

Formal and Functional Perspectives in the Analysis of Hyperboles in Obama's Speeches

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Abstract

Hyperbole is an obvious and intentional exaggeration in the sense that it takes things to such an extreme that the audience goes too far and then pulls itself back to a more reasonable position, i.e. it is an extravagant statement or figure of speech not intended to be taken literally. This paper focuses on the formal and functional perspectives in the analysis of hyperbole which American candidates produce in their speeches in electoral campaigns, for it is hypothesized that candidates in their electoral campaigns use hyperbolic expressions excessively to persuade voters of the objectives of their electoral campaign programs. Hence, it aims to analyze hyperbole in context to determine the range of pragmatic functions that this figure fulfills and to present a formal analysis of hyperbole to demonstrate which formal realizations employed with a hyperbolic function are more or less likely to serve the persuasive aspect of hyperbole. To achieve these aims, three campaign speeches by Barack Obama from the 2012 Presidential Election, chosen at random from the American Presidency Project, were analyzed, and the occurrences of hyperbolic expressions identified. The frequency findings, in terms of the formal analysis, reveal that the exaggerated content found in single words is the type which represents the most common realization of hyperbole in Obama's speeches. In terms of the functional analysis, the results reveal that emphasis and evaluation appear to be the most prominent functions suggesting that the intended impression on voters is only constructed through the combined effects of these two devices.

Key words: hyperbole, content analysis, formal and functional perspectives, campaign speeches.

1. Introduction

Since antiquity hyperbole has been one of the many figures of speech studied within rhetoric which is traditionally associated with the production of persuasive speech. Therefore, as a rhetorical figure, hyperbole has a long history of study, going back to Aristotle (Cano Mora, 2006: 15). Within figurative language studies, hyperbole has long been neglected despite its pervasive occurrence and co-occurrence with other tropes in everyday speech. However, since 1980s, a renewed interest in figurative language has revived not only in literary studies but also in other fields of research (Cano Mora, 2009: 25). **Hyperbole** is an obvious and intentional exaggeration in the sense that it takes things to such an extreme that the audience goes too far and then pulls itself back to a more reasonable position, i.e. it is an extravagant statement or figure of speech not intended to be taken literally. Examples of hyperbole occur in political rhetoric and advertising slogans. They also occur in mass media which use them a lot to make stories seem more important or interesting than they really are. In addition, they can also be used in love poetry to convey the lover's intense admiration for his beloved, and in sagas to recount the heroic deeds of legendary kings and warriors, as well as tall tales, and Greek and Roman mythology.

This paper focuses on the formal and functional perspectives in the analysis of hyperbole which American candidates produce in their speeches in electoral campaigns. It tries to answer: How much exaggeration is actually used by American candidates in their electoral campaigns, what communicative functions does it fulfill, and for what purpose is it used? It is hypothesized that candidates in their electoral campaigns use hyperbolic expressions excessively as an effective way to create a strong impression on voters and to persuade them of the objectives of their electoral campaign programs which will in turn assure the candidates a victory at the polls; therefore, the persuasive or even manipulative aspect of hyperbole may come to the fore in their speeches and debates. Hence, by carrying out a content analysis this paper aims to analyze hyperbole in context to determine the range of pragmatic functions that this figure fulfills. In Cano Mora's (2006: 198) opinion, "the context will provide cues as to the speaker's intent", an opinion that is in line with Katz' (1996: 3) argument that "The context may provide sufficient information about the reasons that a speaker or writer used the linguistic form that he or she did" as cited in Cano Mora (2006: 198). It also aims to present a formal analysis of hyperbole to demonstrate which formal realizations employed with a hyperbolic function are more or less likely to serve the persuasive aspect of hyperbole. With these aims, three campaign speeches by Barack Obama from the 2012 Presidential Election,

chosen at random from the American Presidency Project, were analyzed, and the occurrences of hyperbolic items identified.

2. Literature on Hyperbole

Hyperbole has a long history of study within rhetoric and so persuasive written discourse. According to classical rhetoric, hyperbole is "a figure or trope of bold exaggeration" (Preminger, 1974: 359). However, very little is known about this trope because it has often been examined in relation to metaphor, irony and other major tropes or even equated to them. Aristotle, for example, provides an operational definition of hyperbole explaining its application through metaphors and similes. He believes, as Cano Mora (2009: 26) writes, that "metaphor represents the paradigm trope including, not only what we call metaphor, but also simile, metonymy, personification and hyperbole". Despite the scarcity of studies focusing only on hyperbole, Cano Mora (*ibid.*) remarks that it remains a major non-literal form within the context of figurative language pointing to a study made by Kreuz et al. (1996: 91) on eight major non-literal forms of language, they provide empirical evidence of its pervasiveness when they show, through this study, that hyperbole was the most common trope after metaphor and so they reach the conclusion that "'in terms of sheer occurrence hyperbole seems to deserve more notice than it has received to date'" as cited in Cano Mora (2009: 26).

By definition, hyperbole is an expression which "exceeds the (credible) limits of fact in the given context" and "contains attribute 'more of x', i.e. 'more of the same'", in which case it is different from the literal expression which "agrees with the extralinguistic facts in the given context" and "contains semantic attribute expressing 'x'" (Claridge, 2011: 5). This definition tends to place the phenomenon of hyperbole at the semantics-pragmatics interface since it is intrinsically about meaning in and out of context, the out-of-context meaning is hinted at by the word 'literal'. According to Ruiz (2009: 50), "Hyperbole has also been regarded as the structuring of reality, ... , which allows us to focus on one account of reality and downplay rival ones; moreover, it brings the listeners into the perspective of the speaker in a powerful way". Following Clark's (1996: 143) explanation of hyperbole in connection with Grice's (1975) maxim of quality according to which speakers should not say on purpose what they know to be untrue, hyperbole is not considered an act of lying despite the fact that it can be viewed as opposed to other views about reality or as something impossible.

