed out that CDA aims to critically investigate how language can be used as a vehicle for change. Therefore, as CDA is interested in the link between power and language, it “aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimised and so on by language use (or in discourse)” (Wodak, 2001:2).

In contrast to Fairclough who views CDA as a socio-semiotic approach, Van Dijk (1998), at a certain point, provided a socio-cognitive approach to CDA. He considered CDA as a tool to investigate the role that the prominent and the powerful agents play

in influencing social norms, through the criteria they establish for what is acceptable and what is not in a society. The major focus of CDA, according to the author, is the use of language within institutional and political discourses, as well as specific discourses, with the objective of uncovering inequalities in social relationships. As the use of language in different discourses is seen as a social practice, discourse is considered to both construct and shape the society. CDA explores not only the connections between discourses but also the links between discourses and their function within the society.

With this view, researchers would look at discourse at a surface level then go into a wider context beyond the textual level within the discursive and socio-cognitive contexts. Van Dijk (1995) proposed a systematic theory of the structures and processes in manipulative communication within a framework that involves the following views: discourse analytical, cognitive, and social. The discourse analysis approach focuses on the micro-level textual analysis – looking at syntax, lexicon, semantics, etc. The social approach then gives attention to the macro-level of analysis by looking at links such as power, dominance and inequality between the whole structure of society. For example, societal relations such as discrimination, societal structures such as political parties, etc. The last cognitive perspective serves as the intermediary between discourse and society, which would enlighten the link between ideology and discourse (Van Dijk, 1995:20).

The use of the word ‘critical’ in CDA makes it seem a method with a critical focus. However, it is not merely another method to analyze discourse. On the contrary, CDA can be best described as a research field which makes use of various methods from different disciplines, making it an “analytical practice with an attitude” (Van Dijk, 2015:466). Van Dijk (2015:466) defines it as follows:

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such *dissident research*, critical discourse analysts take an explicit position and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately challenge social inequality. This is also why CDA may be characterised as a *social movement* of politically committed discourse analysts.

Van Dijk’s definition can be divided into two parts. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Van Dijk views discourse as something that plays a fundamental role with

regards to power and control in the society. Van Dijk then emphasizes the role that critical discourse analysts play where he considers them as advocates and activists for social change. Considering these views, CDA has the obligation not just to determine the covert discriminatory ideologies but also to fight them in pursuit of social change.

This study, therefore, uses CDA as the theoretical framework in order to analyze the speeches and interviews of two Philippine presidents, so that the ideological themes and connections that otherwise would be difficult to detect at first sight could be uncovered and discussed in the context of a specific period of time in the Philippines' history. Corpus Linguistics, in this research, would help detect and then provide the data for the description and discussion of these hidden ideological elements.

#### 2.2.1. Background CDA research

Applications of CDA to different types of discourse is a broad area of research. I will briefly describe here a selection of studies, which are more closely related to this Master's thesis, that is, to the analysis of political and presidential speeches.

One of the most relevant publications for my analysis was Gaffney's (1991) application of CDA to examine the conference addresses by former British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, David Owen (1977-1979), former Members of the Parliament, David Steel (1976-1988) and Neil Kinnock (1970-1995), and former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990). His study aimed to compare these politicians' concepts of leadership. The research revealed how these politicians' lexical choices for the expression of humor, moral issues, biblical references, maxims, etc., affected their political discourse and the shaping of their leadership.

Regarding more recent research, Sharififar and Rahimi (2015) examined the speeches given by the US President, Barack Obama and Iran's President, Hassan Rouhani at the United Nations in 2013. This CDA-based study revealed that through the specific use of transitivity system and modality (Halliday, 1994), the above-mentioned presidents can manifest their power and incorporate their ideology. In a similar line of research, Hussein (2016) used Fairclough's model of CDA to explore the ideological component of a speech delivered by the Egyptian President, Abdel Fattah El-Sisi. The study unveiled that the Egyptian president used figures of speech,

repetition, synonymy, and collocation to serve his ideological purposes. The study also showed that the president used intertextuality to further influence and persuade his audience.

Another study of interest, which applied CDA, is Aponte-Moreno's doctoral dissertation (2008). It examined Chavez's, the former President of Venezuela, use of metaphor in nine individual texts representing his speeches. Moreno focused on metaphors as he believed that they can influence and lead people to think in a certain way without politicians themselves needing to specifically articulate it.

Finally, and with reference to CDA research in the Philippines, the only study that compares the presidents in question in this study is that by Gumiran-Quijano (2019) to the best of my knowledge. She examined the metafunctions of the language used in the first State of the Nation Address (SONA) by the following Presidents of the country: Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, Benigno Aquino III, and Rodrigo Duterte. Using Halliday's (1994) Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), the study aimed to determine the discourse and rhetorical styles of these presidents. Gumiran-Quijano revealed that all of the SONAs made use of material process types of clauses, which consist of an actor, a process, and a goal. Furthermore, it was shown that the presidents tended to use the first-person plural 'we', which can be seen as a sign of solidarity with the public.

The absence of a wide-range of CDA studies of the Philippine presidential speeches has encouraged me to continue this line of research and additionally adopt a Corpus Linguistics approach, so that further features of this type of political discourse could be detected and described.

### 2.3. CDA and Corpus Linguistics

Although the CDA approach has been and is still used to analyze discourse, for this research, Corpus Linguistic methods are also of vital importance. As McEnery and Baker (2015:1) state, Corpus Linguistics (CL) is a "powerful methodology – a way of using computers to assist the analysis of language so that regularities among many millions of words can be quickly and accurately identified".

Biber and colleagues (1998:4) explained that corpus-based research is contingent on quantitative and qualitative methods. They (1998:4) pointed out that:

"Association patterns represent quantitative relations, measuring the extent to which features and variants are associated with contextual factors. However functional (qualitative) interpretation is also an essential step in any corpus-based analysis".

In order to demonstrate quantitative proof of the hidden discourses through the identification of linguistic patterns, Corpus Linguistics is used to carry out CDA in order to uncover meanings in lexical item choices, which would likely show the speaker's ideological positions.

McEnery & Wilson (2001:1) described Corpus Linguistics as “the study of language based on examples of real-life language use”. Cheng (2012), in turn, explained that Corpus Linguistics is a type of empirical methodology used to analyze and describe language, which primarily uses corpora as its base data. In order to formulate generalizations about language usage, statistics and methods such as keywords, word lists, word collocates, and concordances are used.

This view however has been a topic of debate over the past decades. Swales (2002), for example, argued that the methodology used in CL is incompatible with genre and discourse studies as analyzing genre and discourse structures demands a “top-down” process to interpret texts while CL implies analyzing texts bottom up, very often without contextual considerations and tending to formulate generalizations based on the specificity of lexico-grammatical features of texts.

Considering CL as “too broad” and insufficient for closer insights into discourse analysis is like “complaining that a telescope only lets us look at faraway phenomena, rather than allowing us to look at things close-up, like a microscope” (Partington, 1998:144). Therefore, it is necessary to know which CL method can work or not. More recently, however, voices have been raised indicating that those combinations of different CL methods should be ideally used in corpus-based discourse studies. The idea of “triangulating methodological approaches” in corpus-linguistic research has been launched by Baker and Egbert (2016:3) in an experimental project where different scholars used distinct methods to work with the same corpus. The results have shown that combining various methods strengthens the CL analysis of a discourse sample.

With regard to the use of CL for CDA, some scholars argued that in traditional CDA one can only analyze a certain number of texts at once, as careful reading and thorough examination of those texts is required. Therefore, CDA was criticized as lacking representativeness. Stubbs (1997) at that time suggested that in order to strengthen CDA, CL methods could be used. To be able to arrive at a generalization about a language, Stubbs specifically proposed to use random sampling and large

collections of text, as well as describing and interpreting textual features extracted from such collections.

Furthermore, with the use of technological innovations in Corpus Linguistics, recent studies suggest that there are in fact several key advantages with the combined use of CDA and CL, as an approach and as a methodology respectively. Through CL methods, CDA can reduce research subjectivity, triangulate data, and improve research results reliability (Chen, 2013).

Both CDA and CL clearly focus on different fields. With the former examining the language used in a social context and the latter used for examining lexical items and lexico-grammatical patterns. The combination of the mentioned theoretical framework and methodological approach mainly depends on “which aspects of the CDA approach can be best served by corpus analysis and to find a point or points of entry into the data” (Orpin, 2005: 38-39). Baker and colleagues (2008) also highlighted the existence of strengths and weaknesses in both CDA and CL, but claimed that the combination of both can assist in exploiting their advantages and eliminate possible problems.

Over the past years, many CDA studies with the support of CL methods have been undertaken (e.g., Simon-Vandenberg, 1997; Flowerdew, 2004; Mautner, 2005a, 2005b, 2007; Pearce, 2005, 2014; Baker, 2006a, 2010; Baker et al., 2008; Marchi & Taylor, 2009; Salama, 2011; Partington, Duguid & Taylor, 2013; Taylor & Marchi, 2018; and Montiel, Uyheng & Dela Paz, 2021). For instance, in one of the pioneering studies in this field, Simon-Vandenberg (1997) compiled a corpus by transcribing 65 recorded political interviews from BBC between 1985-1990 to investigate modal (un)certainly in political discourse. He related modal certainty to devices used to express strong commitment with their propositions. Modal auxiliaries and adverbs, modal verbs, modal nouns, modals expressed by conditional clauses, evaluative adjectives, superlatives, degree words, and quantifiers were analyzed as the most important indicators of interpersonal choices of the speakers.

Another study that caught my attention was another method introduced by Partington and colleagues (2013:1-24) denominated Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADs) in the 2000s. In one of their studies (Partington et al., 2013), they built corpora with an aim of examining how speakers use language to achieve their political goals. The group combined the analysis of frequency and keyword lists and qualitative analyses of concordances with the non-traditional aim of discovering the

inconspicuous meaning of the speeches and uncovering questions, which researchers would not normally ask.

In another study, Salama (2011) used both CDA and CL to explore the lexical collocations used when addressing the Wahbadi-Saudi Islam issues in Islamic media. The study described the role that collocations play in revealing opposing political views. Flowerdew's (2004) study consisted of analyzing a corpus containing 140 different types of discourses such as speeches, interviews, press conferences, and other pronouncements delivered by Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR)'s first chief executive Tung Chee-hwa. The research demonstrated that Tung's discourses leaned more towards the Chinese than the Hongkongers. In other words, Tung attempted to emphasize the Chineseness of the Hongkongers and downplay their democratic development while trying to establish the Hongkongers' new identity. In this sense, the use of a large corpus was of great importance in unveiling the chief executive's political aims.

In another example of CDA and CL research, Baker and colleagues (2008) analyzed the discourse of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants in the British press from 1996 to 2005. In this study, the scholars combined CDA and CL by focusing on keywords and collocations to find the lexical patterns including one of the four keywords: refugee(s), asylum seeker(s), immigrant(s), and migrant(s). They then analyzed the concordances with these items, qualitatively examined them and, eventually, identified views surrounding immigration issues in the UK at that time.

In a more recent study, Montiel and colleagues (2021) mapped the political rhetoric by national leaders across 26 countries during the COVID-19 pandemic. Their corpus is made up of 1201 public addresses between January 1, 2020, and June 30, 2020. Their research showed that the political leaders lead their countries with the following rhetoric: enforcing systemic interventions (32.16% prevalence), upholding global unity (29.25%), encouraging communal cooperation (18.06%), stoking national fervor (10.75%), and assuring responsive governance (9.78%). The researchers further found that the rhetoric of the leaders is organized depending on the cultural cognition, which could either be based on an agency-structure axis (which focuses on pandemic interventions) or a hierarchy-egalitarianism axis (which calls for cooperation).

In relation to the analysis of presidential speeches in the Philippine context, Autida-van der Zee (2013) focused on the inaugural speech of former President

Benigno Aquino III in 2010. The researcher combined Halliday's (1994) and Van Dijk's (1995) approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis in combination with Corpus Linguistics to generate a keyword list and word frequency. The results from her study showed that the president used modal auxiliaries, verb tenses, and pronouns to seek support from the Filipinos. She specifically pointed out how he used modal verbs such as 'shall', 'will', and 'would' to showcase his good administration and highlight his upright leadership. The author also mentioned that the former president's use of simple tense of verbs demonstrates how he wants to be viewed as easily understandable and reachable by the audience. Moreover, van der Zee noted that the ex-president's use of pronouns 'we', 'us', 'I', 'me', 'our', and 'ours' demonstrates how he wants to be seen as one of the Filipinos, but at the same time as a national authority. Lastly, the researcher cited that Aquino tended to use organized and structured speech in spite of the fact that he was delivering speeches regarding controversial issues.

Huesca-Palmares (2017) investigated the lexicon of the inaugural speeches of the Presidents Arroyo, Aquino, and Duterte. Using the corpus analysis tool, AntConc, she analyzed the frequency of different lexical features such as nouns, personal pronouns, and modal auxiliaries. The study revealed that the nouns 'government', 'people', 'country', 'president' and 'nation', the personal pronouns 'I', 'my' and 'me' and the modal auxiliaries 'will' and 'shall' were used with the highest frequency in the speeches. Lastly, the most frequent speech acts found on the president's inaugural addresses were assertives and commissives.

In summary, CDA considers language use and discourse in general crucial to the construction of social reality and unequal power relations. The importance of language in the construction of realities is of great importance for the spread of ideologies from the point of view of CDA proponents. CL, on the other hand, provides methods that can strengthen CDA approaches in those large collections of texts that can be easily and quickly analyzed and where relevant lexico-grammatical patterns of language use can be detected. Both CDA approach and CL methods have been chosen for the present study, as their combination provides an appropriate way to achieve the goals formulated for the present study and ensures the reliability of the results obtained.

In the next chapter, I will move on to the concept of political discourse, its features and examples, as the speeches and interviews of the Philippine presidents can be considered as belonging in this type of discourse.

## CHAPTER 3. Political Discourse Analysis

In the previous chapter, I have established that language plays a crucial role in expressing ideology. However, what makes language usage a very interesting field of study is when an authoritative and powerful figure uses language to accomplish certain goals (Bourdieu, 1991:188). Therefore, in this chapter, I am going to discuss issues related to political discourse analysis. The chapter is divided into the following sections: defining what a political discourse is, enumerating the background studies relevant to the current research, and listing approaches to the study of political discourse.

### 3.1. What is Political Discourse?

Political discourse has caught the attention of many scholars including, but not limited to discourse analysts and linguists. The close union between the study of language and the study of politics has always been crucial to political studies. As Farr (1989:48) explained:

“Politics, as we know it, would not only be indescribable without language, it would be impossible. Emerging nations could not declare independence, leaders instruct partisans, citizens protest war, or courts sentence criminals. Neither could we criticize, plead, promise, argue, exhort, demand, negotiate, bargain, compromise, counsel, brief, debrief, advise nor consent. To imagine politics without these actions would be to imagine no recognizable politics at all”.

Another of the main ideas and recurring themes in political discourse is power. Van Dijk (1996:84) claimed that power comes from the link between social groups, institutions or organisations.

Van Dijk (1997:12-14) defined political discourse by delimiting the agent, the audience, and the context of discourse. He started by establishing that politicians, including members of the government and parliament and political groups, are the main agents of political discourse. He then proceeded by determining another vital participant of political discourse: the recipients, which he defined as all relevant audience such as the public and the masses, either participating actively or otherwise. And lastly, he emphasized the importance of the actions, activities and practices

surrounding political discourse. In other words, political discourse includes its context such as setting goals, intentions, functions and implications.

The author also provided a more concrete definition of what political discourse is. Political discourse is a politically restricted genre on its own, an institutional form of discourse, with its thesaurus and definite functions. Van Dijk (1998), therefore views political discourse as a type of discourse by a politician, which materializes in his or her own professional framework, that is, where politicians deliver their speeches as politicians: in government sessions, parliamentary debates, electoral campaigns, etc.

Wilson (2001) defines the term largely with what politics is and the language used in it. According to this author (2001:398), it is

“language used in formal and informal political environments with political artists, such as politicians, political institutions, government, political media and followers functioning in political environs with political objectives”.

Chilton and Schäffner (2002:vi) broadens the point that language is indispensable in politics by suggesting that “it is probably the case that the use of language in the constitution of social groups leads to what we call ‘politics’ in a broad sense”. Another perspective on the connection between language, society, and politics is Chilton’s (2004) argument that language plays an important role in most aspects of society, including social and political practices. Therefore, with the mediation of language by politicians to gain political advantage, or to exercise political abuse, politicians use political discourse to legitimize their actions and delegitimize others:

Delegitimization is shown through representing others or their actions negatively, questioning the sensibleness, morality and humanity of others, etc., in political discourse; legitimization is represented via representing us or our actions positively, justifying our acts, etc. (Chilton, 2004:47)

Furthermore, Chilton (2004) devised two ways of understanding political discourse. The first one involves perceiving it at a micro-level, where the focus is the power struggle. The second way is to perceive it at a macro-level, where the roles that the state plays in conflict resolution and the use of power to control others can be clearly seen.

Ädel (2010) referred to political discourse in three different terms depending on the scope of the definition of 'political discourse'. In the narrow scope, she talked about 'political genre', which is "a speech event which takes place in a political context, involving political agents" (Ädel, 2010:591). In the broad scope, the 'political topic' is taken as the main distinguishing criterion, and focuses on any discursive event, which talks about anything related to politics. Lastly, in the extended scope, "the underlying political issue is the main criterion" (Ädel, 2010:591). In this case, any type of discourse could be political as power and control are often or always achieved by means of discourse. In this study, I will use the narrow definition of political discourse, as the corpus compiled includes speeches delivered by politicians in a political context, very often aimed at political agents, such as parliament members.