2.1 Hyperbole in Context

According to Cano Mora (2009: 28), "context plays a central role in hyperbole perception and identification"; therefore, it is a phenomenon that is highly contextually determined. The particular context will always be a deciding factor in how the trope is interpreted as non-literal within it. Depending on how, when, and why they are used in context, hyperbolic expressions, when used in a rhetorical form, can be an indicator of the speaker's personalities and thought processes. As cited in Ruiz (2009: 51-2), Pomerantz (1986) believes that context plays a crucial role in the interpretation of the hyperbolic expression whose existence can be more easily determined if it occurs in "contexts (1) where speakers are reacting against challenges to complaints, accusations, (2) where they assign the cause of a situation to other parties, or (3) when they want to affirm forms of behaviour which the speaker believes to be right or wrong." Ruiz (2009: 53) completely agrees with this author when he talks about the importance of context which ultimately determines whether a given utterance is expressed in such a way that there is no coincidence with reality, i.e., when there is an obvious intent by the speaker to make the utterance hyperbolic. For this, hyperbole is a pragmatic phenomenon since it cannot be understood in isolation or in de-contextualized situations. Ruiz's arguments seem to be in line with McCarthy and Carter's (2004: 162) criteria which they set for identifying hyperbole, namely, 'disjunction with context' when "the speaker's utterance seems at odds with the general context". Another criterion set by McCarthy and Carter (*ibid.*: 163) is 'relevant interpretability' according to which the interpretation of this trope is viewed as relevant to the speech act performed. Moreover, it is interpreted as figurative within its context, even though there may be evidence of other literal interpretations which come into play for interactive and affective purposes. Claridge (2011: 12) uses the notion of context in a wide sense to include "the extralinguistic, primarily physical context of the speech situation and also of the situation(s)/thing(s) talked about". She proceeds to say (*ibid.*: 13) that "the extralinguistic facts can, of course, license the choice of very intensive vocabulary, including items that inhabit the upper parts of the scale in their respective word fields and are thus not infrequently used hyperbolically". Other contextual factors include the physical states of the participants of the linguistic interaction, including the way they feel about them, i.e., their psychological disposition, the social relationships of the participants in the speech situation, as well as their mutual knowledge of various kinds (*ibid.*: 12). She (*ibid.*: 15) concludes that "one can identify hyperbole only if one has sufficient contextual knowledge". In her opinion, it is difficult to carry out an empirical study of hyperbole due to the difficulty in identifying instances of speakers' hyperbolic expressions in contexts about which one doesn't have any knowledge.

2.2 Realizations of Hyperbole

This section is essentially concerned with the formal realizations of hyperbolic expressions to elucidate which forms of these are more likely to occur in the data drawn upon in this study.

Claridge (2011: 40 - 41) makes a distinction between 'basic hyperbole' and 'composite hyperbole'. Basic hyperbole is domain preserving, i.e. it represents the domain of corresponding literal expressions. For example, the hyperbolic expression 'freezing' and the corresponding literal expression 'very cold' both belong to the (felt) temperature field. Composite hyperbole represents those cases in which hyperbole combines with another figure of speech; therefore, it is also termed metaphorical hyperbole which is domain-switching as when one's qualitative state is changed from being 'afraid' to a state where s/he is unable to move or speak represented by the word 'petrified'.

As cited in Claridge (*ibid.*: 46), the first classification of both basic and composite hyperbolic expressions is presented by Spitzbard (1963: 278), it's the only one found in literature and includes the following categories:

- 1- numerical hyperbole
- 2- words of hyperbolic nature including nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs
- 3- simile and metaphor
- 4- comparative and superlative degrees
- 5- emphatic genitive
- 6- emphatic plural
- 7- whole sentences

In Claridge's (2011: 47) opinion, Spitzbard's classification has many flaws and is hypothetical because it doesn't have any extensive textual basis and is not based on a corpus. In addition, it doesn't include other important categories and, what's more important, he did not show how frequent these various realizations are. Therefore, Claridge (*ibid.*) formulates her own classification which is, unlike Spitzbard's, based on data from three different sources, these are: (1) a sub-corpus taken from the spoken part of the BNC, demographic section, (2) the SBC, Part 1, and (3) newspaper data. Below is Claridge's classification of hyperbolic forms. It is worth noting that Claridge's classification is based on clearly formal, i.e., syntactic and /or morphological but not semantic considerations.

2.2.1 Single-word hyperbole

Single-word hyperbole "where the exaggerated content is exclusively or principally found in one word " is the most common realization of hyperbole as stated by Claridge (2011: 49) who adds that "One-word hyperboles are economic, as often the best paraphrase might be longer and certainly less effectual" (ibid.). Word classes used to represent this hyperbolic form include verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs used as intensifiers, as well as numbers and universal quantifiers which have a potentially universal scope such as *all* and *every* and have a hyperbolic interpretation as long as their scope is obviously not restricted in the context. Though some other one-word cases are syntactically framed in phrases, the hyperbole is inherent in the word itself. (ibid.)

2.2.2 Phrasal Hyperbole

In phrasal hyperboles, Claridge (2011: 52, 54) believes that the overall meaning is produced by the particular combination of words and senses. This category includes NP, AdjP, AdvP, VP, and PP in addition to phrases which either include a superlative, a number, or a universal descriptor. In some phrases a single word might be enough to express some hyperbolic meaning while the remaining material serves only to further reinforce the hyperbolic meaning.

2.2.3 Clausal Hyperbole

As the minimum requirement, Claridge (2011: 55) points out that clausal hyperbole, "is created only by the combined effect of items in two or more clausal constituents"; in other words, clausal hyperbole can spread over several clauses within the sentence. Clausal hyperbole can also be seen in those cases where a rather extensive sentence comprises various clauses and separate sentences. In this respect, Claridge (ibid.: 57) writes: "while each clause individually might not be at all ... or only mildly ... hyperbolic, the clauses support each other, in their kind of staccato sequence thus producing the overall hyperbole".

2.2.4 Numerical Hyperbole

According to Claridge (2011:58), numerical hyperbole can range from fairly high and round numbers (e.g., *15,000*) to smaller and more precise-sounding ones (e.g., *eight*). Of these, high round numbers are certainly the more striking and effectual ones which one can easily recognize even without

detailed contextual knowledge, especially multiples of hundreds, thousands, etc. A single word hyperbole is the most basic category for numbers. In addition, numerical hyperbole can also be realized by a noun phrase in which the numbers can also contribute to a larger-scale hyperbole. As cited in Claridge (ibid.: 59), number is singled out as one of four fields of investigation in a recent study of hyperbole by McCarthy and Carter (2004: 179) due to their assumption that it is a promising area. Using the CANCODE corpus, McCarthy and Carter (ibid.) list *dozens (of)*, *zillions (of)*, *millions (of)*, *hundreds (of)*, *thousands (of)*, *billions (of)* and their singular forms and find many cases especially *dozens of* and *millions of* to be very hyperbole-prone.