In summary, we should view political discourse in terms of how it is used to control the audience or public in general. Ultimately, the purpose of this type of discourse is to win the audience over and make them believe and adopt a particular perspective. As Van Dijk (1997:44) put it, "who controls public discourse, at least partly controls the public mind, so that discourse analysis of such control is at the same time inherently a form of political analysis".

In order to properly analyze a politician's speech, it is not only necessary to examine how a politician uses the language to appeal to the public, but also to study how he or she uses it to reinforce his or her power. Van Dijk (1996) observed how power is enacted through political discourse. For instance, he detected that the mere acts of calling a meeting, deciding who can attend it, convincing the participants to attend it and controlling who may speak, show who may have already demonstrated their power. The author claimed that this type of control is the definitive purpose of political discourse:

[M]entally mediated control of the actions of others is the ultimate form of power, especially when the audience is hardly aware of such control as is the case in manipulation. Indeed, most forms of discursive and communicative access we discussed above, such as control of setting, interaction, topic or style, will be geared towards the control of the minds of participants, recipients or the audience at large, in such a way that the resulting mental changes are those preferred by those in power, and generally in their interest. (Van Dijk, 1996: 89)

Considering the interconnection between power and speech, Van Dijk established what Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) is by comparing it to CDA. He argued that

PDA is both about political and critical discourse, but putting emphasis on the “reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse” (Van Dijk, 1997:1). Van Dijk also emphasized that the power relations include all forms of resistance against it.

Dunmire (2012) also associated PDA with CDA. She viewed discourse as a political scheme which is close to compatible with the concept of CDA, which means that PDA is viewed as an analysis of a political theme through CDA. More specifically, the author argued that “aligning PDA and CDA assumes that political discourse is (and ought to be) carried out through a critical lens and that CDA is, at its core, a political endeavour” (Dunmire, 2012:738).

### 3.2. Studies in political discourse

The discourse of political leaders and personalities has been the subject of a large number of studies. This section provides a brief account of some of the recent studies that have used political discourse to unveil socio-political relations and ideological power in specific contexts. This type of research provides a suitable background for the present study.

Hellín-García (2009) researched fight metaphors employed by the former Spanish Prime Minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero when he addressed terrorism in Spain in his speeches. The author adopted a cognitive-pragmatic approach using Lakoff's (1992) Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis in combination with a corpus-based analysis. In her research, the metaphors used by Zapatero functioned at the cognitive, rhetorical, and ideological levels with the ultimate objective of promoting his political ideology against terrorism. From a rather different perspective, Sheveleva (2012) looked into the linguistic idiosyncrasies in the former US President Barack Obama's speeches. She identified the idiosyncrasies that were aimed to create an amicable communication between the political leader and the electorate. Among them were different types of interrogative sentences, affirmative sentences, colloquial English, broken syntax, metaphors, inversion and reiteration. The author also argued that these idiosyncrasies helped the former US president strengthen his political power and leadership.

Later, Kim (2019) analyzed how the former US President Donald Trump legitimized his ideology of ‘America First’. The study aimed to reveal the legitimization

strategies used by Trump in his Inaugural Address and the 2018 State of the Union Address. The researcher noted that one of the ex-president's strategies was to create a dual identity for the Americans – as either victims or heroes. Furthermore, she also claimed that Trump was referring to foreign countries, immigrants, and previous governments as 'other' or 'them'. However, it was not clear who he was referring to with the personal pronouns 'we' or 'us', as he would sometimes include immigrants when using the term Americans and sometimes not.

Regarding political discourse research in the Philippines, one of the most extensive studies using the State of the Nation Addresses (SONAs) is Navera's (2012) doctoral dissertation. His research takes a socio-political perspective to analyze the discourse of the Philippine presidents in the post-Marcos regime, that is, after the country had been re-democratized in 1987. The research used the SONAs of four presidents, namely: Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada, and Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. Navera concluded his dissertation by claiming that: (a) themes used in the presidential speeches were metaphorized and framed; (b) this process of metaphorizing and framing aimed to accelerate the process of the public's acceptance of the government policies; (c) all the themes mentioned had a desired destination; and, (d) the themes in the presidents' speeches tended to enact power relations, specifically of dominance and control (Navera, 2012: 391-392).

In a different line of research, Quinto (2014) explored the former Philippine President Benigno Aquino III's use of deictic expressions in a televised national address. He concluded that the political speaker does not only use personal deixis, but also the temporal, spatial, and social one to help achieve the goal of persuading the audience to support him, and ultimately, to exercise power. Quinto (2014:14) also identified how the former president strategically used deixis to put "his critics stand in binary opposition and the Filipinos at the deictic centre", influencing the audience to think unfavorably of the opposition and favorably of him.

Lemana and Gatcho's (2019) political discourse analysis of the current Philippine president Rodrigo Duterte's interviews is also notable. In their research, they aimed to reveal the microstructure elements of the current president's speeches. The researchers used 30 interviews as their corpora. Their findings suggested that the president used certain linguistic features to legitimize his authority and delegitimize his critics, specifically by using language to reflect a positive representation of him and negative of the latter. Among the linguistic features identified, the scholars (Lemana &

Gatcho, 2019:100) found modality, attributions, disclaimers, presuppositions, validity claims, pronoun use, transitivity, passivation, number of games, lexicon, idioms, metaphors, intertextuality, and profanity.

Finally, and in another interesting study by Ancho and colleagues (2020), the SONAs of the last three Philippine presidents: Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, Benigno Aquino III, and Rodrigo Duterte were used. The scholars focused on how current education issues were addressed in the mentioned presidential speeches. The methodology used was qualitative as they used pre-identified keywords relating to education as their guide to establish connections and meanings in the speeches. Ancho and colleagues (2020) were able to show contrasting features in the way that the three presidents discussed educational issues in their SONAs. Arroyo linked economy to education; Aquino gave priority to improving the quality of education; and Duterte related universal quality education with his fight against drug war.

As can be seen in this brief overview of some of the recent studies of political discourse, understood in its narrow sense (Ädel, 2010), a broad range of linguistic features and communication strategies were identified. Even though a small number of studies looked into the Philippine presidents' speeches and pointed to certain specific characteristics, none of them adopted a corpus-driven perspective but a rather bottom-up approach looking for pre-established strategies and grammatical categories.

### 3.3. Corpus linguistics approaches to political discourse

In this section, I will refer to a selection of political discourse studies that used corpus analysis approach since I consider them to be significant for the present research. However, I will first refer to Ädel's (2010:595-598) proposal of four corpus techniques in the analysis of political discourse, which are the following:

- a. The first corpus analysis technique is a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Ädel (2010: 595) refers to this method as "analysing how X is talked about", and is done by first extracting the concordance lines and finding patterns in them.
- b. The second technique consists of comparing corpora containing political discourse samples, either by comparing two genres, two different speakers or two groups with different political views.

c. The third technique used in political discourse studies is the analysis of linguistic features showing a specific style. More usual with diachronic corpora, this approach focuses on significant changes of a particular linguistic feature across time.

d. Finally, the fourth technique is a keyword analysis, which could also include the analysis of keyword collocates.

One of the studies concerning quantitative approaches to political discourse in the early 2010s is by Mayaffre and Poudat (2013), where they investigated the idea of 'Europe' in French presidential speeches, focusing on then president Nicolas Sarkozy. Their study combined corpus linguistics and political discourse analysis with the main objectives of demonstrating how the use of corpora can be beneficial for political discourse analysis and showing techniques for computer-assisted linguistic analysis. The study used two main corpora: (a) Sarkozy TV, which contains 130,153 tokens and is composed of Sarkozy's interviews and addresses in TV from May 2007 until the conception of the paper; and (b) Corpus V, which contains 2,148,907 tokens and is composed of all the speeches of the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic French Presidents from 1958 to 2010. Keyword collocations showed that ex-president Sarkozy wanted to be reassuring whenever he used the term 'Europe'. Furthermore, they explained that 'Europe' tended to be represented as ambiguous or abstract as shown in Corpus V. Moving now on to report on specific corpus-based or corpus-assisted studies, Carreon and Svetanant (2017) analysed Thailand Prime Minister Gen Prayuth Chan-o-cha's speeches in the TV programme Returning Happiness to people from 30 May 2014 to 30 May 2015. With a total of 10,672-word types and 325,398 tokens, the translated English corpus was analyzed using the linguistic software, AntConc. The study used the British National Corpus (BNC) as its reference corpus and it revealed that the words with the highest frequencies were mostly related to political, economic and social agenda. The researchers then compared the translated English speeches to some of the original Thai speeches. The study showed that the English and Thai speeches aimed at different audiences, which the researchers have concluded as the Thai government's attempt to present a good image to the foreign audience while commanding military governance in Thailand.

Coltman-Patel's (2018) study used the Brown Corpus and LOB (Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen) Corpus as reference corpora to identify the top 50 keywords in a corpus

containing the former US President Barack Obama's UN Addresses and State of the Union Addresses. In this corpus-driven research, the author revealed that the most common topics to appear in his discourses were about conflict and economy. Furthermore, through collocation and concordance analysis, a pattern of lexical items was shown to be "ideologically manipulated to enhance Obama's political identity and to create and maintain a relationship with his audience" (Coltman-Patel, 2018:1). In one of the recent studies regarding former US President Donald Trump's speeches, Abbas (2019) looked at how said ex-president used hyperbole as an ideological discourse strategy. The researcher combined a qualitative and quantitative statistical analysis using a corpus of Trump's electoral campaign speeches in 2016. He then used the CANCODE corpus (a five-million-word corpus of normal conversation) as his reference corpus to compare the hyperboles in the aforementioned speeches. He explained that whenever hyperbole or exaggeration is employed in Trump's speeches, it is used to criticize or praise someone or something. He emphasized the fact that politicians have the need to try to influence constituents to believe them, and would use language and other ideological discourse strategies as a method to do so. The author even clarified that speakers "largely depend on hyperbole to express his visions, attack his opponents and emotionally influence the audience" (Abbas, 2019:517).

Another recent study by Hamed (2020) applied a corpus-assisted analysis of keywords and their collocations to identify the similarities and differences among the past four American presidents. The study used a corpus containing different presidential discourses of Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald Trump. Through keyword analysis, the study revealed that the former presidents, Clinton and Obama, tended to speak about Americans' lives with the focus on their social and economic improvements. Bush, on the other hand, talked more about external issues, which was shown by the keywords related to war against terrorism in his speeches. However, the study revealed that Trump's positive keyness used exaggeration but without a defined topic, while the negative keyness was oriented to reforming programs and external issues.

Apart from the studies mentioned in the previous section, I would also like to point to some studies combining political discourse analysis with CL tools in the Philippine setting. Since combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistic tools is a

relatively new method in the Philippine context, there are not a lot of studies as mentioned above.

Dumlao (2018) used a corpus-based CDA approach to uncover the discursive features in President Rodrigo Duterte's speeches. He analyzed pronouns, social actors, and modalities used in these speeches. His research showed that Duterte specifically used different linguistic features depending on the political situation. His use of 'I' tended to co-appear with social actors such as 'we', 'government', 'people' and 'military'. Dumlao (2018) further explained that Duterte used modalization and modulation when he was using the personal pronoun 'I'. He argued that the use of the above-mentioned discursive strategies was Duterte's way of influencing Filipinos to believe that he was creating a positive change in the Philippines.

Daantos (2020) used a corpus-based CDA analysis to examine how women are represented in Rodrigo Duterte's speeches. In her doctoral thesis, she used a total of 544 presidential speeches from June 2016 to December 2019, and used WordSmith Tools (8.0) to conduct concordance and collocation analyses. Her findings revealed that the way women are represented in Duterte's speech are oppressive to themselves. She further argued that this representation must be challenged.

As can be seen, the studies mentioned used various corpus analysis techniques, such as concordance, collocation and keyword extraction and examination, in order to identify the positioning of different politicians in the Philippines and outside towards a range of current issues. It is worth noting that these techniques are useful in uncovering speakers' ideological stance and their specific political interests. None of the Philippine studies, however, took a corpus-driven approach, to the best of my knowledge. By adopting this type of approach, I will be able to provide more corpus data to the study of political discourse in the Philippines.

In this chapter, I have delineated what political discourse is, how it can be analyzed and how it is associated with CDA. To summarize, this research will use Van Dijk's (1998) view of PDA and how language can be used to establish power and influence people. In the final part of this chapter, I have given examples of how CL can be used to analyze political discourse.

The following chapter will discuss the political situation in the Philippines during the term of each of the presidents studied, that is from January 20, 2001 to June 30, 2010 for Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, and from June 30, 2010 to June 30, 2016 for

Benigno Aquino III. I will specifically focus on their ideologies, political affiliations, and the issues they faced during their presidency.

## CHAPTER 4: Socio-political-economic background

In this chapter, I am going to briefly discuss the political affiliations, ideologies, and backgrounds of the two presidents in question, namely Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and Benigno Aquino III. I am also going to give a short overview of the socio-political and economic background in the Philippines during their respective presidencies, mainly the political highlights and controversies during each of the terms that have been found relevant to the study. This background information will be useful in the interpretation of the results obtained from the analysis of the corpora.

### 4.1. Presidency in the Philippines

From 1899 to the current year, the Republic of the Philippines has had 16 presidents. The president of the Philippines is the highest position in the governmental hierarchy and is constitutionally vested to lead the executive branch of the government as per Article VII, Section 1 of the 1987 Philippine Constitution. The President is elected through Filipino citizens and nationals' votes. When elected, he or she would serve for a term of six years and cannot run for re-election. Each presidency starts at noon on the 30th of June in the year of election.

### 4.2. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo

Gloria Macapagal Arroyo is the 14th president of the Philippines and the sixth since the establishment of the Fifth Republic of the Philippines. She is the second female to be elected president in the country, and the daughter of the late and also former President Diosdado Macapagal.

Arroyo was the Vice President of former President Joseph Ejercito Estrada and was sworn into office after the latter was ousted from power through a people's uprising in January 2001. She was sworn into office on 20 January of the same year. Arroyo would then eventually hold the Philippine presidency for more than nine years – which makes her the longest-serving president since the dictator Ferdinand Marcos. Her presidency lasted for more than three years of successor term from January 2001 to June 2004, and six years of a full-term from July 2004 to June 2010.

Arroyo was a member of the political party Lakas-CMD (Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats), a centre to centre-right political party in the Philippines. Lakas-CMD is a product of the unification of the former Lakas-CMD (Lakas ng Tao-Christian

Muslim Democrats) and Kabalikat ng Malayang Pilipino (KAMPI) through Arroyo's foundation. It is heavily influenced by Christian and Islamic democracy. Its ideology also lies in liberal conservatism. Arroyo was famous for jumping from one political party to another to extend her possible voters.

Lakas-CMD gave importance to the country's economic development, deeper relations with the United States of America, and solid alliance between all government branches. The political party was also famous for its untiring advocacy to amend the 1987 Philippine Constitution and change the form of government: from presidential to federal-unicameral (Salceda, Fortaleza & Leonen, 2005). Arroyo fully favoured this Constitutional Change to make way for her platform 'The Strong Republic'.

As an economist herself, Arroyo made the country's economy the priority in her presidency. She focused on the national economy to lift the country out of its financial crisis, despite the on-going global economic crisis. Arroyo somehow made this possible with the 5% increase in the gross domestic product from the start of her presidency until 2008 (Salceda, Fortaleza & Leonen, 2005). Inflation also dropped to its lowest since 1986, averaging to only 2.5%.

Despite her economic success, Arroyo's presidency is muddled with various scandals. Being the president after her predecessor Joseph Estrada was deposed, Arroyo faced a lot of challenges during the beginning of her term, including a counter-mass demonstration of the former's supporters against her presidency where several people were killed. Several coups were also attempted during her reign and the coup attempt in 2007 made Arroyo declare a countrywide state of emergency lasting for about a week (Oliveros et. al., 2007). A total of four (2005, 2006, 2007, 2008) impeachment complaints were also filed against the former president.

One of the biggest health crises during her term was the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) and Arroyo's administration implemented several mitigation techniques to prevent its local transmission in the Philippines.

Before her term would end, a politically powerful clan, of which she was a political ally, was involved in a massacre killing 57 people in the south of the Philippines. In wake of this, the former president placed the town under a state of martial law, making her the only president to issue a Martial Law proclamation after the former dictator Marcos ("Arroyo proclaimed", 2009). On June 30, 2010, she turned the presidency over to former President Benigno Aquino III.

### 4.3. Benigno Aquino III

The late Benigno Aquino III was the fifteenth president of the Philippines and the sixth president since the establishment of the Fifth Republic of the Philippines. He was the only son of symbols of democracy in the Philippines, the late former Senator Benigno Aquino and late former President Corazon Aquino.

Right after the death of his mother, former Philippine President Corazon Aquino, who was the leader during the height of the anti-dictatorship struggle, then-Senator Aquino III gained overwhelming public support and was urged to run for the presidency. He then accepted the challenge and was later elected as president. His presidency lasted for six years of a full-term from June 2010 to June 2016. He was sworn into office on 30 June 2010.

Aquino was a member and was the president until his death of the political party, Liberal Party (LP), a liberal democratic political party with a centre to centre-left position. It was heavily influenced by liberalism and social liberalism. LP gives importance to affordable education, promoting freedom and justice under an honest and effective government. The political party also believes that the only way to national development is through solidarity and camaraderie. Thus, to reach this collective goal from the citizens, the political party appeals to the sense of duty of Filipinos (Liberal Party of the Philippines, 2021).

Hinging on his political party's ideology and his parents' legacy, the former president won the election on an anti-corruption platform, which he called *Daang Matuwid* 'Straight Path', where a clean-up on corruption would free the nation from poverty. After succeeding years and several presidents accused of corruption, human rights abuses, and dictatorial activities, Aquino promised that he would lift the nation from poverty through honest and effective governance. This premise would be a recurring theme even after he won the elections, and was reflected in most of his speeches, as we will see in Chapter 6.

One of Aquino's major accomplishments during his term was the end of a peace agreement with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in October 2012. The peace agreement ended four decades of fatal conflict. Aside from his foremost fight against corruption that has entrenched poverty in the nation, Aquino also addressed poverty through a conditional cash transfer program. The program was a welfare-like scheme that would benefit the country's poorest and most helpless families. He also focused on the role of the private sector in infrastructure development in the Philippines. This

in turn reflected a significant economic improvement in the nation during his presidency.

In November 2013, the Philippines was hit by Typhoon Haiyan, the strongest tropical cyclone recorded, which was also the deadliest recorded typhoon to make landfall in the country. His governance was heavily criticized for mishandling funds that were meant to use for assistance in the devastating aftermath (Gonzalez, 2020).

Another disaster that is heavily tied with Aquino's term is the Mamasapano clash, where a classified operation to find foreign terrorists resulted in the death of 44 Special Action Force soldiers, 18 members of the MILF, and three civilians. His governance was probed for responsibility and accountability as it seemed that the mission was poorly planned and coordinated.

His administration was also heavily criticized for the government's spending program, Disbursement Acceleration Program (DAP), which was originally referred to as a 'mechanism to support high-impact and priority programs and projects using savings and unprogrammed funds' (Official Gazette, 2015). This controversy gained public attention when the country's leading newspaper wrote a six-part exposé. The allegations reached an unmatched level that the former president took to primetime television and defended the welfare program. A total of four impeachment complaints were also filed against Aquino. He ultimately did not run for a second term and left the office on June 30, 2016.

In this chapter, I have briefly explained the socio-economic-political situation in the Philippines leading to the election and during the terms of each president in question. As we have seen, each president had their share of accomplishments and controversies, which they would address in their speeches to win the audience over and not lose the public support. The next chapter will specifically talk about the methodology and the corpora used for this study, that is corpus-driven approach in Critical Discourse Analysis.

## CHAPTER 5. Corpora and Methodology

This chapter describes the corpora used for the present study and the methodology applied in their analysis. I will first focus on the corpus design and structure, and after that, I will provide details of the corpus-driven approach in discourse analysis, which is the methodology chosen for this research. I will particularly refer to how it can be used in Critical Discourse Analysis.

### 5.1. Corpus design and structure

The texts used to create two corpora for this Master's thesis were downloaded from the website of the official bulletin of the Republic of the Philippines, [\*Official Gazette\*](#). This website managed by the Presidential Communications Operations Office (PCOO) is an online version of the print edition of this bulletin. The texts are the speeches delivered by the Republic of the Philippines 14<sup>th</sup> President, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo and her successor, Benigno Aquino III. In this way, two corpora corresponding to two presidents were created. The speeches in question were all delivered to an audience. Depending on the type and nature of speech, the audience addressed also varies. One of the main types of the collected speeches, the State of the Nation Addresses (SONAs) were always delivered in July, in front of the Philippine Congress in the Session Hall of the House of Representatives, National Assembly Complex in Quezon City. In this case, the congress is the direct audience of the president, but he or she also indirectly addresses the whole nation as SONAs are transmitted live in national media. Another type of speech collected for the research are the President's inaugural speeches that were always delivered at the presidential inauguration which occurs on the 30<sup>th</sup> June, except for the case of Arroyo's first inaugural speech which took place on the 20<sup>th</sup> January 2001 (for the reasons I've mentioned in the previous chapter). These speeches were delivered in different venues, but all of them in open public spaces. Aside from the general public, members of the government were also attendants of the inauguration. The rest of the speeches were delivered in the venues of the events that they were aimed for, and in front of the attendees of the specific event.

After the speeches had been delivered, they were uploaded into the *Official Gazette*. Aside from the government website, some of the speeches were made available in the national dailies, outspreading the audience to those who were not

physically present, that is, to the entire Philippine citizenry. The exception were the speeches concerning foreign relations, in which the main targeted audience are diplomatic bodies.

According to Tognini-Bonelli (2001:7), two corpora can be compared if the chosen components are “similar samples of their respective languages in terms of external criteria”. Therefore, the selected speeches for this study were chosen to ensure that the corpora are comparable. Both speakers held the same political position when delivering the speeches, they were both the President of the Philippines, and finally, these speeches were delivered under the same contextual circumstances. Certain regularities are, therefore, demonstrated among the main external circumstances in which the texts were produced: both were holding the same political position when they were delivering the speeches (they were both the President of the Philippines); and the mentioned speeches were produced in the same contexts, meaning that the speeches collected were of the same type (as we will see later on in this chapter).

#### *State of the Nation Address*

The State of the Nation Addresses (SONAs) delivered annually by the two presidents were used as the primary text type for the corpora. According to the 1987 Philippine Constitution’s Article 7, Section 20: “The President shall address the Congress at the opening of the regular session”. SONA is an annual constitutionally mandated address by the President of the Philippines that contains the current president’s evaluation of the country’s state, the administration’s performance during the earlier year (including their accomplishments and challenges), and their recommendations for the upcoming year.

Until recently, Philippine presidents generally delivered their SONAs in English. SONAs are broadcast via television, radio, and internet, and they are the most discussed and commented presidential public addresses. The SONAs are used as the primary text type for the corpora not only because they are well-publicized speeches, but also because their nature fully allows for the study of the discursive production of presidential leadership. They are the president’s vision and mission written to be read to the public. Furthermore, since in SONAs the presidents account for their actions and decisions, the speeches are embedded with assumptions and presuppositions. Bevitori (2015:112) described the SONA, alongside with another type of speech, the Inaugural Address and the Acceptance Speech, as “main ‘epideictic’ genres that are

powerfully constrained by custom and ritual, and are thus seen to mostly characterize the presidential role”. The inaugural speeches were, therefore, also included in the corpora.

Inaugural speeches are the first speeches that presidents give after they are newly sworn into office. Aside from the reason mentioned above, inaugural speeches were included in the corpora as this is the first time after a president has been sworn in when he/she establishes his/her presidential objectives and agenda. Campbell and Jamieson (2008:29) described their importance “in a ritual of transition in which the covenant between the citizenry and their leaders is renewed”.

Aside from SONAs and inaugural speeches, other speeches have also been selected for the purpose of this research. These speeches were delivered to a live audience and dealt with a wide range of topics, namely: health, economy, climate, historical and national events, foreign relations, ranging from the first year in the office until their last year. The above-mentioned speeches were categorized according to their content and audience. For example, each selected speech which involves a foreign audience was categorized under *Foreign Relations Speech*. Speeches delivered in a business or economic summit were categorized under *Economic Speech*. Speeches delivered in a medical event were categorized under *Health Speech*. Finally, speeches delivered in front of a specific Philippine audience (a city visit for example) and speeches delivered during a commemoration of a historic event were categorized under *Historical and National Speech*. In Aquino’s case, there was only one speech available from the *Health speech* category on the official website, *Official Gazette*. Thus, I decided to add speeches about climate and create the corresponding category, because of the natural disasters that happened during his presidential term (see Chapter 4: Political Background). Using different speeches with different themes allows for an analysis of all the possible linguistic features of the presidential speeches and ensures the representativeness of the corpus, as Baker (2006b:61) put it: “distribution is a factor in corpus design”. After having collected the two corpora, the information about their contents and structure has been included in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Corpus structure

President	Term period	Type and number of speeches
Gloria Macapagal Arroyo	2001-2010	State of the Nation Address (10) Inaugural Speech (2) <i>Other thematic speeches:</i> Foreign relation speech (13) Health Speech (9) Economic Speech (12) Historical and National Speech (11)
Benigno Aquino III	2010-2016	State of the Nation Address (6) Inaugural Speech (1) <i>Other thematic speeches:</i> Foreign relation speech (12) Health Speech (1) Economic Speech (6) Historical and National Speech (14) Climate Speech (4)

As can be seen in Table 1, Gloria M. Arroyo served as the 14<sup>th</sup> president of the Philippines from 20 January 2001 until 30 June 2010, completing a total of two terms of office. The speeches in this corpus consist mainly of ten SONAs, two inaugural speeches, 13 foreign relation related speeches, nine health-related speeches, 12 economic-related speeches, and 11 historical and national-related speeches. In total, this corpus includes 58 texts.

Benigno Aquino III, on the other hand, served for a shorter period of time as the 15<sup>th</sup> president of the Philippines: from 30 June 2010 until 3 June 2016, which is equivalent to one term of office. Aquino's speeches used in this corpus consist mainly of six SONAs, one inaugural speech, 12 foreign relation-related speeches, one health-related speech, six economic-related speeches, 14 historical and national-related speeches, and four climate-related speeches. Aquino's corpus includes 44 texts. As can be observed, this corpus is smaller than Arroyo's, given the difference in the number of terms of office served. However, both corpora include a relatively similar number of speeches about the same general topics.

Regarding the corpus compilation, all chosen presidential speeches of Arroyo and Aquino were downloaded in separate files. Each speech was revised to make them

machine-readable. Speeches with some fragments in Tagalog (local language in the Philippines) were translated to English. Applauses or interruptions made by the audience were removed. The two corpora also needed to be edited for grammatical and spelling mistakes. Such editing is essential as the corpora cannot be modified once they have been fed into the software and because of the needed reliability of the data obtained from the corpus analysis. Additionally, all the speeches were transformed into plain text files (TXT) and PDF files. Plain text files were used for analysis, while PDF files served as the backup. After all the preparation work, the two corpora were uploaded separately to the corpus analysis toolkit Sketch Engine.

Sketch Engine (<https://www.sketchengine.eu/>) is an online software tool used for corpus analysis. It can be used to analyze a text by building and analyzing KWIC concordances for items ranging from lemmas to Corpus Query Language (CQL) query strings. Data can be uploaded into the web server, which systematizes the linguistic annotation and offers a set of frequency profiles such as the frequency of occurrence of words, multi-word expressions, and different parts of speech. Other functions of the tool are keyword and term extraction using keyness score, and finding word collocations using statistics (T-score, MI, log likelihood, logDice, etc.). In addition, Sketch Engine also allows for the comparison of one dataset with another one.

Once the corpora were compiled, their statistics were extracted using the mentioned corpus analysis application. As can be seen in Table 2, Arroyo and Aquino corpora are quite similar in terms of both the number of texts included and the total number of tokens.

**Table 2.** Corpus statistics.

Corpus	No. of texts	No. of sentences	Average wps	No. of tokens	No. of types	Type/token ratio
Arroyo	58	5,369	2,020.90	117,212	10,758	9.18%
Aquino	44	5,646	3,075.95	135,342	10,575	7.81%

Table 2 contains other type of corpus statistics, such as the number of sentences, which is very similar in both corpora; the number of types, which is slightly higher in the Arroyo corpus; and finally, the type/token ratio<sup>1</sup>, which is higher for the Arroyo

<sup>1</sup> Type/token ratio is a method used to measure the lexical variation within a corpus, meaning that it is used to check whether it has a wide variety of vocabulary or a limited number of words that are constantly repeated. It is determined by dividing the number of types in a corpus by the number of

corpus. More specifically, the number of tokens found in the Arroyo corpus is 117,212, while in the Aquino corpus, 135,342. Moreover, Sketch Engine extracted the number of types in the corpus with the Arroyo one having 10,758, and the Aquino one having 10,575.

The type/token ratio suggests greater lexical diversity in the Arroyo corpus and a clearer tendency for word repetition in the Aquino corpus. The type/token ratio for Arroyo is 9.18% and for Aquino, 7.81%. Taking into account that the collected speeches are very repetitive, the low type/token ratio is anticipated, and the results obtained confirmed that. On the other hand, the difference between the average number of words per speech is also worth noting. Although the number of speeches that Arroyo gave is higher (58 in total), Aquino produced more tokens than she did. Aquino usually used to give longer speeches than Arroyo. The average words per speech also shows this. Arroyo only has an average of 2,020.90 words per speech, while there is a significant difference with Aquino's average word per speech of 3,075.95.

After having described the corpus structure, design and statistics, I will move on to discuss the method of analysis used in this study in the following section of this chapter.

## 5.2. Method of analysis

Once I have outlined how the corpora were designed and compiled, and which tool was selected for corpus query, I will now describe the method of analysis used. I will specifically refer to the approach chosen in this study, that is, corpus-driven approach, and will compare it to the corpus-based one for greater clarity of these two concepts. After that, I will describe the lexical and semantic analysis by defining what corpus word lists and keywords are. Finally, and from the lexico-grammatical perspective, I will discuss the concept of collocations and lexical bundles, as a way of tracing similarities and differences between the two corpora. This type of corpus-driven analysis will finally allow for the detection of semantic and lexico-grammatical features,

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tokens, and multiplying them by 100. If a text has 1,000 words, we can say that it has 1,000 "tokens". However, many of these words will be repeated and there may be only 400 different words in the text and these words are called "types". The ratio between types and tokens in this example would be 0.4 (400 divided by 1,000). Baker (2006a: 162) said that if a text has a high type/token ratio it is lexically diverse. A text with a low type/token ratio, on the other hand suggests that it isn't. The closer the result is to 1 or 100% (if expressed as a percentage), the larger the vocabulary variation; the further away the result is from 1 (100%), the smaller the variation is.

which would, in turn, point to variations in how the two politicians address public concerns of all types and offer solutions to them.

#### 5.2.1. Corpus-driven versus corpus-based approach

In this study, I have chosen a method of analysis that would allow for an investigation in which linguistic units and constructs would emerge without any prior theoretical preconceptions: the corpus-driven approach. The distinction between a corpus-driven approach and a corpus-based approach in linguistic analysis was introduced by Tognini-Bonelli (2001). According to this scholar, the corpus-based approach aims to verify or test pre-existing linguistic theories while the corpus-driven approach seeks to develop theoretical categories from the data extracted from a corpus. Tognini-Bonelli (2001:65) argued that research is corpus-based if the corpus is used “mainly to expound, test, or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study”. In other words, the goal of a corpus-based research is to analyze and validate predetermined linguistic forms and structures. Tognini-Bonelli (2001:87) defined corpus-driven approach as an approach that “aims to derive linguistic categories systematically from the recurrent patterns and the frequency distributions that emerge from language in context”. This means that in a corpus-driven approach, the corpus in hand serves as an empirical basis, without any prior theoretical investigation as compared to a corpus-based approach. Let us look at the two approaches in greater detail.

##### *Corpus-based approach*

Biber (2012:161) sees corpus-based research as belonging in functional linguistics. He argues that through corpus-based research, the core grammatical features are analyzed in functional terms; by trying to explain these features in a communicative context. Therefore, corpus-based approach has very often been used as a methodology to detect all aspects of linguistic variations. He (Biber, 2012:162) also mentioned that one of the main interests of a corpus-based approach is the representativeness of the corpus itself. He explained that a corpus needs to be sizeable enough for a truthful representation of linguistic data. He also mentioned how the composition is crucial in the corpus design. In other words, it is important to ensure that texts are carefully sampled to represent all the registers if they are to be analyzed.

When applied, however, corpus-based approaches are considered by him to be highly reliable and externally valid (Biber, 2012:163).

As mentioned before, the corpus-based approach is a method that deals with language data to find evidence for pre-set linguistic assumptions. A linguist would use this method to support his/her intuition, but never as the defining factor of the analysis. Considering that, the data is used to verify a linguistic phenomenon, a corpus-based approach could be considered as a way to obtain supporting material or data. It has been previously mentioned that corpus-based approach research is used to analyze systematic patterns depending on the pre-defined linguistic features, putting corpus-based approach at a disadvantage. As Tognini-Bonelli (2001:66) explained, when the corpus-based approach is used, “it is never really in a position to challenge them [pre-existing categories] as there is no claim made that they arise directly from the data”.

#### *Corpus-driven approach*

In contrast, research using corpus-driven approach as a method of analysis is not dependent on pre-defined linguistic features. The linguistic descriptions made by the linguists in such an approach result from the patterns discovered in the corpus. Therefore, when the corpus-driven approach is used, any conclusion made is solely based on the observations of the extracted data, making the method a purely empirical one. Biber (2012:160) highlighted the importance of corpus research using a corpus-driven approach, as it distinguishes “strong tendencies for words and grammatical constructions to pattern together in particular ways, while other theoretically possible combinations rarely occur”.

Biber (2012:169) also enumerated three main types of corpus-driven methodologies: (1) studies primarily based on lemma analysis or word form; (2) studies primarily based on pre-defined linguistic constructs or simple word sequences; and (3) studies primarily focused on the analysis of the frequency evidence. Using corpus-driven approach in a study rather than using an approach solely based on pre-existing linguistic assumptions could likely yield a different result, specifically regarding feature frequency and pattern identification.