2.2.5 The role of the Superlative

Due to their universal tendency to exaggerate (Jespersen, 1965: 395), absolute superlatives such as 'most kind' and 'most ingenious' constitute an antithesis of understatement (Wierzbicka, 2003: 277). As Bolinger (1977: 28) remarks, "the superlative can jump any adjective to the outer limits of its scale". Claridge (2011: 63) stresses the fact that "it is not the superlative on its own that leads to maximization or overstatement, but its occurrence together with modifying elements that are all-encompassing rather than restricting". She (ibid.) proceeds to say that "A nominal or prepositional phrase referring to the whole world, an indefinite/timeless temporal reference (e.g., *ever*) and generalizing relative clauses are common in such cases. In other cases, the superlative co-occurs with terms that are themselves hyperbolic".

2.2.6 Comparison

Explicit comparative particles such as *like*, *as*, *than* are indicative of non-metaphorical comparisons included in this category. As Claridge (2011: 64) points out, it is either the entity within the comparative phrase that is completely impossible or the juxtaposition of the two entities being compared that produces a highly incongruous result. By comparing it in such a way, the entity in question is being maximized. Very often, it is only within the comparative phrase that the hyperbolic potential is contained.

2.2.7 Repetition

Repetition is a phenomenon employed for hyperbolic purposes in spoken language. It involves repeating the same X several times; therefore, it is the very simplest form of saying 'more of X'. To distinguish repetitions used for hyperbolic purposes from spaced-out repetitions which are employed for the sake of cohesion, Claridge (2011: 67) explains that the former involves those cases where the same item or phrase re-occurs in strict sequence

without being interrupted by other material. This uninterrupted repetition as a marked linguistic feature can possibly result in a hyperbolic effect making the sentence more noteworthy, more communicatively interesting.

2.3 Functions of Hyperbole

In classical rhetoric, hyperbole and other forms of amplification were used as techniques in which certain facts or value judgments are exaggerated intentionally for a certain effect. Throughout the history of rhetoric, the function ascribed to such techniques was, as stressed by Fahnestock and Tonnard (2011: 105), to make a piece of information "more psychologically salient to the audience and more conceptually important in the overall case". When the addressee, in particular, is the target, psychological research shows that hyperbole can cause rather strong feelings. Therefore, in Henkeman's (2013: 4) opinion, this trope is associated with one of Aristotle's three aspects involved in rhetorical persuasion; namely, *pathos* which is "the arousal of emotions in the hearers by means of the speech" as defined by Claridge (2011: 217) who stresses that hyperbole can have an influence on all three of these aspects as shown below:

With respect to *logos*, it can be useful to maximize or hyperbolically inflate some aspects or proofs while downplaying others [...] With respect to *pathos*, hyperbole can make things appear more important, more frightening or more desirable, thus arousing specific attitudes and feelings [...] Finally, with respect to *ethos*, a constantly exaggerating speaker may appear untrustworthy [...] while one who always minimizes may not be convincing, or boring; the degree of hyperbole may need to be carefully calibrated. (ibid.)

Hyperbole is then a persuasive technique used to convince others to agree with one's arguments, accept his/her conclusions, and adopt his/her way of thinking by exaggeratedly emphasizing points.

Cano Mora (2006: 203) finds out that 'emphasis' is almost an intrinsic function to hyperbole, it is the most prominent goal and one of the most widely recognized functions for hyperbole in the literature and, indeed, it is such an important function that it has been mentioned in several definitions. As cited in Cano Mora (ibid.), one definition is offered by Kreuz et al. (1996:86) who describe as hyperbolic any "segments that indicate emphasis through exaggeration". There is also Bolinger's (1972: 20) definition according to which intensification is "the linguistic expression of exaggeration and depreciation". Bolinger (ibid. 115) adds that hyperbole is one of various figurative ways of conveying intensification by "substituting a stronger for a weaker synonym". Bolinger's definition possibly explains, in

Cano Mora's (2006: 203) opinion, "this emphatic and forceful nature of hyperboles". For example, the use of a semantically stronger word such as 'smash' instead of 'hit' in describing a car accident can, as Claridge (2011: 217) points out, increase people's estimate of the car's speed and so intensify the dangers of highly speedy driving and this supports Cano Mora's (2006: 203) belief that "exaggerated remarks always appear to be strengthened, heightened or intensified". The emphasizing function of hyperbole can also be seen in political contexts "emphasizing the seriousness of the situation" as made clear by Claridge (2011: 265).

Another most recurrent function of hyperbole is 'evaluation'. According to Cano Mora (2006: 205): "Exaggeration has traditionally been regarded as a general evaluative resource", citing in this respect Falk's (1990: 46) remark that "'an overstatement has in it an element of subjective evaluation of an objective fact'". In their definition of this function, Hunston and Thompson (1999: 5) write that "evaluation is the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entity or propositions that he or she is talking about". Evaluation is twofold since:

one can express both positive and negative opinions, emotions, attitudes, etc. Thus, people may exaggerate to fulfil positive discourse goals, such as to compliment, congratulate, praise, express sympathy, approval, delight or some other form of positive affect. Negative evaluation, on the other hand, is a form of subjective judgment whereby speakers attack, complain, condemn, criticise, express disapproval, antipathy or some other negative attitude. (Cano Mora, 2006: 205)

Claridge (2011: 209) points to another aspect of hyperbole used for persuasive purposes which is 'vagueness'. This function can be found inherent in the use of some hyperbolic expressions, especially round numbers and quantities such as 'thousand', 'million', 'age', and 'load' which are characterized by a certain vagueness. She (ibid.) describes the role that vagueness may play in the choice of high round numbers like 'thousand' saying "while it is mathematically precise, most people have only a hazy idea of which conglomerations of people or objects correspond to 1,000". In her opinion, this aspect of vagueness is therefore cognitive but not semantic or linguistic. Because of this vagueness that many hyperbolic expressions possess, Henkemans (2013: 5) illustrates that "they may be used by speakers as a way of avoiding to commit themselves to a precise specification of quantity or size", or, as put by Carter and McCarthy (1997: 119), "Speakers select vague language so that they do not have to specify precise examples".