The possibility of gaining a broader view of corpus data provided by corpus-driven approach is the reason why it has been used in the present study. It should also be pointed out that corpus-driven approach applied here is used in the sense that all

possible corpus data will be extracted first, and then they will be analyzed and interpreted from the CDA perspective.

### 5.2.2. Lexical and semantic analysis

Lexical and semantic analysis focuses on the choice of the words or lexical units by a speaker or writer, and on the referential and contextual meanings of these words. This section, therefore, will briefly describe the concepts of word list and of keyword.

#### 5.2.2.1. Word list

The first step in the present analysis will be generating a word list for each corpus. A word list includes all of the words in a corpus ordered according to their frequency of use. This data will allow for the first comparison of the two corpora and the identification of the most frequent words used. It is important to point out that the most frequent lexical items identified will also be examined in their co-text and context by reading the concordance lines carefully. This provides a qualitative angle to my study.

#### 5.2.2.2. Keywords

Keywords are considered as indicators of what a text is about and of what its style is (Scott & Tribble, 2006:59-60). Even though the concept of keyword has not been well defined in language studies (Bondi, 2010), different authors provide complementary views on it. From the statistical point of view, Scott and Tribble (2006) argued that keywords are the words that are significantly more frequent than expected in texts. Brezina (2018:79) adds that keywords are “words that are considerably more frequent in one corpus than in another corpus”, and that they are considered as typical of the corpus of interest when it is compared to another corpus (often called reference corpus). The author (Brezina, 2018:80) also points out that keyword is “a relative term depending on the differences in lexical frequencies in the two corpora in question”. The reference corpus, as Leech (2002:1) defined it is a “yardstick, something that people can regard as a standard of comparison”.

Stubbs (2010:21) defined keywords as words that “express important evaluative social meanings and/or play a special role in a text or text-type”. He listed three different perspectives on keywords from different academic theories. First, by looking at keywords not only as labels but also as cultural concepts (Williams, 1976). Second, by looking at keywords from a statistical point of view as words that are significantly

more frequent than expected in texts (Scott & Tribble, 2006). Lastly, by looking at keywords from a corpus-driven perspective, where they are viewed in a sociolinguistic perspective to discover lexico-grammatical patterns such as phrases and schemas (Francis, 1993). It seems, therefore, that the examination of keywords is important because they can point to topical points in corpora representing different types of discourse.

Through keywords, we can detect the more relevant lexis as they would significantly appear more often than in a reference corpus. With this, I can pinpoint which keywords to use for further examination. This is because as Baker (2006a:148) said “keywords can reveal a great deal about frequencies in texts which is unlikely to be matched by researcher intuition”.

In this study and in the second step of my analysis, I will identify the keywords in the Arroyo corpus by using the Aquino corpus as the corpus of reference, and the other way round: I will detect the keywords in the Aquino corpus by using the Arroyo corpus as the corpus of reference. In this way, I will be able to clearly point to the differences in the topics and style of the two politicians’ speeches.

### 5.2.3. Lexicogrammar

Lexicogrammar approach to language study was adopted by the proponents of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1961; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Lexicogrammar is the “inner core of the language” (Halliday, 1994:15) and includes both grammar and vocabulary. The main idea beyond this concept is the interdependence of vocabulary and grammar. Sinclair and Carter (2004) later pointed out that the focus in lexicogrammar is placed mainly on grammar with some attention given to lexis. The advent of corpus linguistics has made the identification of lexico-grammatical patterns easier and faster, in the form of collocation or lexical bundle analyses. In the following sections, I will discuss these two concepts, which will be dealt with in the following steps of my analysis.

#### 5.2.3.1. Collocation

After identifying the keywords in the two corpora, I will look into their surrounding text, where their collocates can be found. A collocate is part of a language usage phenomenon called ‘collocation’. According to Hunston (2002), collocation is the tendency of words to co-appear close to each other which is more statistically

significant than expected. Words that tend to co-occur with another are known as collocates of the word. Collocations would therefore help determine patterns that stand out because as Baker (2010:118) mentioned, collocations can “summarize the most significant relationships” between words.

Baker (2010:24) mentioned that there are three different types of collocation. For instance, two words may be used regularly as part of an idiom (‘hot potato, ‘best dressed’), of a compound noun (‘ice cream’, ‘fire drill’) or a lexical bundle (‘in order’, ‘don’t think’). The author noted the importance of collocations in discourse analysis by pointing out that they not only rapidly stipulate the context of the word, but also provide information about their indirect meanings and connotations (Baker, 2010:25). McEnery and Baker (2015:2) also cited Stubbs’s (1997) argument why collocations are significant. It is because if “two words are repetitiously associated with each other, then their relationship can become reified and unquestioned”.

In the present study, the analysis of keyword collocations will allow for the description of the contextual meaning of each keyword. The ten most frequent keywords in each corpus will be used for this purpose. The word span for this part of the analysis in Sketch Engine will be set to four words to the left of the node word (my keyword) and four words to its right.

Identifying keyword collocations would allow for a more precise detection of patterns of meaning in the two politicians’ speeches.

#### 5.2.3.2. Lexical bundles

Biber and colleagues (1999:992-993) defined lexical bundles as “recurrent expressions, regardless of their idiomaticity, and regardless of their structural status”. Biber and Barbieri (2007) further specified that lexical bundles are the most frequent recurrent sequences of three or more words. Considered as a lexico-grammatical pattern, lexical bundles could be distinguished through some of the following factors: lexical bundles are extremely common; they are not idiomatic; and they do not represent complete structural units (Biber, 2009:283-284).

Lexical bundles were chosen for this study because as Biber (2009) mentioned they play an important role in discourse. Lexical bundles “provide a kind of pragmatic “head” for larger phrases and clauses” (Biber, 2009:206), which means they express the textual meaning and frame the new discourse. Gray (2016:33) cited the importance of lexical bundles in discourse analysis because they are “basic components of

discourse construction". She proposed a framework for lexical bundle description based on their structure and typical discourse function, which, in turn, draws upon and was adapted from Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004). Gray (2016:35) listed three structural types of bundles: (a) verb phrase fragments, which could be subject pronouns + verb phrase, verb phrase initial, or question fragments (e.g., 'what do you think', 'you don't have to'); (b) dependent clause fragments, which comprise verb phrase fragments and components of dependent clauses (e.g., 'not be able to', 'you need to get'); and (c) noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments, (e.g., 'nothing to do with', 'the end of the'). Gray (2016: 35) also listed three discourse functions of lexical bundles. They can be used as stance expressions, discourse organizers, and as referential expressions. Stance expressions include epistemic, attitudinal, modal or evaluative assessments (e.g., 'I think it is'). Discourse organizers denote the general discourse structure such as "introducing topics, topic elaboration/clarification, confirmation checks" (e.g., 'on the other hand'). Lastly, referential bundles indicate a specific attribute of a particular unit (e.g., 'the two of you', 'the rest of the').

Aside from the three main functional categories seen above, special conversational functions (Biber et al., 2004) will also be identified in this research, as data obtained have allowed for that. This lexical bundle includes politeness, simple inquiry, and reporting (e.g., 'I said to her').

The final step in the present study will consist of the analysis of the occurrences of lexical bundles in the aforementioned corpora. I will examine four-word bundles and focus on the most frequent bundles in each corpus. These most frequent bundles will then be grouped according to their structure and function, following Gray (2016).

In this chapter, I have established that it was deemed necessary to build two corpora that would be representative of Arroyo's and Aquino's speeches. The texts selected for the construction of the corpora are all derived from the official Presidential website and consist of a number of speeches, namely: SONA, inaugural speeches, health-, economic-, foreign relations-, climate-, historic and national-related speeches.

After a comprehensive description of the procedures realized for the corpus design and compilation, the methodology of corpus analysis has been explained. This chapter has highlighted the difference between corpus-based and corpus-driven approach and the reason why I chose corpus-driven approach as the method for this research. In the final part of the chapter, I have described the concepts used and the steps taken in my analysis. The following chapter will discuss the results obtained from

the analysis of the corpora. The description will follow the order of the steps discussed herein.

## CHAPTER 6. Results and Discussions

In the previous chapters of this study, I have discussed CDA, and in particular the PDA variety of it. I have also indicated that corpus linguistics techniques provide the quantitative part of this analysis. In order to address the main objective of this study, I have also outlined the methodology of a corpus-driven critical discourse analysis. In this chapter, I will report the results obtained from the analysis of the two corpora. Specifically, I will discuss the 30 most frequent words used by both presidents and suggest possible reasons for the frequencies identified. Next, I will report on the keywords found in both corpora focusing on the most important ones and on their collocations. Finally, I will refer to the lexical bundles identified in the two corpora.

### 6.1. Word lists

In order to analyze the corpora of the presidential speeches, I have obtained word lists for each corpus using Sketch Engine. I have focused on the 30 most frequent words included in each list. They are shown in Table 3 with their number of occurrences and relative frequency normalized per 1,000 words. The items in Table 3 include only content words, which means that function words or words with no semantic content such as prepositions or articles have been removed from the list. However, I have included personal pronouns because they might be of interest in the analysis of political discourse.

**Table 3.** Top 30 words that appear most frequently in the Arroyo and Aquino corpora

Arroyo	Occurrences	Relative frequency per 1,000 words	Aquino	Occurrences	Relative frequency per 1,000 words
we	1893	16.15	we	2503	18.49
our	1633	13.93	our	2033	15.02
I	1184	10.10	I	1089	8.05
will	782	6.67	will	997	7.37
you	495	4.22	you	830	6.13
all	378	3.22	they	644	4.76
more	358	3.05	us	524	3.87
people	351	2.99	all	519	3.83
can	314	2.68	their	516	3.81
Philippines	312	2.66	can	457	3.38
economic	289	2.47	my	444	3.28

my	276	2.35	more	436	3.22
their	270	2.30	now	363	2.68
must	259	2.21	one	362	2.67
world	252	2.15	people	355	2.62
one	252	2.15	your	287	2.12
us	246	2.10	government	261	1.93
now	234	2.00	do	241	1.78
government	232	1.98	them	230	1.70
they	227	1.94	country	228	1.68
do	221	1.89	time	228	1.68
new	214	1.83	me	209	1.54
global	205	1.75	let	209	1.54
nation	203	1.73	year	205	1.51
year	203	1.73	other	200	1.48
other	181	1.54	many	194	1.43
country	180	1.54	Philippines	189	1.40
your	179	1.53	Filipino	188	1.39
work	172	1.47	pesos	182	1.34
economy	167	1.42	good	180	1.33

The first two words that are most frequent in the Arroyo corpus are ‘we’ (16.15) and ‘our’ (13.93). Similar to Arroyo’s most frequent words, Aquino’s top two words are also first-person plural pronouns. Specifically, his most often used words are ‘we’ (18.49) and ‘our’ (15.02). The use of the first person plural personal and possessive pronouns suggests that the then-presidents foster a sense of inclusion, intimacy, and community. The data obtained in the present study are in line with the findings reported by Gumiran-Quijano (2019). She revealed that the first-person plural ‘we’ is the most frequent personal pronoun used in the two then-presidents’ SONA speeches, Arroyo having 42.04% frequency of ‘we’ in total and Aquino having 39.13%.

Comparing the relative and normalized frequencies of ‘we’ and ‘our’ in the two corpora, we can see that there is a certain difference. Aquino’s use of ‘we’ and ‘our’ is slightly higher. This shows that the words are underused in the Arroyo corpus. The more abundant use of first-person plural pronouns suggests that Aquino’s communicative strategy is more inclusive than Arroyo’s. Moreover, as a member of the Liberal Party, Aquino in this way expresses its objective of reaching the ultimate goal for the nation and puts emphasis on the Filipino people’s participation. As Autida-van der Zee (2013) argued that Aquino wanted to represent himself and his political

party as an image of good leadership, which in a way is a reflection of how committed he is in following his parents' footsteps.

Before delving further into the analysis of the pronouns used in the presidents' speeches, I would like to refer to the use of the Tagalog first-person plural – *tayo* – and the first-person plural — *kami* – which are equivalent to the English first-person plural 'we'. Tagalog is one of the local languages spoken in the Philippines and used at times by both presidents in the English-language speeches. As has already been mentioned, these cases were translated into English to make the corpora homogenous from the point of view of the English language usage. The first person dual plural *tayo* is considered inclusive as it explicitly involves the persons being addressed. On the other hand, the first-person dual *kami* is considered exclusive as it explicitly excludes the person/s being addressed. In a more concrete context, the following sentences show how the Tagalog first person plural inclusive and exclusive pronouns *tayo* and *kami* are translated as the English first person plural pronoun 'we'.

- |     |                    |                    |
|-----|--------------------|--------------------|
| (a) | <i>Kumain</i>      | <i>kami.</i> (Tag) |
|     | V.P=eat (Tag_kain) | 1PL.PR.EXC         |
| (b) | <i>Kumain</i>      | <i>tayo.</i> (Tag) |
|     | V.P=eat (Tag_kain) | 1PL.PR.INC         |
|     |                    |                    |
| (c) | We                 | ate. (Eng)         |
|     | 1PL.PR             | V.P=eat            |

As shown above, in English, the first-person plural form 'we' does not specify inclusivity or exclusivity (c). In contrast, in Tagalog, the first-person plural exclusive form *kami* refers to the speaker and the group associated with him/her but it excludes the person being addressed. In (a) for example, the speaker has eaten with the group that he/she is associating himself/herself with, but not with the addressee. On the contrary, the first-person inclusive *tayo* refers to both the speaker, the person that he/she is addressing, and the person or the group associated with him/her. In (b), the speaker has eaten with the entire group including the addressee.

The following sentences show how 'we' and 'our' are used in the two political leaders' speeches.

- (1) In six years, **we** built and arranged irrigation for 1 million acres nationwide — the largest in a long time. (Arroyo, 2007)

- (2) **We** are investing in the country's most important resource: the people. (Aquino, 2013)
- (3) **We** made the tough choices on raising revenue, instilling budget discipline and most importantly, using our savings and new revenue to invest in the people. (Arroyo, 2010)
- (4) Of course, **we** look after every Filipino, not just those living in our country. (Aquino, 2015)
- (5) But in the Philippines, **we** have stabilized our exchange rate and we have reduced our interest rates. (Arroyo, 2002)
- (6) The tremendous amount of confidence the global community has developed for the Philippines is incredibly gratifying, especially considering that, not too long ago, **we** were known as the "Sick Man of Asia". (Aquino, 2015)
- (7) Is it not true that, at the beginning of our administration, **we** were left with only 6.5 percent of the budget to use? (Aquino, 2015)

Both presidents used 'we' and 'our' to convey inclusivity and togetherness: (a) referring to themselves and the Filipinos as one entity (1 and 2); (b) referring to the government and its actions (3 and 4); and (c) referring to the country and the nation as a whole (5 and 6).

In examples (1) and (2), 'we' is used as an inclusive pronoun. It fosters unity by referring to the president and the Filipinos, by making them feel involved. The original speech in Tagalog for (1) is '*Sa anim na taon nagtayo **tayo** at nag-ayos ng patubig para sa 1 milyong ektarya sa buong bansa—pinakamalaki sa matagal na panahon*' (Arroyo, 2007) and for (2) is '*Namumuhunan po **tayo** sa pinakamahalagang yaman ng bansa: ang taumbayan*' (Aquino, 2013), and as can be seen the first-person plural inclusive pronoun was used in both contexts. These uses of 'we' are inclusive because even though Arroyo and Aquino were the ones who took office, they used 'we' in this case to make it seem that the Filipinos also took office alongside them. Specifically, in (1), Arroyo extends her accomplishments with the whole nation by saying that she and the whole nation were the ones who made it happen. In (2), even though it is only technically Aquino who is investing in the country's resources, he is extending the responsibility to the whole nation, establishing the sense of camaraderie which then reflects one of the ideologies of his political party.

Examples (3) and (4) also show the use of an inclusive pronoun but they make the circle smaller and they are referring to 'we' as presidents and their administration and the whole government – establishing a shared responsibility with the others in

power. In these sentences, it can be seen that Aquino and Arroyo not only create unity with the government, but also share the responsibility for the mentioned issues as well. Furthermore, the political leaders used 'we' in (5) and (6) to refer to the Philippines as a country, creating unity with the Filipinos and the government as a whole. This inclusivity also separates and clearly distinguishes the country and establishes a sense of exclusivity from other countries in the world. Lastly, I would also like to comment on how Aquino used 'we' in example (7) to criticize the previous administration by openly separating his current administration from the previous one and he does so in a negative context. Gumiran-Quijano (2019:55) argued that Aquino used a lot of exclusive 'we' (Aquino and his government) to portray a more unified team "to initiate and implement measures to curb problems on massive corruption, economic imbalance and political instability brought by the previous administration".