Related to vagueness is 'making a generalization' which, as Cano Mora (2006: 210) allows "speakers to avoid specifying, detailing, listing, etc."; therefore, it is another way "to avoid providing exact and precise information".

In addition to the functions mentioned above, Cano Mora (*ibid.*: 199) mentions some other communicative functions which hyperbole seems to respond to, these functions include expression of surprise, contrast of differences, clarification, humour, interest intensification, simplification and (polite) de-emphasis. She also shows that some of these functions, namely underemphasis, contrast of differences, simplification have not been previously identified for this figure.

3. Methodology

In this study, hyperbole is analyzed as an individual act involving only the speaker with no attention paid to audience's responses within the reception process which has been investigated in various studies in the literature, especially those which view hyperbole as humorous in which case investigating the listener's response (often in the form of a laughter) is necessary to see if using hyperbole has achieved its humorous effect. Another reason why the focus in this study is on the production rather than the reception process is to highlight the importance of using hyperbolic expressions by the candidate as a way of giving added depth and quality to his views, to create a strong impression on voters and so to persuade them of the objectives of his electoral campaign programs. Hence, using hyperbole to convey information, feelings, or reasoning helps in the persuasion process which aims at changing the voters' attitude or behavior toward some action. To determine if a statement is hyperbolic, the user's context as well as his intent is considered in this study.

In order to achieve the aims of the present study, three speeches of the winning candidate, chosen at random from the 2012 Presidential Election, were analyzed. The Presidential Election, which officially kicked off in January 2012, featured the incumbent, President Barack Obama for the Democratic Party, against an array of opponents, which included, Gov. Mitt Romney for the Republican Party, Gov. Gary Johnson for the Libertarian Party, and a host of other third party, independent and mail-in candidates. Only Obama and Romney satisfied the three criteria for eligibility which the bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD) stipulated. Thus Obama and Romney were the only two to appear in 2012 CPD debates. It is worth mentioning that the United States presidential election of 2012 was held on Tuesday, November 6, 2012. Barack Obama, and his running mate,

Vice President Joe Biden, were re-elected to a second term, defeating Mitt Romney, and his running mate, Representative Paul Ryan of Wisconsin.

The framework for the analysis of data is adopted from Claridge's (2011) study, since her classification scheme contains a promising approach and is based on data from three different sources: (1) a sub-corpus extracted from the spoken part of the BNC, demographic section, (2) the SBC, Part I and (3) newspaper data. The study also adopts Cano Mora's (2006: 95, 199) repertoire of pragmatic functions which she lists and identifies in her analysis based upon the data which has been extracted from the British National Corpus (BNC). It is worth mentioning that the BNC is a collection of over 4000 samples, totaling over 100 million words, of contemporary British English, both spoken and written, stored in electronic form.

4. Data Analysis and Discussion

Three speeches by the Democratic nominee, incumbent President Barack Obama were chosen randomly from the 2012 presidential campaign over a period of time extended from June up to November, 2012, i.e. six months before the end of the campaign. The analysis of Obama's three speeches reveals that the occurrences of hyperbolic expressions identified amount to (181) instances. Following Claridge (2011) and Cano Mora (2006), the analysis of hyperbolic expressions is based on a model of two levels: formal and functional.

4.1 Formal Analysis

Table (1) below shows the number of occurrences and percentages of hyperbolic expressions per form in the speeches examined.

Table 1. A Breakdown of the Formal Realizations of Hyperbolic Expressions in Obama's Three Speeches

Total	Single-word Hyperboles		Phrasal Hyperboles		Numerical Hyperboles		Superlatives		Clausal Hyperboles		Hyperbolic Comparisons		Repetitions	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
181	77	42.54	38	20.99	22	12.15	19	10.49	16	8.83	5	2.76	4	2.20

As illustrated in this table, the most recurrent pattern of hyperbolic expressions in the total of Obama's electoral speeches is single-word hyperboles which account for %42.54 in our data. Next in frequency comes the category of phrasal hyperboles with (38) instances representing %20.99 of the total percentage. The least significant cases of the whole data examined represent numerical hyperboles, superlatives, clausal hyperboles, hyperbolic comparisons, and repetitions with a frequency rate at %12.15, %10.49, %8.83, %2.76, and %2.20 respectively. These results provide good evidence that shorter hyperboles, in particular individual words, seem to be one of the most productive strategies in the creation of this figure because they are less complex than the other syntactic patterns and "may thus be easier both to produce, to process, and to retain" due to their having "little or no internal structure" as Claridge (2011: 46) argues. In contrast to the other formal realizations of hyperbole which represent low frequency rates may be because they are longer, more complex, and need more effort on the part of the speaker, an overwhelming presence of phrasal hyperboles can be observed in our data. Claridge (*ibid.*: 48) explains their lead over other hyperbolic forms saying that phrases "are more multi-functional and more likely to conventionalise".

4.2 Functional Analysis

It has been argued that hyperbole cannot be understood in decontextualized situations. Context plays a crucial role in the perception of hyperbole. Thus, hyperbole is a purely pragmatic phenomenon and cannot be studied out of the realm of pragmatics which is defined as the study of meaning in context. Contextual information helps to determine the pragmatic functions that this figure fulfills in speech (Cano Mora, 2006: 198). A content analysis has been conducted to identify the range of functions associated with the production of hyperbole in Obama's electoral speeches. Hyperbole has been found to fulfill three communicative functions in the data examined, as an emphasizing device to make information that is to the speaker's advantage seem more prominent to the audience, as an evaluative device to convey and arouse emotions in his audience, and third, as an expression of vagueness. But the results seem to suggest that the intended impression on voters is only constructed through the combined effects of emphasis and evaluation which constitute %49.17 and %38.67 respectively in the data examined as illustrated in Table (2) below.

Table 2. A Breakdown of the Communicative Functions of Hyperbolic Expressions in Obama's Three Speeches

Total	Emphasis		Evaluation Positive & Negative		Vagueness	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
181	89	49.17	70	38.67	22	12.15

4.2.1 Hyperbole as an emphasizing device

The data analyzed reveal that emphasis which amounts to %49.17 is the most prominent goal of hyperbole in Obama's speeches (Table 2). One possible explanation for this emphatic nature of the hyperboles detected in Obama's speeches lies in his attempt to display his foreign and interior policy in such a way that it seems as strong and more forceful as possible, i.e., by amplifying important aspects of it to attract and grasp public attention. Table (3) provides details of the number of occurrences and percentages of hyperbolic forms associated with this function.

Table 3. A Breakdown of Hyperbolic Forms Used as an Emphasizing Device

Total	Single-Word Hyperboles		Phrasal Hyperboles		Superlatives		Repetitions		Clausal Hyperboles	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
89	54	60.67	23	25.84	7	7.86	3	3.37	2	2.24

The following is a description of how some of these forms are used as an emphasizing device. With regard to the most recurrent form of hyperbolic expressions, namely single-word hyperboles, the word 'fight', which appeared in Obama's three speeches, is not meant to be taken literally, it has nothing whatsoever to do with the word 'battle' which involves killings and disasters. Rather, it means to 'strive' or 'struggle' which, in turn, means 'to make forceful efforts to achieve something' as shown below:

1. We need a President who will *fight* for American jobs and *fight* for American manufacturing.
2. And I promised you that I would wake up every single day thinking about you and *fighting* for you.

(From 'Remarks at a Campaign Event')

3. We want to restore that basic bargain in America that says if you work hard, you can make it -- (applause) -- that says if you're acting responsibly

and looking after your family, and willing to put in the effort, you can afford a home that you can call your own, you have a job that pays the bills, that you won't have to worry about going bankrupt if you get sick, that you'll be able to retire with some dignity and some respect. (Applause.) And you'll be able to save up enough to help your kids do even better than you did. ... That's what we're *fighting* for.

(From 'Address to the AFL-CIO Convention')

In the statements above, the hyperbolic use of 'fight' by Obama is intended to create a strong impression and add emphasis showing his people how he cares a lot about this country.

4. Tonight, in this election, you, the American people, reminded us that while our road has been hard, while our journey has been long, we have picked ourselves up, we have *fought* our way back

5. You'll hear the deep patriotism in the voice of a military spouse who's working the phones late at night to make sure that no one who *fighters* for this country ever has to *fight* for a job or a roof over their head when they come home.

6. ... so that the freedom which so many Americans have *fought* for and died for come with responsibilities as well rights.

7. America, I believe we can build on the progress we've made and continue to *fight* for new jobs and new opportunities and new security for the middle class.

(From 'Victory Speech')

Another example of single-word hyperboles is the word 'battle' which is again not to be taken in the literal sense as a hostile encounter between two opposing military forces", rather it is used hyperbolically in Obama's speeches to mean 'a determined effort to struggle tenaciously to achieve something in a difficult situation or to change a bad situation' as in the following statements:

8. For the last three years, we've been *battling* our way back from the worst crisis since the Great Depression.

(From 'Remarks at a Campaign Event')

9. We may have *battled* fiercely, but it's only because we love this country deeply and we care so strongly about its future.

(From 'Victory Speech')

Here, it is worth mentioning that Obama's Presidency was initially shaped by the 2008 financial crisis, which was the worst economic disaster since the Great Depression of 1929. President Obama understood that this was an all-out crisis that required an all-out policy response. Working with Congress, the Administration took several major actions within its first few months. This all-out policy response made a huge difference. Though the economy still had a very long way to restore to full health and full employment, they were unquestionably on the right trajectory. And the policy response was a big part of the reason that they were on the road to recovery. By using a word like 'battle' in his statements above, President Obama wanted to describe the challenges he and his administration faced and the actions they took to deal with the devastating impact of the recession. Despite these challenges, he managed to accomplish a great many things.

In the following excerpt taken from his speech 'Remarks at a Campaign Event' Obama resorts to the use of the phrasal hyperbole 'out of a hole' followed by the clausal hyperbole 'that's 9 million jobs deep' to describe the severity of the economic crisis which came to a head in September 2008. Obviously, it was a crisis that would ultimately cost millions of Americans their jobs, their homes, and their savings; therefore, Obama uses measures and statistics to say how far down they extended, during the economic crisis, from the surface:

10. Not only are we digging *out of a hole that's 9 million jobs deep* ...

And through his use of the italicized phrasal and clausal hyperboles in the excerpt below, Obama proceeds to describe how the economy was in a severe downturn resulting in a severe crisis which took a huge toll on middle class families, thus having a negative effect on an important segment of the American society:

11. ... we're digging *out of an entire decade* where manufacturing left our shores; where costs rose but incomes weren't going up; *where middle-class families fell further and further behind*.

(From 'Remarks at a Campaign Event')

And, as part of his economic plan to help promote economic growth, and to create new jobs and new businesses, Obama exaggerates his viewpoint when he remarks, in the same speech above, that he wants to build bridges 'all around the world', not just all across the country as shown below:

12. We need bridges to help businesses move goods and services and people all across the country and *all around the world*.

Absolute superlatives used in a hyperbolic sense to make something sound like the best, the most powerful, the most effective ... can be found in the following statement taken from Obama's 'Victory Speech':

13. We want to pass on a country that's safe and respected and admired around the world, a nation that is defended by *the strongest military on earth* and *the best troops this – this world has ever known*.

where the superlatives together with modifying phrases 'on earth', and 'this world has ever known', constitute a construction which, being infrequent and marked, has a great impact that adds emphasis to the quality of the entity described. Obama's tendency to use this technique is to show that he is determined to implement his national security policy to build an unrivaled military capable of defending the country and its interests against the risks of an insecure world.

4.2.2 Hyperbole as an evaluative device

The second most recurrent function of hyperbole is evaluation which amounts to 38.88% of the instances in the texts analyzed (Table 2). As mentioned in section 2.3, this evaluative function is twofold: positive and negative. In our data, it has been found that positive and negative hyperboles constitute somewhat close ratios since 21.66% of the examined evaluative hyperboles were found to be negative and 17.22% of them were positive.