(8) During **our** tenure, 300,000 low cost housing units have been built, thus, giving 300,000 families in locations across the nation a chance to meet their goal of home ownership. (Arroyo, 2010)

(9) As I think of all **our** triumphs—triumphs we achieved together, and not by myself alone—I cannot help but remember those whose sacrifices led us to this point. (Aquino, 2015)

(10) The story of **our** administration started with some daunting statistics. In the first quarter of 2001, inflation was 7.5%; **our** overall balance of payments position was a deficit of \$202 million; external debt was 72.9% of GDP; but worst, **our** total public sector debt was larger than **our** whole GDP; unemployment was double digit at 11%. (Arroyo, 2010)

(11) In **our** Cabinet, isn't the question almost always: what else must I sacrifice? (Aquino, 2011)

(12) I reiterate the gratitude of the Filipino people for your speedy, and I must say, substantial response to **our** appeal and for your continuing desire to help us. (Arroyo, 2009)

(13) All these, and many other factors, have led to even greater optimism for **our** country's prospects. (Aquino, 2015)

The same patterns of the inclusive use of 'we' can be seen in the context of the use of 'our'. Examples (8) and (9) are some of the cases when Arroyo and Aquino used 'our' by referring to their term and the accomplishment they achieved during their term as something where all the Filipinos were involved. Examples (10) and (11) are also some instances where the presidents referred to 'our' as to their administration (excluding the common Filipinos, but sharing the responsibility with the current government). Examples (12) and (13) also exclude the other countries in the context,

but refer to the whole country as one. Furthermore, by using the word 'our' and not the definite article 'the', the two presidents create an organized membership and togetherness and encourage people to work together.

The sense of joint activity can also be seen through the use of 'one', which registered significantly lower frequencies (2.15 for Arroyo, 2.67 for Aquino), and through another first-person plural object pronoun 'us' (2.10 for Arroyo, 3.87 for Aquino). Likewise, the slightly higher relative frequency of these two words in the Aquino corpus further suggests that Aquino tended to promote a greater feeling of togetherness and solidarity. Examples (14) and (15) demonstrate how the leaders used 'one' to create a sense of a team and belongingness along with the Filipinos. Likewise, examples (16) and (17) refer to all Filipinos sharing the responsibility of loving the country and facing the disasters that occurred.

(14) In fact, one of the things in common, among the economies that have survived this crisis, are that they are domestic-demand driven, and we are **one** of them. (Arroyo, 2009)

(15) On this day, 117 years ago, the Filipino people rose up as **one** community to break free from injustice. (Aquino, 2015)

(16) The trip will be short but I think rewarding for all of **us** who love our country. (Arroyo, 2003)

(17) We now have one of the fastest growing economies in Asia, despite the spate of disasters that befell **us** in the past year; we have regained the capacity to undertake large-scale programs in social services that will equip our people with the skills they need to take charge of their own destinies (...). (Aquino, 2014)

However, the frequency of the word 'I' in the Arroyo corpus (10.10) and the Aquino corpus (8.04) shows that Arroyo used the first-person singular pronoun more often than Aquino did. This suggests that Arroyo expressed more personal and individual commitment and authority than Aquino. The use of the first-person singular pronoun conveys the speaker's personal involvement; thus, promoting subjectivity and accountability. Even though in Huesca-Palmares' (2019:30) study, the personal pronoun 'I' and its variants occurred more often than the personal pronoun 'we' and its variants, the researcher still argued that the use of 'I' shows "the need of each speaker to present a likeable image". Sentences (18) and (19) are examples of the use of 'I' in Arroyo and Aquino corpora respectively. The following sentences show

how the presidents in question want to establish their authority and accountability for the issues stated.

(18) I was one of the first to call on the collective power of nations to strike at the root of the conditions that enable terrorism to spread its wings. (Arroyo, 2002)

(19) As President and Commander-in-Chief, I am fully responsible for any result—any triumph, any suffering, and any tragedy—that may result from our desire for lasting peace and security. (Aquino, 2015)

Furthermore, the word list also reveals that both presidents addressed the country and its people quite often. 'People' is one of the most frequent words in the Arroyo corpus with a normalized frequency of 2.99. Other nation-related words that appeared most frequently on the Arroyo corpus are: 'Philippines' (2.66), 'nation' (1.73), and 'country' (1.54). The word 'people' also occurred with a relatively high frequency in Aquino corpus with 2.62 occurrences per 1,000 words. With reference to the Aquino corpus, it also includes words used to address the audience (which is the nation) such as 'country' (1.68) and 'Philippines' (1.40). In contrast to the Arroyo corpus, the word 'nation' did not appear in the Aquino corpus. 'Filipino' (1.39), on the other hand, did so. It can also be seen that the nation-related words in the Arroyo corpus have a higher frequency than the words found in the Aquino corpus. By comparing the frequencies obtained, we can therefore conclude that Arroyo addressed the Filipinos on more occasions.

(20) By 2004, I want to see a revitalized economy that adequately serves the needs of our people, creates even more jobs, and raises our people's income levels and pushes poverty to the margins. (Arroyo, 2003)

(21) The welfare of our people should always come first. (Aquino, 2015)

Both (20) and (21) are examples of how the two political leaders used 'people' in their speeches. It can also be noted that in the mentioned examples, the items are collocated with 'our', creating a more emphatic discourse, in addition to referring to the well-being of the Filipinos. Examples (22) and (23) show how the 'Philippines' is used in context. Both examples reveal how by stating the name of the country, instead of using 'country' or 'nation', the political leaders put more emphasis on the national identity. In example (22), Arroyo was talking about the economic crisis and by using

'Philippines', he emphasized how well it is performing despite the crisis. Similarly, in (23), Aquino highlighted the country's good performance despite another crisis.

(22) Today the **Philippines** is weathering well the storm that is raging around the world. (Arroyo, 2009)

(23) Ladies and gentlemen, I am proud to say to all of you: the **Philippines** is well and truly back in business. (Aquino, 2014)

Interestingly, the noun 'country' was used, instead of 'Philippines', in contexts with some negative connotations. As shown in (24), Arroyo refers to the poverty in the country. By doing so, she also refers to the solutions such as building more schools, bringing water and electricity, and providing allowances, instead of focusing on the existing problem. Similarly, in (25), Aquino is talking about a military massacre that just happened and instead of using 'Philippines', he uses 'country'.

(24) We built more schools, brought water to remote towns, electricity to remote barangays, and provided conditional cash allowances to the poorest one million families in the **country**. (Arroyo, 2010)

(25) To honor those who perished, I am declaring a National Day of Mourning to symbolize the sorrow and empathy of our entire **country**. (Aquino, 2015)

The succeeding sentences are other examples of how the presidents in question addressed their constituents. Examples (26) and (27) include the words 'nation' and 'Filipino' in positive and hopeful contexts.

The high frequency of the above-mentioned references to the Filipino audience reflects Huesca-Palmares' (2017) results where the nouns with the highest frequency for the three presidents including Arroyo, Aquino, and Duterte were: 'government', 'people', 'country', 'president' and 'nation'.

(26) But long after we have left office, I want this **nation** to succeed, to win. (Arroyo, 2010)

(27) When we began treading the Straight and Righteous Path, we said the **Filipino** people can dream again. (Aquino, 2015)

It is also notable that Arroyo's focus on her presidency is reflected in her lexical choices as some of the words with high frequency are related to economy such as 'economic' (2.47), 'work' (1.47), and 'economy' (1.42). The coincidence of 'work' and

'economy' in the list can be a justification on how Arroyo frames the national economy. Navera (2012:154) explained that one of the conceptual frames Arroyo had in her SONAs can be formulated as "the national economy is a manifestation of national life". On the other hand, the only time that an economy-related term appeared in the Aquino corpus is when the word 'pesos' was used. This term was often used with reference to the budget.

(28) As we prepare to capture the opportunities presented by this partnership, this private-public sector reconstruction partnership and the resources that it is tapping in this session to recover from recent national calamities, we must not lose sight of our longer-term **economic** reforms and the very real pain many of our poor have sustained as a result of the global downturn. (Arroyo, 2009)

(29) First, increase investments that provide people with the education and training they need to get high-wage **work**, including more scholarships, English as the prime teaching language, and scores of other practical investments for equipping our people; second, strengthen our international ties and regain the confidence of international investors. (Arroyo, 2004)

(30) The future for the Philippine **economy** is, indeed, much brighter now that it was in 2001. (Arroyo, 2010)

(31) This is really icing on the cake: a hectare planted to chili necessitates an investment of about 95,000 **pesos** per year in that particular area, and produces a gross of 200,000 to 250,000 **pesos**. (Aquino, 2014)

Arroyo's foreign-relation affairs can also be seen thanks to the use of 'world' (2.15) and 'global' (1.75). In comparison to Arroyo's international affairs, the Aquino corpus did not include any word that reflects his global associations in the top 30 most frequent items, and this could be expected from someone who is a Liberal Party member. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the party is focused on the nation's development through the solidarity of each citizen, meaning that the focus of the said party concerns internal affairs more than external affairs.

(32) We will maintain our economic ties with the rest of the **world** especially to the extent that it is consistent with our commitments and the welfare of our people.

(33) From an economic standpoint, the **global** tourism industry benefits significantly with nature-based tourism being the largest growing tourism segment.

Lastly, I would like to comment on the presidents' repeated use of modal verbs 'will' (6.67), 'can' (2.68), and 'must' (2.21) for Arroyo, and 'will' (7.37) and 'can' (3.38) for Aquino. 'Must' does not appear on Aquino's most frequent 30 words. Both presidents' repeated use of 'will' and 'can' suggest their willingness and confidence to take action. 'Must' suggests obligation, as well as imposition of beliefs and rules to the Filipinos. Arroyo's frequent use of 'must' expresses her assertion towards Filipinos that her decisions are essential. This could also reflect her reaction to the hesitations and distrust that she had faced from the supporters of the ousted president before she took office. As Gumiran-Quijano (2019:53) commented, Arroyo's use of 'must' "marks her strong desire and determination to implement her plans for the progress and stability of this country".

As shown in (34) and (35), the use of 'will' by both presidents demonstrate a great hope for the near future. Arroyo's use (34) of 'will' is a promise of a better administration for the next term, which is also used along with the term 'vow'. Aquino's use of 'will' (35) expresses a hope for the future, but it is also a clear and certain projection of what is going to happen. In Autida-van der Zee's (2013:41) critical discourse analysis of Aquino's speeches, it is argued that his frequent use of 'will' demonstrates his intention and determination to act in favour of the country.

(34) And as I vowed yesterday, we **will** do plenty more in the next 18 months. (Arroyo, 2003)

(35) We know full well that, if you give them the right opportunities, the Filipino people **will** demonstrate excellence in every endeavor. (Aquino, 2015)

In comparison to the use of 'will', the use of 'can' in (35) and (36) shows the presidents' expression of their administration's ability to do things that will improve the situation of the nation. Autida-van der Zee (2013:41) also argued that Aquino's use of 'can' "helped establish the hope on the audience towards better governance".

(35) We **can** create jobs and keep our environment safe and sacred. (Arroyo, 2010)

(36) In this way, we **can** truly forge a global community in which each nation-state realizes that their growth and stability hinge on their ability to work with others. (Aquino, 2015)

Arroyo's more frequent use of the modal verb 'must' demonstrate that she is more likely to express commitment and obligation, establishing her firmer attitude. This could also be due to the fact that she needed to establish her authority because of the

questions formulated to her by the supporters of the ousted president, whom she replaced.

(37) We must ensure that the global trading system **can** be equitable and genuinely contributory to development. (Arroyo, 2003)

To summarize, the analysis of the two-word lists representing the speeches by Aquino and Arroyo has shown many similarities in the use of personal and possessive pronouns, as well as of economic terms and modal verbs. The variations detected refer to the significant frequency of the mentioned terms such as Arroyo's more frequent use of first-person singular pronoun 'I' than Aquino's, and Aquino's more frequent use of the first-person plural pronoun 'we'. Furthermore, it is important to mention how Arroyo used more economic-related words more frequently than Aquino did. Lastly, the absence of words related to the economic ties of the Philippines in the Aquino corpus, in comparison to Arroyo's frequent use of them is also notable.

## 6.2. Keywords and their co-text

The analysis of the presidential speeches continues with a statistical comparison on the keyword level. As the keywords generated by Sketch Engine play an important role for this study, since they can show differences between the two corpora, the top 20 keywords were chosen for the analysis. It should be pointed out here that both corpora served as the reference corpora in the identification of keywords, that is the Aquino corpus was the reference corpus for the analysis of the Arroyo corpus, and the latter was the reference corpus for the former. Table 4 includes the keywords identified, sorted according to their keyness score<sup>2</sup> from the highest to the lowest. The first column on the left shows the top 20 keywords in the Arroyo corpus, while the fourth column includes the top 20 keywords in the Aquino corpus. The

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<sup>2</sup> Sketch Engine uses Simple maths to identify keywords of one corpus in comparison to another. According to the website, "the keyness score is calculated with the formula:

$$\frac{fpm_{rmfocus} + n}{fpm_{rmref} + n}$$

where  $fpm_{rmfocus}$  is the normalized frequency of the word in the original corpus and  $fpm_{rmref}$  refers to the normalized frequency of the word in the reference corpus, and  $N$  is the so-called smoothing parameter (Sketch Engine). For more information about the statistics used by Sketch Engine for the computation of keyness, see here: <https://www.sketchengine.eu/documentation/simple-maths/>.

generated data from Sketch Engine demonstrate noteworthy points, which will be examined now.

**Table 4.** Keywords in the Arroyo and Aquino corpora (in order of keyness value).

Arroyo'	Occurrences	Keyness Score	Aquino	Occurrences	Keyness Score
SARS	45	384.90	Bangsamoro	61	451.70
breastfeed	23	197.20	Marwan	27	200.50
RORO	23	197.20	helicopter	26	193.10
recession	23	197.20	Usman	25	185.70
agribusiness	20	171.60	righteous	23	170.90
coastal	19	163.10	DAP	23	170.90
inflation	19	163.10	steal	22	163.60
coral	18	154.60	EU	20	148.80
corridor	16	137.50	backlog	20	148.80
autism	15	129.00	transcript	20	148.80
physician	15	129.00	testimonial	19	141.40
Baguio	15	129.00	Haiyan	18	134.00
triangle	15	129.00	manner	18	134.00
Venecia	14	120.40	encounter	17	126.60
tertiary	14	120.40	criticism	16	119.20
barrier	14	120.40	redound	16	119.20
PCCI	14	120.40	Mabini	16	119.20
super	13	111.90	bequeath	16	119.20
equity	13	111.90	dictator	16	119.20
globalization	13	111.90	allot	15	111.80

As previously mentioned in chapter 2, keywords are paramount lexical items because they reveal the speakers' prime focus, and in this case, they show the differences in this focus between the two presidents. Regarding the Arroyo corpus, the remarkable keyness score of 'SARS' (384.90) makes it clear that it was one of the biggest health issues faced by the country during her term. Arroyo very often referred to the virus in terms of battle or war, or in connection with other problematic issues that have to be fought against. For instance, in one of her SONAs, Arroyo listed SARS alongside terrorism and drugs, highlighting the war undertaken against SARS (example 38). In the same speech, Arroyo purposefully discussed the SARS battle as if it were an actual combat (example 39). Other collocates of SARS understood as a battle were: 'ready to fight the SARS', 'we can be strong in the fight against SARS', 'a

good fight against SARS', 'the fear of SARS', 'free our country from SARS', 'spread to SARS spread to three hundred victims', and 'threat of SARS'.

(38) Terrorism, drugs, **SARS**, OFWs, Mindanao, poverty, corruption, investments, destabilization—these come to mind as we review the crises and opportunities of the past year. (Arroyo, 2003)

(39) Barangay Vacante, Alcala, Pangasinan, got the **SARS**, took the hit, fought on, and valiantly overcame the crisis. (Arroyo, 2003)

Arroyo's strong focus on health, as compared to Aquino, becomes clearer when other keywords related to general health are taken into account: 'breastfeed' (197.20), 'autism' (129.00), and 'physician' (129.00).

As discussed earlier, Arroyo considers the Philippine economy as one of her primary concerns. Other words with high keyness confirm that and indicate Arroyo's interest in the national economy. These keywords could be divided into two more specific semantic categories. The first one denominated economic programmes with keywords such as 'RORO', (197.20) and 'agribusiness' (171.60); and the second one, related to economic issues with keywords such as 'recession' (197.20) and 'inflation' (163.10).

Regarding the co-text of these keywords, 'agribusiness' was used in expressions such as 'prioritize agribusiness investments' (40), 'thriving agribusiness sector', 'agribusiness success', 'invested in agribusiness' and 'spread agribusiness development'. These phrases denote Arroyo's huge interest in agribusiness as one of the priorities in the economic progress of the Philippines.

(40) In Mindanao, our food basket, I said we would prioritize **agribusiness** investments. (Arroyo, 2007)

Using the same communicative strategy that Arroyo employed by treating 'SARS' as a battle, she also referred to 'recession' as a fight. In one of her speeches, she even stressed the fear that the recession brings (example 41). Some of the collocates of 'recession' identified in the corpus were: 'full-blown recession', 'looming recession', 'endured recession', 'have felt the pain of recession' 'recession has led to a virtual collapse' and 'recession usually hit the poor hardest'. Aside from the battle collocates,

other collocates concerning economic recession also appeared. This abundance of economy-related collocates will be further discussed in the next section (6.2.1.).

(41) Last year, when most of the world was *shaking in its boots* because of an economic **recession**, a world economic recession, I unveiled before you our Economic Resiliency Plan. (Arroyo, 2009)

Arroyo's concern with the Philippines' international relations can also be seen through the use of the keyword 'globalization' (111.90). When Arroyo talked about globalization, she tended to discuss its effects using word collocates demonstrating the positive and negative effects of it, for instance 'unbridled globalization', 'promise and challenge of globalization', 'dangerous side of globalization', 'adapting to globalization', 'issue of globalization', 'benefits' of globalization', and 'affected by globalization'. In one of her speeches (42), she even thoughtfully mentioned both sides of globalization.