Table 4. Type and Distribution of Evaluative Uses of Hyperbole in Obama's Three Speeches

Total	Positive Evaluation		Negative Evaluation	
	No.	%	No.	%
181	31	17.12	39	21.54

Therefore, it can be said that political leaders resort to both positive and negative evaluation to show approval of their policies and, at the same time, to express strong disapproval of their rivals' policies. However, Obama's use of negative evaluative remarks against his rival in his two speeches 'Remarks by the President at a Campaign Event' and 'Address to the AFL-CIO Convention' delivered in June and September respectively, 2012 is higher than his use of positive remarks which he offered in favor of his own policies, this explains his inclination to use negative hyperbole to show condemn of

Romney's conservative policy prescriptions, to envisage them as incompetent, and, consequently, to chip away at the public's confidence in Romney and he actually succeeded in raising enough doubt about Romney and sufficiently reinforcing his own message. On the contrary, in Obama's 'Victory Speech' which he delivered the night he was re-elected to a second term, defeating Romney the number of Obama's positive evaluative remarks exceeds the number of the negative ones showing that as long as he secured victory over his opponent, he no longer needed to expose his negativities. Table (5) below provides details of the number of occurrences of positive and negative hyperbolic remarks in Obama's three speeches:

Table 5. A Breakdown of Positive and Negative Evaluative Remarks in Obama's Three Speeches

Speech Title	Positive Evaluation	Negative Evaluation
Remarks by the President at a Campaign Event	11	27
Address to the AFL-CIO Convention	5	11
Victory Speech	15	1
Total	31	39

Table (6) below provides details of the number of occurrences and percentages of hyperbolic forms associated with this function.

Table 6. A Breakdown of Hyperbolic Forms Used as an Evaluative Device

Total	Single-word Hyperboles		Phrasal Hyperboles		Clausal Hyperboles		Superlatives		Hyperbolic Comparisons		Repetitions	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
70	23	32.85	15	21.42	14	20	12	17.14	5	7.14	1	1.42

What follows is a description of how some of these forms are used as an evaluative device. A good example of a positive hyperbolic expression is the single-word hyperbole 'fight' which is used in the following statements, unlike its use in the statements in section 4.2.1, to stimulate thought and to evoke emotions of enthusiasm:

14. You can decide whether we're going to have another political *fight* about ending a woman's right to choose,

15. You choose whether to *re-fight* the battles we just had over financial reform and health care reform.

(From 'Remarks at a Campaign Event')

Hyperbole can also be used to ridicule or show contempt for the opponent's policies. This is shown in the following extract which involves an example of Obama's sarcastic use of 'fight' as a single-word hyperbole to provoke in his audience disapproval of his political rival's policies. What reinforces this synical impression is Obama's use of 'all of a sudden' and 'claim' which means 'to say that something is true without providing proof or evidence for what one says' in an earlier part of the sentence.

16. And so, now, all of a sudden he is going to go around trying to claim the mantle of *fighting* for the American working man and woman.

(From 'Address to the ALF-CIO Convention')

In the following extract taken from the same speech, we find another example of a single-word hyperbole used sarcastically, it is the word 'entire' when Obama launched an attack on Romney's economic policy saying that the entirety of Romney's economic plan is about tax cuts, he wanted to build up a negative picture of it and so to describe its inadequacy as a plan to save the American economy, thus making it appear foolish and out of touch with reality:

17. They are peddling the same top-down economics that got us into this mess in the first place. You ask them what's your ideas to build this economy, they'll tell you, well, we've got tax cuts in the morning and tax cuts at night . . . tax cuts when there's peace and tax cuts when there's war. In between, we'll roll back some regulations and try to bust some unions, and then we'll go back to some more tax cuts. That's their *entire* agenda.

One more example of a negative hyperbolic remark is Obama's attitude towards Romney's economic plan when he describes it as 'heartbreaking' in his statement below:

18. But, you know what, if people still thinks their plan sounds like a good idea -- (baby cries) -- see somebody is depressed about this plan. They're hearing about it -- (laughter.) I know it's *heartbreaking*. (Laughter.)

(From 'Remarks at a Campaign Event')

In the context above, not only does President Obama reveal his disapproval of his rival's plan, but he also ridicules his plan for the economy as a "sketchy deal" that boils down to helping the wealthy at the expense of the middle class, something that is obvious from the audience's reaction. The word 'heartbreaking' is used to transmit to the audience negative attitudes towards Romney's economic plan, to evoke negative attitudes

An obvious case of a negative clausal hyperbole is found in the following excerpt taken from Obama's speech 'Remarks at a Campaign Event' when he, in his attack on Romney's economic plan, says that 'it would push us even deeper into recession', thus conveying an economic message that Romney's policy wouldn't stimulate the economy, rather it would drive America into a 'reckless and wrong' direction that would jeopardize their future prosperity:

19. Now, here's the thing. I have not seen a single nonpartisan expert say that the other side's economic plan would actually reduce the deficit in the long term. I haven't seen a single independent economist say it would create jobs in the short-term. In fact, one said that *it would push us even deeper into recession*.

The words *push*, *even*, *deeper*, and *recession* work together hyperbolically to emphasize the seriousness of the economic situation in case the vote is in favor of Romney and his policies. In the same speech, there is another example of the negative evaluative function found in the clausal hyperbole in the excerpt below:

20. *And together, Mr. Romney and a Republican Congress will take America back down this path* that we've tried, and it didn't work the last time.

Again, we find Obama excoriating Romney's economic plan, for the combination of the two words 'back' and 'down' and their use in one sentence has the same negative effect as when one says 'it could lead America into the abyss'. Obama continues, in this speech, to highlight the lack of feasibility of Romney's policy when he exaggeratedly remarks that 'it's nothing new ... except on steroids', which is another example of a clausal hyperbole intended to have a negative effect:

21. And Bill Clinton has pointed out that this Republican agenda, it's *nothing* new. It's *nothing* more than the same thing we tried during the last administration, *except on steroids*. (Laughter and applause)

Romney insisted on restoring the same policies that did not work in the past, hence Obama's statement is devoted to showing the degree to which Romney

was committed to the previous Republican administration's vision which created the crisis; and Obama wanted to show this to the American people, to tell them that there was nothing new in Romney's agenda, it was the same old, just on steroids. Another negative remark made by Obama to ridiculously belittle his rival's plans is through his use of the clausal hyperbole in the following excerpt from 'Address to the AFL-CIO Convention':

22. You ask them what's your ideas to build this economy, they'll tell you, well, *we've got tax cuts in the morning and tax cuts at night -- (laughter) -- tax cuts when there's peace and tax cuts when there's war.*

Obama wanted to tell his people that the entirety of Romney's agenda focuses on nothing but tax cuts by repeating the phrase 'tax cuts' four times in the same sentence.

A positively exaggerated remark used to express sympathy for the suffering middle class in America is found in the following excerpt from 'Remarks at a Campaign Event':

23. I signed a law that will reduce our deficit by \$2trillion, but we've got to do more work on our deficit. One of the most urgent tasks is recovering from this immediate crisis – but the economy won't be truly healthy until we reverse *that much longer erosion of the middle class... .*

where 'that much longer erosion of the middle class' is an example of a phrasal hyperbole which shows Obama's extreme concerns about the middle class from whom he draws his support, this is why the core of Mr. Obama's most speeches is his plan to raise taxes on wealthier families and divert most of that money to benefit middle-class families through a series of tax breaks and spending proposals. On the contrary, the following excerpt contains an example of the phrasal hyperbole 'this mess' which Obama used negatively in an attempt to stain the reputation of his opponent's top-down economic policies by claiming that it would create a situation that is confused and full of problems:

24. They are peddling the same top-down economics that got us into *this mess* in the first place.

(From 'Address to the AFL-CIO Convention')

And, in this speech Obama announced to his audience that they were in the process of revising "a new WTO to challenge China's illegal trade and subsidies in autos and auto parts ... to stop some of these cheap tire imports that were coming into this country unfairly" and, consequently, to maintain a

thousand jobs in the United States. Thus, Obama's use of the superlatives in the following excerpt is another language technique to give praise or recognition to the Americans' skills and their businesses and to encourage them to prove and show their true mettle. Plus, it is a clever way to inflame his people's emotions, to push them to take action and vote for him:

25. It's the reason that we are going to keep on pressing to make sure that they are playing by the rules -- because my attitude is the United States of America has *the best workers* on Earth; we've got *the best businesses* on Earth; and if they are competing fairly we will win every single time.

One can easily note how Obama's language is made exaggerative through the use of the superlatives'. It is worth mentioning that "the extraordinary growth of trade between China and the United States has had a dramatic effect on U.S. workers and the domestic economy, though in neither case has this effect been beneficial", for "the growing trade ... with China has been a prime contributor to the crisis in U.S. manufacturing employment. Between 2001 and 2011, the trade ... with China eliminated or displaced more than 2.7 million U.S. jobs, over 2.1 million of which (76.9 percent) were in manufacturing" (Scott, 2012). Obama's use of the superlatives to make exaggerative remarks in favor of his country and its people can also be seen in the following excerpt from his 'Victory Speech' which he delivered after he won the elections::

26. This country has more wealth than any nation, but that's not what makes us rich. We have *the most powerful military in history*, but that's not what makes us strong. Our university, our culture are all *the envy of the world*. ... What makes America *exceptional* are the bonds that hold together *the most diverse nation on Earth*,

4.2.3 Hyperbole as an Expression of Vagueness

In the data analyzed, vagueness accounts for 12.15% of the total percentage. Because of his use of numerical hyperbolic statements as a kind of proof that is vague and cannot be verified, Obama's arguments which he produces in his criticism of Romney's top-down economic plan are made more difficult to attack as shown in the following extract taken from 'Remarks at a Campaign Event':

27. But they believe that we should go back to the top-down economics of the last decade. ... They figure that if we simply eliminate regulations and cut taxes by *trillions of dollars*, then the market will solve all of our problems.

5. Conclusions

To highlight the importance of using hyperbole as a way of giving added depth and quality to the speaker's views, this study has tackled the production process of hyperbolic expressions in three of Obama's speeches from the 2012 Presidential Election. In light of specific research questions and the general framework presented in the methodology section, a content analysis of the form and function of (181) hyperbolic expressions detected in Obama's speeches has been carried out.

In terms of the formal analysis, the frequency findings reveal that the exaggerated content found in single words is the type which represents the most common realization of hyperbole in Obama's speeches due to their easiness both to produce and to process. Phrases constitute the second most recurrent form of the hyperbolic expressions produced by Obama, may be because of their diverse functions and liability to be conventionalized.

In terms of the functional analysis, hyperbole has been found to fulfill three communicative functions, namely emphasis, evaluation and vagueness which all, as a persuasion technique, proved their effectiveness in placing the voters in a position of agreement with Obama's objectives of his electoral campaign program, and, consequently, guaranteed electoral victory. Emphasis and evaluation appear to be the most prominent functions for this figure in the data examined. Proportionally, the number of hyperbolic expressions used as an emphasizing device approximates the amount of hyperbolic expressions used as an evaluative device suggesting that the intended impression on voters is only constructed through the combined effects of these two devices.

As for the use of hyperbole as an evaluative device, frequency rates show a relative equilibrium in the production of positive and negative hyperbolic expressions. This balance explains Obama's determination to achieve his goal. However, Obama has been found to make an extensive use of negative hyperbole in the two speeches prior to the one which he delivered the night he won the elections.

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Appendix (1)

Hyperbolic Expressions Detected in Obama's Three Speeches

Remarks by the President at a Campaign Event

1. Emphasis

Single-Word Hyperboles

battling, worst, digging, digging, reverse, stalemate, run-of-the-mill, make-or-break, entirely, everything, striving, thriving, every, every, every, innovators, create, create, fight, fight, everything, gridlock, stalemate, everybody, tough, fighting, everybody, everybody, everybody, everybody

Phrasal Hyperboles

out of a hole, out of an entire decade, left our shores, on Earth, pushing for, all around the world, on Earth

Clausal Hyperboles

that's 9 million jobs deep, where middle-class families fell further and further behind

Superlatives

the best place, the biggest source (of gridlock), the greatest nation

Repetitions

- a plan focused on education and energy and innovation and infrastructure, and a tax code that is

- That's something that's good for our economy, good for our environment, good for our national security.
- ... it's sure not a plan to create jobs. It's not a plan to grow the economy. It's not a plan to pay down the debt. It's not a plan to restore the middle class

2. Positive and Negative Evaluation

Single-Word Hyperboles

sophisticated (neg.), entire (neg.), wizard (neg.), heartbreaking (neg.), shrinks (pos.), rejected (neg.), never (neg.), thrive (pos.), indefinitely (neg.), fight (neg.), re-fight (neg.), battles (neg.)