42) As the financial crisis has demonstrated, we can *maximize the benefits* of **globalization** and *minimize its adverse effects*, if we have greater coherence in how we respond to its many dimensions—trade, investment, capital, and labor. (Arroyo, 2001)

Other keywords like 'coastal' (163.10) and 'coral' (154.60) explain Arroyo's concern about the Philippines' marine ecosystem. A remarkable set of collocates was identified for 'coastal'. Arroyo's use of phrases such as 'integrated coastal management', 'development of our coastal and marine environment', 'adapting Integrated Coastal Management', 'rebuild coastal communities', 'build the coastal', and 'replicated in all coastal provinces' denote Arroyo's positioning towards her programs for the economic progress and development. Sentence (43) is an example of how proactive Arroyo is in creating laws protecting the environment.

(43) My earlier Executive Order 533 adapting Integrated **Coastal** Management as a national strategy to ensure the sustainable development of our nation's coasts, oceans and marine resources is further adherence to the CTI. (Arroyo, 2009)

With regard to the keywords found in the Aquino corpus, there were not any related to economic situation and progress. His keywords, instead, illustrate his

anxiety over the internal conflict in the Philippines. This reveals that he faced a lot of terrorism and security issues during his term. The keywords such as 'Bangsamoro' (451.70), 'Marwan' (200.50), 'helicopter' (193.10), 'Usman' (185.70), and 'encounter' (126.60) confirm that. The keywords in the Arroyo corpus were not related to the internal conflict in the Philippines.

As mentioned in chapter 4, one of the accomplishments in Aquino's administration was the Bangsamoro Basic Law, so it is not surprising that the term 'Bangsamoro' is the top keyword on his list. The collocates Aquino used with this item are words expressing command and power: 'law', 'government', 'authority', 'commission' and 'stakeholder', in phrases such as: 'Bangsamoro Basic Law', 'Bangsamoro government', 'Bangsamoro Transition Authority', 'Bangsamoro Transition Commission', and 'stakeholders of the Bangsamoro'. By doing so, not only does Aquino emphasize the authority of the law, but also humanizes it by relating this law with human groups.

(43) (...) this agreement; the representatives of different countries who joined in our success; all the *stakeholders* of the **Bangsamoro**, they who are sick and tired of conflict and violence; and of course, our brothers and sisters in the MILF who, out of a (...). (Aquino, 2015)

Like Arroyo, Aquino also focused on his programs as can be seen from the use of 'DAP' (170.90), which refers to one of his key welfare projects during his term. Unlike the Bangsamoro Basic Law, DAP was not well-received by the nation. Thus, through the collocates around the term, it can be seen how Aquino was trying to establish the advantages of the program and minimize the criticisms. Collocations establishing DAP's advantages are: 'DAP is clearly allowed', 'DAP is only a name for a process', 'DAP funded', 'because of DAP, these funds', 'DAP also benefited', 'Through DAP, we were able to', 'DAP also played an important role', 'DAP contributed', 'funded under DAP, are also undeniable', and 'more convinced that DAP is legal'. On the other hand, collocations negating the criticisms around the program are: 'DAP is not theft' and 'undertaking DAP was not a haphazard decision'. Aquino even deliberately refuted the accusations (example 44) by establishing the legality of the program by listing down pieces of evidence (example 45).

(44) The **DAP** is *not theft*. Theft is illegal. Spending through **DAP** is *clearly allowed* by the Constitution and by other laws. (Aquino, 2014)

(45) Apart from this, we are all the *more convinced* that **DAP** is *legal* because the Supreme Court itself has agreed with this type of mechanism. You may ask why. These are the examples (...). (Aquino, 2014)

The interesting use of the keyword 'righteous' is also associated with one of his slogans, namely '*daang matuwid*' or 'righteous path', which adds weight to his ideology as a for-people president. Aquino's frequent use of keywords mentioning his programs demonstrates how he is focused on making "plans for a change in governance and improving the life of the Filipinos" (Huesca-Palmares, 2019:22). This aspect will be further discussed in the next section (6.2.1.)

I would also like to comment on another keyword that appeared on Aquino's list. The word 'Haiyan' (134.00) was detected to be used with an unusual frequency because it was one of the biggest typhoons experienced in the Philippines and his government was criticized because of their failed response (example 46). As expected, all the collocates of the word 'Haiyan' refer to the events after the typhoon: 'effects', 'response', 'damaged', and 'aftermath', used in phrases such as 'effects of Typhoon Haiyan', 'response to Typhoon Haiyan', 'most damaged by Typhoon Haiyan', 'aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan' and 'donations to Typhoon Haiyan victims'. It is also not surprising to see that since Aquino's administration was heavily condemned on their lack of precautionary measure in what was considered as the strongest typhoon in history to date, the only collocation relating to pre-Haiyan responses seen in the data is 'wake' and even that is not a pre-emptive response: 'in the wake of Typhoon Haiyan'.

(46) Indeed, one can notice a regained sense of pride and solidarity among our people—solidarity that has made itself most apparent during our *response* to Typhoon **Haiyan**, and in our current effort to build back better. (Aquino, 2014)

Keywords with a negative meaning were not so frequent in the Aquino corpus as in the Arroyo corpus. Still, some of these types of items were: 'steal', 'backlog', 'encounter', 'criticism', and 'dictator'. The term dictator in Aquino's speeches refers to the ex-dictator Ferdinand Marcos. Predictably, the collocates around the term 'dictator' were also negative: 'resist', 'negative', 'blatant cheating', 'mistakes', 'forcibly sold', and

‘manipulated’, in phrases such as ‘resisted the dictator’, ‘blatant cheating to favor the dictator’, ‘forcibly sold by the dictator’, ‘the son of the dictator who still cannot see the mistakes’, and ‘fear of being singled out by the dictator's forces’. The only time that a seemingly positive word appeared as a collocates of ‘dictator’ was ‘freedom’. However, when examined in context, the use of ‘freedom’ was presented from an undesirable perspective (example 47). This pattern is justified by the history between the Marcoses and Aquinos (as previously seen in chapter 4).

(47) These freedoms that do not even merit a second thought today are a stark contrast from the situation under the Marcos regime. In those days, the only freedoms were: the freedom to praise the **dictator**; the freedom to be patient as you attain an exit permit if you wish to leave the country; the freedom to expect imprisonment for fighting for your rights. (Aquino, 2016)

As can be seen, different topical foci were identified in the two corpora through the analysis of the most relevant keywords and their co-text. When the corpora are used both as the analysis and reference corpora, clear differences can be easily detected. While Arroyo focused on her economic ideologies, health concerns, and the international relations of the nation, Aquino made many references to the internal conflict and internal issues in the Philippines.

### 6.2.1. Key multi-word terms

This section deals with key multi-word terms, that is combinations of words that are unusually frequent in a particular corpus. I have decided to include multi-word terms as part of the analysis since Sketch Engine generated some interesting results that reflect the ideology of the two presidents. I have only focused on the 15 most frequent multi-word terms for each corpus, which are shown together with the number of their occurrences and keyness score (Table 5 and 6).

**Table 5.** Arroyo’s key multi-word terms.

	Multi-word term	Occurrences	Keyness Score
1	global crisis	24	205.80
2	strong republic	22	188.70
3	land reform	18	154.60
4	economic development	16	137.50

5	economic crisis	15	129.00
6	economic reform	14	120.40
7	world class	12	103.40
8	sustainable development	11	94.80
9	global economic crisis	11	94.80
10	global warming	10	86.30
11	economic prosperity	10	86.30
12	international airport	10	86.30
13	financial system	9	77.80
14	global recession	9	77.80
15	new economy	9	77.80

Table 5 shows the key multi-word terms used by Arroyo in her speeches. Arroyo's unusually frequent use of the terms 'global crisis', (205.80) 'economic development', (137.50) 'economic crisis', (129.00) 'economic reform', (120.40), 'global economic crisis', (94.80) 'economic prosperity', (86.30) 'financial system', (77.80) 'global recession', (77.80) and 'new economy' (77.80) show her concern about Philippine's economy as well as the country's external economic affairs. This is not surprising given that Arroyo is a practising economist. Aside from this, Navera (2012) also argued that Arroyo tended to conceptualize that "global is local" and that "the world economy is a life source of the national economy" (291). Thus, Arroyo justified the country's engagement in foreign affairs as part of her national economic development plans. Her interest and focus on economic issues, as well as the economic situation of the country are fully reflected in the multi-term items.

The use of 'strong republic' (188.70) as a key multi-word term should also be pointed out since this was Arroyo's slogan during her presidential campaign. As Navera (2012:300-301) argued, Arroyo also used this slogan as a frame of her presidency. Specifically, the conceptual frames that he generated in his analysis of her SONAs are focused on the concept of a strong republic: "A strong republic is an effective instrument in nation building", and "The government is the arm of a strong republic". Finally, her interest in the environment is also seen by the use of the multi-terms 'sustainable development' (94.80) and 'global warming' (86.30).

The multi-word term 'global crisis' was used with collocations such as 'impact of the global crisis', 'the global crisis have been throwing at us', 'the global crisis hit',

'disruption of the global crisis', and 'blunt force trauma of the global crisis'. These collocations show how Arroyo used words which treat global crisis as a collision or clash with the economy. In fact, Navera (2012:326) further argued that this is also one of the conceptual frames that Arroyo used in her SONAs: "the national economy is a **survivor** in the global economic crisis". The president in question even accentuated how this collision has adverse effects (48) by using a phrase about physical injuries caused by collisions.

(48) Many more have nothing to protect them from the immediate *blunt force trauma* of the **global crisis**. (Arroyo, 2008)

The collocates of the term 'economic development' demonstrate Arroyo's organized agendas towards achieving her goals: 'economic development plan', 'economic development program', 'economic development and social reform' and 'promote economic development'. Arroyo further establishes her objectives in focusing on the 'economic development' of the country. Before leaving the office, in one her speeches, she happily declares that her goals were achieved through the plans that she initiated (49).

(49) The growth that has resulted from our **economic development** programs is very evident when we travel throughout our nation, as we have done regularly for the past nine years. (Arroyo, 2010)

Another interesting set of collocates is the ones used with the term 'financial system'. Arroyo used adjectives describing 'financial system' as if it were alive and full of energy: 'vibrant financial system', 'healthy financial system', 'strengthen the financial system', and 'protect our financial system'. In one of her speeches, she creatively inserts a human body part to relate to system (50).

(50) Trust is the *heart* of business. A *vibrant* **financial system** cannot function without it. (Arroyo, 2003)

Aside from the above-mentioned multi-word terms regarding the country's external economic affairs, Arroyo's regard on foreign relations is also reflected with the frequent use of 'world class' (103.40). Arroyo used the term to label Filipinos and

Philippine products as such. This is demonstrated by the collocates that go along with the multi-word term: 'airport', 'resorts', 'doctors', 'physicians', 'citizens', 'economy', and 'political system'. Sentence 51 is an example.

(51) It has proven and it showed once again how **world class** our Filipino doctors are. (Arroyo, 2007)

The heavy use of 'strong republic' (188.70) is also observed in the list, which makes sense as this was her slogan during her presidential campaign and throughout her presidency. The collocates around mentioned slogan demonstrate the path and the journey that Arroyo is creating to achieve a 'strong republic:' 'build a strong republic', 'towards a strong republic', 'foundation of a strong republic', and 'way to a strong republic'. In one of her SONAs, she also asks for the participation of the Filipinos to achieve this goal (52).

(52) Now I will lead our country *towards* the **strong republic**. Stay with me. Join me! Let's *build* a stable and **strong republic!** (Arroyo, 2002)

Lastly, her concern with the environment is also seen in the frequent use of the multi-word terms 'sustainable development' (94.80) and 'global warming' (86.30). With the use of 'sustainable development', Arroyo not only declared her concern towards the environment but she also did not leave her brand as an economist. This can be seen in one of her speeches (53) where she establishes how 'sustainable development' is a way to reduce poverty as well. The phrases 'ensure the sustainable development', 'promote sustainable development', 'commitment to the sustainable development', 'lead to sustainable development', and 'efforts towards sustainable development' exhibit how she is dedicated to continue her undertakings to achieve 'sustainable development' in the country.

(53) In 2006, I issued Executive Order 533 adopting Integrated Coastal Management as a national strategy to *ensure* the **sustainable development** of coastal marine environment and resources as a means of achieving food security, sustaining livelihood, as well as reducing poverty. (Arroyo, 2009)

Table 6 shows the key multi-word terms used by Aquino in his speeches. Similar to Arroyo, the multi-word terms generated by the software used for this study represented the ideologies of the president in question. Below is a discussion of these multi-word terms.

**Table 6.** Aquino's key multi-word terms.

	Multi-word term	Occurrences	Keyness Score
1	straight path	28	207.90
2	righteous path	23	170.90
3	inclusive growth	18	134.00
4	investment grade	11	82.30
5	poverty line	10	74.90
6	positive change	10	74.90
7	entire world	7	52.70
8	power supply	6	45.30
9	following year	6	45.30
10	same year	6	45.30
11	virtuous cycle	6	45.30
12	combat utility	6	45.30
13	scholarship program	6	45.30
14	infrastructure development	5	37.90
15	all-out war	5	37.90

Interestingly, Aquino's focus on the internal conflict in the Philippines seem not to be reflected by the key multi-word terms. As shown in Table 6, the only item of this type, related to terrorism is 'all-out war' (37.90). Nonetheless, when shown in context, Aquino states his stand over the subject and firmly contrasts himself with the administration and the opposition saying he is not in favour of the 'all-out war', as seen in example (54). In fact, all the collocates surrounding the term shows actions coming from an external pressure: 'the previous administration have tried an all-out war', 'who have called for an all-out war', and 'for you to push for an all-out war'. By trying to avoid conflict, this confirms his political party's philosophy of camaraderie.

(54) There are also those who call for an end to the peace process. They say that **all-out war** is the way to go. And I ask them: What gain do you see from waging war? (Arroyo, 2015)

Unsurprisingly, however, his campaign slogans: 'straight path' (207.90) and 'righteous path' (170.90) are the top key multi-terms. As Aquino moulded his slogan as a track or a trail, almost all the verbs in the collocation list generated is 'tread'. The only other verb seen besides 'tread' is 'march', as seen in example (55). This use of the verbs 'tread' and 'march' which implies that the action is not fast-paced compared to 'run' or 'jump over', also shows how Aquino establishes that the straight path he wants to establish is not something that happens overnight. Other collocations that further his slogan 'straight path' as a trail are: 'to come so far along the straight path', 'stay on the straight path', 'journey along the straight path', 'continue along the Straight Path', and 'straight path to progress'.

(55) This is why I am thankful today, because I know that we will continue our *march* on the **straight path**. (Aquino, 2013)

Other expressions used in his campaigns and in his term of office, namely 'inclusive growth' (134.90) and 'positive change' (74.90) also appear in Table 5. The collocations used around the term 'inclusive growth' reveal Aquino's pledge to pursue this goal: 'strategy towards inclusive growth', 'direct tools towards inclusive growth', 'achieve our goal of inclusive growth', 'pursuit of inclusive growth', 'envisioned our pursuit of inclusive growth', and 'aspirations of inclusive growth'. In one (56) of his speeches, he also intentionally declared that it was his commitment.

(56) Our *commitment*: **inclusive growth**. The agenda: assistance, knowledge, skills training, and health, to ensure that no one is left behind. (Aquino, 2015)

Aquino's use of 'investment grade' (82.30), 'poverty line' (74.90), 'power supply' (45.30), 'scholarship program' (45.30), and 'infrastructure development' (37.90) represent his efforts to ensure social and economic stability for the Filipinos, as his political party had promised to provide social reform and welfare. The multi-word term 'investment grade' shows collocations focusing on the Philippines' ranking on a global scale: 'upgraded to investment grade', 'ranked investment grade', 'investment grad status', and 'one notch below investment grade'. This shows that Aquino still tries to

balance his concern for both the internal and external affairs of the country. In fact, as shown in (57), Aquino took pride on how well the country performed at a global scale in terms of investment grade.

(57) On top of all of this, in 2013, all of the world's most renowned credit ratings agencies, despite being more conservative, were unanimous in declaring the Philippines **investment grade**. (Aquino, 2014)

Finally, the phrase 'entire world' (52.70) also shows certain reference to external affairs and the place that the Philippines occupies on the global scale. Aquino's use of 'entire world' is frequently used in relation to the country: 'individuals, communities, nations, and the entire world' and 'not only to ourselves, but to the entire world'. Furthermore, the verbs frequently used with the phrase 'entire world' involve proclamation: 'announced to the entire world' and 'say to the entire world'. This confirms Aquino's concern with the external affairs by highlighting the Filipinos' ability in comparison to the global standards. In fact, in one of his SONA speeches, he reiterated how the Philippines is ready to proclaim their capacity to take on the world (58).

(58) Now, we can hold our heads up high and say to the **entire world**: "I can. The Filipino can. (Aquino, 2015)

As has been shown, the identification of key multi-word terms complements the analysis of keywords and their co-text. The unusually frequent combinations of words, in this case, of noun phrases in comparison with another corpus help detect topical foci, determined by the historical events, as well as the ideological positionings of the two presidents.

During her term, Arroyo's speeches were always directed towards the improvement of the economic status of the country to achieve a 'stronger republic'. Arroyo's focus in her speeches did not reflect much about her party's ideology as she is famous for changing parties depending on her political goals (i.e., she changed political parties three times). Her discursive strategies therefore, reflected how she was focused on building her political identity through her economic development programs and plans, which justifies the frequent use of keywords relating to economy.

Aquino's government had always emphasized their objective of good governance and this can be seen through a number of references to his slogan 'straight and righteous path'. This positive representation of his government was also emphasized in his programs such as 'inclusive growth' and 'positive change'. However, this positive representation was challenged during the massacre and the theft issues in one his programs. As a discursive strategy, Aquino addressed the issues by referring to them through positive collocations amidst discussing criticisms and accusations.

### 6.3. Lexical bundles

The last part of the analysis has focused on the most frequent lexical bundles (e.g., 'for the Filipino people'), that is the top 50 lexical bundles found in each corpus. The identification of four-word lexical bundles in the Arroyo corpus has revealed a total of 718 items which occurred with a minimum frequency of three times. On the other hand, there were 929 four-word lexical bundles in the Aquino corpus, all of which occurred at least three times.

Appendix C includes a table that shows the top 50 lexical bundles in the Arroyo corpus, alongside their number of occurrences, their structural types and discourse functions. The top five most frequent lexical bundles in the Arroyo corpus are 'thank you very much' (35 occurrences), 'I ask Congress to' (31), 'of the diplomatic corps' (25), 'to all of you' (23), and 'to be able to' (16). Arroyo's focus on the nation's external affairs is again seen by her frequent use of the lexical bundle 'of the diplomatic corps'. It can also be seen that Arroyo indeed addressed her audience frequently through the use of 'to all of you'. This can also be seen in the bottom part of the top 50 lexical bundles in the corpus, which are all different manners of addressing her audience. The least frequent bundles in this list are 'and the members of', 'the Philippines and the', 'thank you all for', 'the state of the', and 'our country and our' (all occurring only seven times).

On the other hand, the top five most frequent lexical bundle in the Aquino corpus, as shown in Appendix D, are the phrases 'will be able to' (35), 'when it comes to' (26), 'we were able to' (25), 'of the Filipino people' (24), and 'straight and righteous path' (23). Aquino's frequent use of the lexical bundles 'will be able to', 'of the Filipino people', and 'we were able to' shows how he uses his party's ideologies to empower the Filipinos by enumerating their achievements and possible future accomplishments. This is also related to the frequent use of his slogan 'straight and righteous path'. The

five least frequent bundles within the top 50 items are ‘so that we can’, ‘conditional cash transfer program’, ‘to make sure that’, ‘many of our countrymen’, and ‘our countrymen in the’ (also all occurring only nine times). Aquino’s constant promotion of his party’s ideologies could also be seen here with the phrase ‘conditional cash transfer program’.

The data extracted from Sketch Engine also showed overlaps in the top 50 lexical bundles used by both presidents, which are: ‘to all of you’, ‘the members of the’, ‘we will continue to’, ‘in the face of’, ‘of the Filipino people’, ‘we were able to’, ‘as well as the’, ‘the rest of the’, and ‘so that we can’. The phrases ‘to all of you’, ‘the members of the’ and ‘of the Filipino people’ are some ways that both the presidents used to address to their audience, creating a closer environment among them and their audience. (59) and (60) are examples of the use of these lexical bundles in context.

(59) And I am very grateful **to all of you**, for your sincere and invaluable efforts to help the Filipino nation. (Arroyo, 2009)

(60) **To all of you**, I give my heartfelt thanks. (Aquino, 2015)

In summary, the trend seen above continues to be seen even with lexical bundles. Along with their overlaps in their top 50 lexical bundles, Arroyo’s and Aquino’s top five lexical bundles still reflect how they frequently address their audience to convey messages that represent their ideologies and identities.

### 6.3.1. Structural Characteristics

Moving on to the structural characteristics of the lexical bundles, Table 7 shows the distribution of the top 50 most frequent lexical bundles in the Arroyo and Aquino corpora depending on their structural type, following the classification of Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004), adapted by Gray (2016). These types are noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments (NP/PPF), verb phrase fragments (VPF), and dependent clause fragments (DCF).

As shown below, the majority of the lexical bundles in the Arroyo corpus are the noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragment (NP/PPF) type. This structure has been found in 33 lexical bundle types, accounting for 66% of the bundles analyzed. Some examples are: ‘of the diplomatic corps’, ‘all over the world’, ‘excellencies of the diplomatic’, etc. The DCF type comes next but only with a total of nine types, which

accounts for 18% of the lexical bundles. Some of its examples are: ‘that is why we’, ‘I would like to’, ‘as well as the’, etc. The last type of lexical bundle is the VPF with only eight bundle types and 16% of the total. Phrases such as ‘ask congress to pass’, ‘I ask you to’, and ‘we will continue to’ are some examples of this type of lexical bundle.

**Table 7.** Distribution of the top 50 lexical bundle types by structure in the Aquino and Arroyo corpora

	Arroyo				Aquino			
	NPF	DCF	VPF	Total	NPF	DCF	VPF	Total
Number of bundle types	33	9	8	50	30	13	7	50
Percentage of bundle types	66%	18%	16%	100%	60%	26%	14%	100%

Like with the Arroyo corpus, the recurring structural type of bundle in the Aquino corpus is the NP/PPF with 30 types and 60% of the bundles examined. Aquino used phrases such as ‘of the Filipino people’, ‘straight and righteous’, and ‘translated transcript of testimonial’. In a similar way to Arroyo, Aquino used DCF as the second most often used structural type with 13 bundle types and 26% of the total number of phrases. Examples of this structure type used in the Aquino corpus are: ‘this is only the’, ‘when it comes to’, and ‘so that we can’. Finally, the least occurring lexical bundle type in the Aquino corpus is the VPF with seven bundle types and accounting for 14% of the total lexical bundles. Aquino used phrases such as ‘put an end to’, ‘we will continue to’ and ‘we came into office’ as some examples of this structure type.

As can be seen, the four-word lexical bundles identified in the two corpora show a similar structural pattern with small variations in the number of items and their percentage of use.

### 6.3.1. Discourse functions

In addition to the structural classification of the lexical bundles as noted above, a functional classification has also been used for the analysis of the data. Following Gray (2016) who adapted the classification by Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004), I classified the top 50 lexical bundles depending on their discourse function, that is I divided them into the following functional groups: referential bundles (RB), stance bundles (SB), discourse organizers (DO), and special conversational functions (SCF). Table 8 presents the distribution of the top 50 lexical bundle types by discourse function.

**Table 8.** Distribution of the top 50 lexical bundle types by discourse function in the Aquino and Arroyo corpora

	Arroyo					Aquino				
	RB	SB	DO	SCF	Total	RB	SB	DO	SCF	Total
Number of bundle types	32	11	5	2	50	30	12	7	1	50
Percentage of bundle types	64%	24%	10%	4%	100%	60%	24%	14%	2%	100%

As shown in Table 8, the most common discourse function of lexical bundles in both corpora is the referential one. Arroyo used 32 bundle types with this function, which accounts to 64% of the 50 lexical bundles analyzed. Aquino used a slightly lower number of bundles with this function, namely 30, accounting for 60%. The second most frequent discourse function in both the corpora is the one expressing stance or the speaker’s point of view. SBs were identified in the case of 11 bundle types in the Arroyo corpus (24%), and 12 bundle types in the Aquino corpus (24%). Additionally, discourse organizers are the third most frequent lexical bundle type. Arroyo used five of them (10%) and Aquino used seven (14%). Finally, the least used discourse function is the special conversational function. Arroyo used two bundles fulfilling this function (4%), while Aquino only used one of them (2%).

As can be seen, the distribution of discourse functions in both corpora is very similar with small variations regarding the number of bundle types and their percentages.

I am now going to discuss each of the discourse functions in detail. Regarding the most common function, that is, the referential one, Table 9 displays a list of the referential bundles in the top 50 lexical bundles in both the Arroyo and the Aquino corpus.

**Table 9.** Referential bundles in the Arroyo and Aquino corpora.

Arroyo	Aquino
of the diplomatic corps	of the Filipino people
the members of the	the soonest possible time
and a time to	straight and righteous path
State of the Nation	Translated transcript of Testimonial
all over the world	the straight and righteous
of the Nation Address	in the face of
all over the country	before the end of
the fight against poverty	the growth of our

<p>in the face of  here in the Philippines  of the Filipino people  the rest of the  members of the Cabinet  from all over the  with the help of  other officials of the  the global economic crisis  members of the diplomatic  in the fight against  the fight against terrorism  excellencies of the diplomatic  the Philippines and the  other members of the  and the members of  in our country and  with the United States  for the first time  on the part of</p>	<p>is only the beginning  the end of the  the Bangsamoro Basic Law  put an end to  the House of Representatives  This is only the  at the same time  the rest of the  the members of the  we came into office  under the leadership of  our countrymen in the  of the Department of  of the Straight Path  many of our countrymen  Sick Man of Asia  just and lasting peace  to all of you</p>
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As shown in Table 9, the majority of the lexical bundles are structurally noun phrases. That is why it is not surprising that a large proportion of the lexical bundles is used as referential bundles. In most cases, they serve to identify an entity or a person, and point to attributes such as time and place. Arroyo employed identifying bundles to introduce and address different members of the audience, in phrases such as ‘of the diplomatic corps’, ‘the members of the’, ‘of the Nation Address’, ‘members of the Cabinet’, ‘of the Diplomatic Corps’, ‘excellencies of the diplomatic’, etc. Example (61) shows the use of such referential bundles in the Arroyo corpus. Similarly, the majority of Aquino’s referential bundles also function as identifying references and this can be seen in example (62). Further examples are ‘of the Filipino people’, ‘the House of Representatives’, ‘the members of the’, ‘under the leadership of’, ‘of the Department of’, ‘of the Supreme Court’, ‘to all of you’, etc.

(61) On the part of the Executive Branch, I shall make **the members of the** Cabinet realize the urgency for policy coherence and coordination for the need for them to step down. (Arroyo, 2003)

(62) I extend my gratitude to **the members of the** Cabinet, who led the government response in the affected communities. (Aquino, 2014)

The frequent use of referential bundles which identify entities and persons also show how both presidents call and introduce them, in this case different members of the nation.

With regard to another type of referential bundles identified in the corpora, that is bundles specifying attributes, Arroyo used quantity referential bundles only in two phrases: 'the rest of the' and 'on the part of'. Similarly, referential bundles focusing on quantity have also been found in the Aquino corpus in phrases such as 'this is only the', 'the rest of the', and 'to all of you'. Sentences (63) and (64) show how the presidents used the phrase 'the rest of the' in different contexts but with reference to the Filipino people.

(63) Now we must show that we care for **the rest of the** Filipino people, especially the weakest among us. (Arroyo, 2004)

(64) Although this will augment local coffers, **the rest of the** Filipino people will have to deal with higher electricity rates. (Aquino, 2011)

Referential bundles focusing on intangible attributes have also been identified in the Arroyo corpus in phrases such as 'the fight against poverty', 'in the face of', 'with the help of', 'in the fight against', 'the fight against terrorism', and 'of the global crisis'. Aquino also used this type of referential bundles in phrases such as 'straight and righteous path', 'the straight and righteous', 'in the face of', 'the growth of our', and 'just and lasting peace'. Sentences (65) and (66) show how the presidents used the phrase 'in the face of' in different contexts, in both cases in a negative context faced by the Filipinos.

(65) And most important, I hope, to the basic sectors, the central goal of this summit and its action agenda is to protect our people, especially the poor, from the adverse impact **in the face of** the global economic crisis. (Arroyo, 2001).

(66) There are the Filipinos who, instead of giving up **in the face of** calamities, helped and worked alongside their countrymen without a second thought. (Aquino, 2014)

Referential bundles focusing on time have been found in the Arroyo corpus. They appeared in phrases such as 'and a time to', 'the future of the' and 'for the first time'.

Likewise, Aquino also used this type of bundles in phrases such as ‘when it comes to’, ‘the soonest possible time’, ‘before the end of’, ‘is only the beginning’, ‘the end of the’, ‘put an end to’, and ‘at the same time’. Sentences (67) and (68) are examples of this type of bundles.

(67) And **for the first time** in the nation's history, we have a money laundering program that combats corruption and terrorists money laundering. (Aquino, 2004)

(68) This **is only the beginning** of prosperity brought about by freedom from corruption. (Aquino, 2015)

Regarding the referential bundles focusing on places, they have been found in the Arroyo corpus (69) in phrases such as ‘all over the world’, ‘all over the country’, ‘here in the Philippines’, ‘in our country’ and ‘with the United States’. In contrast, no referential bundles relating to places were identified in the Aquino corpus.

(69) Some towns in Nueva Vizcaya, Quirino, and Isabela are included in the geohazard mapping we have done for 700 cities and towns **all over the country** to protect the environment. (Arroyo, 2007)

Moving on to the second most used discourse function, Table 10 shows the stance bundles in the top 50 most frequent lexical bundles from both the Arroyo and Aquino corpora.

**Table 10.** Stance bundles in the Arroyo and the Aquino corpora.

Arroyo	Aquino
I ask Congress to	will be able to
I ask you to	we were able to
I would like to	we will be able
so that we can	have been able to
That is why we	we are able to
ask Congress to pass	can not help but
to ensure that the	to make sure that
will be able to	so that we can
we will continue to	I am hopeful that
we were able to	we will continue to

According to Gray (2016), stance bundles convey a sense of desire, ability, obligation, directive, intention and prediction. In the Arroyo corpus, the majority of the stance bundles express a sense of desire, as can be seen in 'I ask Congress to', 'I ask you to', 'I would like to', 'ask Congress to pass', 'ask Congress to enact', 'ask you to help'. The frequent use of stance bundles that convey desire rather than obligation shows how Arroyo appeals to the audience to help her run the country. Given the socio-political background during her term, this desire for help can also be a justification of her plea for the nation to stand along with her instead of constantly criticizing and questioning her presidency.

(70) In order for these programs to run smoothly, **I ask Congress to** create a housing department. (Arroyo, 2001)

Aquino, on the other hand, frequently used stance bundles which convey ability in phrases such as 'will be able to', 'we were able to', 'we will be able', 'have been able to', 'we are able to', 'cannot help but', 'so that we can', and 'so that we may'. This use of stance bundles conveying ability suggests that Aquino is more product- and output-driven by focusing on the process of doing and creating things. In fact, in his inaugural speech (71) Aquino insisted on the things that the whole nation can do if the Philippines would stand along him in his journey.

(71) If I have all of you by my side, **we will be able** to build a nation in which there will be equality of opportunity, because each of us fulfilled our duties and responsibilities equally. (Aquino, 2010)

Stance bundles include first person pronouns as can be seen in Table 8. As noted above in section 6.2, both Arroyo and Aquino used first-person pronouns frequently to establish a sense of inclusiveness. This extends to the results shown above as well. Sentences (72) and (73) are examples of how the two presidents use stance bundles with the first-person pronoun.

(72) Thanks to our reforms, **we were able** to sell NFA rice at P18.25 per kilo, even though the foreign price increased from P17.50 to P30 due to the shortage of world supply. (Arroyo, 2009)

(73) It is with this commitment that **we will continue to** work with all partners of goodwill. (Aquino, 2014)

I would also like to point out that unlike Aquino, Arroyo used a second-person pronoun directly addressing the audience in one of the stance bundles. What is more, on one occasion she employed a discursive strategy of repetition to appeal to the audience (74). The word ‘help’ in this case collocated with the stance bundles, clearly showing Arroyo’s appeal for support.

(74) **I ask you to** join me to eliminate waste, fraud and abuse in government. **I ask you to** help me in fighting corruption, to stop illegal logging and identify tax cheats. **I ask you to** help me pass legislation in Congress to strengthen our finances and the institutions that govern us. **I ask you to** help pass a national budget that will invest in the poor and allow them to live a life of dignity, meaningful work and reward. **I ask you to** help me reform the military, invest in a strong Judiciary and press for social justice. **I ask you to** help develop sensible, environment friendly laws as we develop a safe and vital new mining sector. And **I ask you to** bring hope, optimism and vigor, working together to get this nation moving once again.

Regarding discourse organizers, Table 11 shows lexical bundles of this type used in the Arroyo and Aquino corpora. Previous research (e.g., Biber et al., 2004; Conrad & Biber, 2005); Biber & Barbieri, 2007) have shown that discourse organizers appear less frequently in spoken discourse. This seems to be true about the speeches of the two presidents in question.

**Table 11.** Discourse organizers in the Arroyo and Aquino corpora.

Arroyo	Aquino
as well as the	On top of this
if we are to	it not true that
	Is it not true
	This is why we
	as well as the
	When it comes to

The discourse organizers found in the Arroyo corpus serve more specific functions such as topic elaboration and clarification. Sentence (75) is an example of this type of bundle. This is the case in the Aquino corpus as well. Topic elaboration bundles (‘on top of this’, ‘as well as the’, ‘when it comes to’) and clarification bundles (‘it not true that’, ‘is it not true’) are the main functions of the discourse organizers that

he used. Aquino also made use of a discourse organizer that conveys justification, as can be seen in example (76).

(75) Our overseas Filipinos, 8 million of them, are the reason why we sponsored the inclusion of migration in the outcome document of this high-level plenary meeting **as well as the** holding of a high-level dialogue on migration and development. (Arroyo, 2005)

(76) This was also the rationale and the driving force behind our response to the issue of informal settlers in Metro Manila. **This is why we** are already fulfilling our goal to remove from harm's way those who crammed themselves into high-risk areas of the city. (Aquino, 2013)

Lastly, Table 12 displays the list of the special conversational functions used in both Arroyo and Aquino corpora. Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004) have identified this type of lexical bundle as something that also appears in conversation. As the type of discourse is an oral speech, there were only three SCFs found in total in both corpora.

**Table 12.** Special conversational functions in the Arroyo and Aquino corpora.

Arroyo	Aquino
thank you very much	let us listen to
thank you all for	

Sentence (77) is an example of how Arroyo used a SCF in context, acknowledging all the audience present while she was delivering her speech. This type of SCF conveys politeness (Biber & Conrad, 2012). Sentence (76), in turn, is an example from Aquino's speeches. It is a SCF that fulfils the function of reporting (Biber & Conrad, 2012).

(77) Other members of the Cabinet, members of the Diplomatic Corps, Chairman Manny Pangilinan, Archbishop Vidal and the other members of the private sector, multilateral and bilateral organizations, ladies and gentlemen. Good afternoon and **thank you all for** what you are doing here today. (Arroyo, 2009)

(78) **Let us listen to** the stories of two TESDA graduates: ... Marc Joseph Escora, TESDA beneficiary Even when you've realized your dreams, you should know that success, it's still not stable. (Aquino, 2014)

In summary, in both corpora, the noun phrase and prepositional phrase fragments were used as the most used lexical bundle structure type. The verb phrase fragments

and dependent clause fragments were also the second and the third frequent structural type of lexical bundles in both corpora. This trend reflecting the similarities between the corpora continues with the distribution of the lexical bundle discourse function: the most common are the referential bundles, followed by the stance bundles, discourse organizers, and the special conversation fragments.

As Navera (2012) pointed out in his doctoral thesis, Arroyo's presidency faced a lot of criticisms that she fought against to convince the nation that she was legitimate president. That is why Arroyo framed her speeches depending on the socio-political context, and not to persuade the nation about the validity of her party's ideology. Furthermore, in a country like the Philippines candidates for president are voted for their popularity and not because of them as representatives of a political party,

"Leaders like the president (and her presidential advisers) are likely to manage these changing or shifting domestic and global concerns in their discourses in order to make relevant their beliefs and policies as well as to legitimize their positions of power when challenged". (Navera, 2012:375)

On the other hand, Aquino relied a lot on his political party when he was running for office, which also continued when he was the president. Not only following his mother's footsteps, but also depending on her popularity to gain people's trust, Aquino used a lot of his political party's ideology as his discourse strategy when their platform 'straight and righteous path', 'inclusive growth', and 'positive change' appeared frequently in his corpus. His frequent use of the first-person plural pronoun 'we' and its variants also backs this claim. Thus, he promoted solidarity and his alignment with people. This was confirmed by Autida-van der Zee (2013: 68) who argued that Aquino tended to give

"...remarks of including himself (President Aquino) and the audience, giving room for audience to think that the speaker feels and experiences their struggles and problems, hence, he is a friend whom they can turn to. Considering the purpose of delivering the speech, the speaker indeed tried to persuade the audience to believe him and his words".

In this chapter, I have reported the corpus findings showing the similarities and differences between the Arroyo corpus and the Aquino corpus. Many similarities have been found such as the frequent use of the first-person plural, the repeated use of the

noun phrase and prepositional phrase lexical bundles, of referential bundles, and the rare use of discourse organizers. On the contrary, the main difference between the two presidents is that Arroyo focused on her political personal identity more than Aquino, who focused on his political party's identity more. This has been shown in terms of the issues they would address when talking to the nation. I have argued that Arroyo tended to focus more on the economic affairs of the country, which she then extends to talk about the country's international relations, which reflects her identity as an economist. On the contrary, Aquino tended to focus on internal affairs such as internal conflicts and his program for the country, which reflects the Liberal Party's concept of camaraderie towards national development.

## CHAPTER 7. Conclusions

This Master's thesis has focused on the political speeches of two Philippine ex-presidents, namely Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and Benigno Aquino III in order to identify and evaluate the discursive strategies that they used. Through the combination of Critical Discourse Analysis and corpus linguistic tools, this study has examined the similarities and differences in the political speeches of the two presidents by looking into the most frequent words that appeared in both corpora, keywords and their collocations, keyword multi-word terms, and lexical bundles. This thesis has also referred to the way in which the two presidents strategically used their discourse to portray themselves as such and to enact their ideologies.

To this end, this study has used two corpora made up of carefully selected speeches of both presidents during their respective terms, which have been revised to make them machine-readable and translated for cases of Tagalog fragments, and analyzed through the corpus analysis toolkit Sketch Engine.

The analysis of the data extracted from the corpora has revealed significant results. Firstly, the terms with the highest frequency in both corpora were 'we', 'our', 'I', 'will' and 'you'. The evident high frequency of these items in both corpora demonstrate how the two presidents tended to build their relationships with the audience. Regarding the use of pronouns in the Philippine political discourse, the frequent use of inclusive 'we' *kami* or the exclusive 'we' *tayo* is extremely significant. This use of the first-person plural pronoun 'we' and its variants convey different ways that indicate inclusivity and togetherness. First, the use of 'we' and its variants is a reference to the presidents themselves and the Filipinos as one. Second, it was also used as a reference to the government and its actions. Third, it was used as a reference to the country and the nation as a whole. Lastly, and this was only seen in the Aquino corpus is that 'we' and its variants were used as an exclusive pronoun in a way that Aquino separated his administration from the past administration to place emphasis on the issues faced by the previous administration. Another interesting result that this study yielded is Aquino's higher frequency of 'we' and 'our' in comparison to Arroyo. On the other hand, Arroyo used 'I' more often than Aquino. With this data, I argue that Arroyo tended to express more personal and individual commitment and authority than Aquino. This would be justified by the fact that Arroyo rose into the presidential seat only by default. Thus, she needed the public to see her

presidency as a valid one and for that, she insisted on her identity and authority. Aquino's more frequent use of 'we' and 'our', on the other hand, reflects how he built his presidency in unity with his political party and its ideology, which in turn, heavily relied on the nation's camaraderie as a way for national development.

Secondly, aside from the frequency of pronouns used, the results showed that out of the top 30 most frequent words in both corpora, 20 words overlapped. Most of the overlaps were terms that both presidents used to address the nation and the Filipinos. This constant reference to the Philippines and its people shows how strongly the presidents placed focus on the country and its people. This finding could suggest that the two presidents used populist strategies.

Thirdly, another interesting finding in the study is the difference in the focus of the two presidencies and how this difference is visible in each corpus. For instance, Arroyo, who was famous for her economic programs, repeatedly used economic-related words as well as foreign relation affairs words, while Aquino did not practically use any such words and showed more interest in the nation's development.

Lastly, both presidents constantly used the modal verbs 'will' and 'can' but only Arroyo frequently used 'must'. This points to slightly different ways in which the presidents promoted their own and the nation's ability and intention to act. Arroyo clearly tended to express commitment and obligation more often than Aquino. This finding, in line with the previously reported ones, shows how Arroyo insisted on her authority during her administration term.

Moving on to keywords, they show that the prime focus of the presidents were both the current issues during their terms, as well as their programs. Arroyo's focus on the economy, as well as the SARS epidemic is once again shown in the keywords. The appearance of 'SARS' as the top keyword in the Arroyo corpus made it clear that it was one of the biggest health issues during her presidency. Arroyo, then, referred to the virus in terms of a fight, a battle, or a war. This discursive strategy conveying a fight against an entity can also be seen in the way that she addressed economic recession. Aquino, on the other hand, aside from his ideology and developmental programs, was more worried about the internal conflicts and related issues during his term. However, he only addressed the biggest typhoon that hit the Philippines with words referring to the events that followed that catastrophe. This weak response, gathered a lot of criticisms. discursively and administratively, both from his supporters and critics, and became one of the biggest issues during his administration. Aquino's

discursive strategy of using data to back his speeches up was apparent when he was trying to establish the advantages of his development program DAP and reduce the existing criticisms.

The key multi-word terms also pointed to the differences between the two presidents: a stronger emphasis on the country's economy in the case of Arroyo, and on ideology in the case of Aquino. The findings from the Arroyo corpus confirm the results obtained in Navera's (2012) study and his point that Arroyo tended to conceptualize that "global is local" and that "the world economy is a life source of the national economy" (Navera, 2012:291). Regarding Aquino, key multi-word terms show his focus on the country's growth, on his political party's slogans as well as on the expression of patriotism and commitment with the country.

The last part of the analysis dealing with lexical bundles has shown that both presidents used very similar patterns of their use in terms of structure and discourse functions, with nouns phrase fragments and referential bundles as the most frequent.

Overall, the data revealed that even though both presidents talked about their political experiences, programs, and issues during their respective terms, they still used their own discursive strategies. In a country like the Philippines, where popularity matters more than the politician's political party and ideology, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo did not really express her political party's slogans so often, as she focused more on her personal programs as a practising economist. On the other hand, since Aquino relied heavily on his parents' image as democratic icons and his political party's help during his candidacy, he tended to explicitly involve the slogan and ideology of the Liberal Party in his speeches.

The present study provides more corpus data to the existing knowledge about Philippine political discourse (Navera, 2012; Autida-van der Zee, 2013; Huesca-Palmares, 2017; Gumiran-Quijano, 2019). This has been possible due to the corpus-driven approach adopted in this research and the CDA perspective in the analysis of the data. This study, therefore, being in line with previously obtained findings in the field, has provided more in-depth quantitative insights and more corpus data. Finally, the results in this Master's thesis have shown that the presidents in question indeed used both similar and different discursive strategies that reflected the current socio-political background during their terms, as well as their ideologies and political goals.

Regarding the limitations of this study, these are mainly due to time and space constraints. However, further research may be advantageous for the field of Philippine political discourse analysis. The scope of this study could be extended to include the speeches of the current president of the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte, so that a broader comparison could be carried out. Another limitation of this study is the use of translated texts from Tagalog to English. Ideally, it would be convenient to use bilingual, Tagalog-English software for corpus analysis. This possibility could help provide a better perspective on political discourse than just translating the original texts to English and using them in corpus analysis. It would also be interesting to carry out a more specific study of the use of inclusive *tayo* and exclusive *kami* in Philippine political speeches in order to gain a more in-depth view of this type of texts.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A. List of Arroyo's speeches used in the Arroyo Corpus

Type of Speech	Date delivered
<i>State of the Nation Address (10)</i>	23/07/2001
	22/07/2002
	28/07/2003
	26/07/2004
	25/07/2005
	24/06/2006
	23/07/2007
	11/05/2007
	28/07/2008
	27/07/2009
<i>Inaugural Speech (2)</i>	20/01/2001
	30/06/2004
<i>Other thematic speeches:</i>	
<i>Foreign Relation Speech (13)</i>	29/10/2001
	16/12/2001
	07/05/2002
	18/10/2003
	03/09/2004
	27/10/2005
	16/03/2006
	29/10/2008
	15/05/2009
	19/06/2009
	26/11/2009
	13/04/2010
	04/06/2010
<i>Health Speech (9)</i>	21/10/2002
	03/05/2003
	23/10/2006
	11/05/2007
	22/03/2008
	21/05/2009
	27/08/2009
03/02/2010	
27/04/2010	
<i>Economic Speech (14)</i>	10/12/2001
	07/05/2002
	10/01/2003

	14/04/2004
	22/06/2005
	20/02/2007
	14/04/2009
	18/09/2009
	21/10/2009
	02/12/2009
	23/02/2010
	03/03/2010
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	09/04/2002
	12/06/2003
	07/01/2005
	27/06/2005
	22/02/2006
<i>Historical and National Speech (10)</i>	12/06/2006
	12/06/2007
	22/02/2009
	12/06/2009
	19/11/2009
	28/05/2010
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Appendix B. List of Aquino's speeches used in the Aquino corpus

<b>Type of Speech</b>	<b>Date delivered</b>
<i>State of the Nation Address (6)</i>	26/07/2010
	25/07/2011
	23/07/2012
	22/07/2013
	28/07/2014
	27/06/2015
<i>Inaugural Speech (1)</i>	30/06/2010
<i>Other thematic speeches:</i>	
<i>Foreign Relation Speech (12)</i>	27/07/2013
	10/06/2014
	10/06/2014
	24/06/2014
	24/06/2014
	15/09/2014
	16/09/2014
	16/09/2014
	16/09/2014
	17/09/2014
	18/09/2014
	16/01/2015
<i>Health Speech (1)</i>	08/01/2015
<i>Economic Speech (6)</i>	30/10/2013
	23/12/2013
	24/10/2014
	28/10/2014
	24/03/2015
	22/12/2015
<i>Historical and National Speech (14)</i>	30/06/2010
	12/06/2014
	25/06/2014
	17/07/2014
	23/07/2014
	31/08/2014
	10/09/2014
	20/10/2014
	25/02/2015
	27/03/2015
	09/04/2015
	12/06/2015
	25/02/2016
	12/06/2016

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*Climate Speech (4)*

28/01/2015

06/02/2015

05/10/2015

05/06/2014

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Appendix C. Top 50 lexical bundles in the Arroyo corpus

<b>Lexical Bundle</b>	<b>Occurrences</b>	<b>Structural type</b>	<b>Discourse Function</b>
thank you very much	35	VPF	SCF
i ask congress to	31	VPF	SB
of the diplomatic corps	25	NP/PPF	RB
to all of you	23	NP/PPF	RB
state of the nation	17	NP/PPF	RB
to be able to	16	DCF	SB
members of the diplomatic	15	NP/PPF	RB
the members of the	14	NP/PPF	RB
and a time to	14	NP/PPF	RB
that is why we	12	DCF	SB
we will continue to	12	VPF	SB
in the face of	11	NP/PPF	RB
all over the world	11	NP/PPF	RB
on the part of	11	NP/PPF	RB
i ask you to	11	VPF	SB
all over the country	11	NP/PPF	RB
excellencies of the diplomatic	11	NP/PPF	RB
of the nation address	11	NP/PPF	RB
i would like to	11	DCF	SB
here in the philippines	10	NP/PPF	RB
the fight against poverty	10	NP/PPF	RB
as i said earlier	10	VPF	DO
in the fight against	10	NP/PPF	RB
the fight against terrorism	10	NP/PPF	RB
with the help of	10	NP/PPF	RB
ask congress to pass	10	VPF	SB
of the filipino people	9	NP/PPF	RB
as a result of	9	NP/PPF	DO
we were able to	9	DCF	SB
the global economic crisis	9	NP/PPF	RB
members of the cabinet	9	NP/PPF	RB
as well as the	9	DCF	DO
to ensure that the	9	VPF	SB
the rest of the	9	NP/PPF	RB
so that we can	9	DCF	SB
if we are to	9	DCF	DO
from all over the	9	NP/PPF	RB
for the first time	9	NP/PPF	RB
other members of the	8	NP/PPF	RB
we are determined to	8	DCF	SB

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congress to pass the	8	VPF	RB
other officials of the	8	NP/PPF	RB
at the end of	7	NP/PPF	DO
with the united states	7	NP/PPF	RB
in our country and	7	NP/PPF	RB
and the members of	7	NP/PPF	RB
the philippines and the	7	NP/PPF	RB
thank you all for	7	DCF	SCF
the state of the	7	NP/PPF	RB
our country and our	7	NP/PPF	RB

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Appendix D. Top 50 lexical bundles in the Arroyo corpus

<b>Lexical Bundle</b>	<b>Occurrences</b>	<b>Structural type</b>	<b>Discourse Function</b>
will be able to	35	DCF	SB
when it comes to	26	DCF	DO
we were able to	25	DCF	SB
of the filipino people	24	NP/PPF	RB
straight and righteous path	23	NP/PPF	RB
the straight and righteous	22	NP/PPF	RB
we will be able	20	DCF	SB
along the straight path	18	NP/PPF	RB
translated transcript of testimonial	16	NP/PPF	RB
the rule of law	16	NP/PPF	RB
the soonest possible time	16	NP/PPF	RB
transcript of testimonial of	16	NP/PPF	RB
before the end of	15	NP/PPF	RB
at the same time	15	NP/PPF	RB
in the face of	15	NP/PPF	RB
the bangsamoro basic law	15	NP/PPF	RB
is it not true	14	DCF	SB
on top of this	13	NP/PPF	DO
we are able to	13	DCF	SB
have been able to	13	DCF	SB
the growth of our	12	NP/PPF	RB
it not true that	12	DCF	SB
the end of the	12	NP/PPF	RB
is only the beginning	12	NP/PPF	RB
this is why we	12	DCF	DO
this is only the	12	DCF	RB
put an end to	11	VPF	RB
on the other hand	11	NP/PPF	DO
the rest of the	11	NP/PPF	RB
let us listen to	11	VPF	SCF
now that we are	10	DCF	DO
to all of you	10	NP/PPF	DO
there are those who	10	DCF	RB
under the leadership of	10	NP/PPF	RB
can not help but	10	VPF	SB
we will continue to	10	VPF	SB
as well as the	10	NP/PPF	DO
of the straight path	10	NP/PPF	RB
the members of the	10	NP/PPF	RB
the house of representatives	10	NP/PPF	RB

i am hopeful that	9	VPF	SB
we came into office	9	VPF	RB
of the department of	9	NP/PPF	RB
sick man of asia	9	NP/PPF	RB
in the soonest possible	9	NP/PPF	RB
so that we can	9	DCF	SB
conditional cash transfer program	9	NP/PPF	RB
to make sure that	9	VPF	SB
many of our countrymen	9	NP/PPF	RB
our countrymen in the	9	NP/PPF	RB