Phrasal Hyperboles

that much longer erosion of the middle class (pos.), roll back (neg.), all kinds of regulations (neg.), the first part of their plan (neg.), The second part of their plan (neg.), in our history (pos.), in history (pos.), a whole lot of millionaires (pos.), kick out (neg.)

Clausal Hyperboles

- they don't just want to keep all the Bush tax cuts in place, the ones for the wealthiest Americans, they want to keep those in place; then they want to add another \$5 trillion in tax cuts on top of that including a 25 percent tax cut for every millionaire in the country. (neg.)
- It's nothing new. (neg.)
- It's nothing more than the same thing we tried during the last administration, except on steroids. (neg.)
- I have not seen a single nonpartisan expert say (neg.)
- I haven't seen a single independent economist (neg.)
- it would push us even deeper into recession. (neg.)
- Mr. Romney and a Republican Congress will take America back down this path that we've tried, and it didn't work the last time. (neg.)
- that's always worked for America's middle class and all those striving to get there . (pos.)
- My plan would recruit an army of new teachers. (pos.)

- Neither of them will endorse any policy that asks the wealthiest Americans to pay even a nickel more in taxes. (neg.)
- the other side will spend more money than we have ever seen in the history of the Republic. (neg.)
- And all that money is going to be spent on ads telling you that the economy is bad. (neg.)

Superlatives

the largest middle class (pos.), the most prosperous economy (pos.), the biggest budget surplus (pos.)

Hyperbolic Comparisons

more than qualified (neg.)

Repetitions

ad after ad after ad (neg.)

3. Vagueness

Numerical Hyperboles

- ... out of a hole that's 9 million jobs deep
- trillions of dollars in tax cuts were put on our nation's credit card ...
- Our businesses have created over 4 million jobs
- I signed a law that will reduce our deficit by \$2 trillion
- They figure that if we simply eliminate regulations and cut taxes by trillions of dollars ...
- ... so you may be wondering how do they spend \$5 trillion ...
- they start by proposing \$1 trillion in cuts to things like education and
- That's only \$1 trillion;
- they've got all this -- \$4 trillion to go.
- And that could cost some families thousands of dollars.
- To pay for another \$250.000 tax cut for the average millionaire
- Is there anybody here who can afford to pay thousands of dollars to give people like me and ...
- I want to give 2 million more Americans the chance to go to community colleges

- And fifth, we're going to reduce our deficit by \$4 trillion.
- ... just like they did when our economy created 23 million new jobs.
- I don't believe that giving millionaires and billionaires a \$250,000 tax cut is more valuable
- That's the reason my jobs bill that would put a million more people back to work
- After a decade of war that's cost us thousands of lives and over a trillion dollars,
- ... and that allowing 3 million young people to stay on their parents' health insurance
- ... becomes the last election where multi-million donations that are undisclosed
- is eliminating regulations and cutting \$5 trillion worth of taxes, they should vote for Governor Romney

Address to the AFL-CIO Convention

1. Emphasis

Single-Word Hyperboles

fighting, entire, everybody, everybody, everybody, fighting

Phrasal Hyperboles

on Earth, on Earth, every single day, every single time, at stake, fundamentally different, a whole bunch, the greatest nation, on Earth

2. Positive and Negative Evaluation

Single-Word Hyperboles

fight (pos.), tough (neg.), tough (neg.), peddling (neg.), bust (neg.), entire (neg.), overturn (pos.), roaring (pos.)

Phrasal Hyperboles

his entire history (neg.), pretty comfortable (neg.), mantle of fighting (neg.), this mess (neg.), roll back (neg.)

Superlatives

The best workers (pos.), The best businesses (pos.)

Clausal Hyperboles

tax cuts in the morning and tax cuts at night – tax cuts when there's peace and tax cuts when there's war (neg.)

3. Vagueness

a million jobs

Victory Speech

1. Emphasis

Single-Word Hyperboles

battled, fiercely, ever, every, fights, ever, fight, ever, every, fiercely, gridlock, painstaking, all, fought, battle, hardship, fighting, fight

Phrasal Hyperboles

in the history of politics, hard-fought, the global leader, on earth, in history, on Earth, on earth

Superlatives

The best schools, The best teachers, The strongest military, The best troops

2. Positive and Negative Evaluation

Single-Word Hyperboles

fought (pos.), cynics (neg.), exceptional (pos.)

Phrasal Hyperboles

the envy of the world (pos.)

Clausal Hyperboles

the best vice president anybody could ever hope for (pos.)

Superlatives

the best (pos.), the best campaign team and volunteers (pos.), the best (pos.), the best (pos.), the most powerful military (pos.), the most diverse nation (pos.), the greatest nation (pos.)

Hyperbolic Comparisons

more wealth than any nation (pos.), not as cynical as (pos.), greater than the sum of our individual ambitions (pos.), more than a collection of red states and blue states (pos.)

1. Vagueness (Zero)

المنظور الشكلي والوظيفي في تحليل عبارات المبالغة في خطابات اوباما

الباحث: ا.م.د.رحاب عبد الجليل سعيد

المستخلص

الغلو هو مبالغة واضحة ومتعمدة اي أنه يأخذ الأمور إلى حد التطرف ثم يعود بالمتلقي إلى موقف أكثر اعتدالاً، أي إنه تعبير مجازي لا يقصد أن يؤخذ حرفياً. تتركز هذه الدراسة على المنظور الشكلي والوظيفي في تحليل عبارات المبالغة التي يستخدمها المرشحين الأمريكيين في خطاباتهم في الحملات الانتخابية حيث يفترض استخدامهم لتلك العبارات بشكل مفرط لاقتناع الناخبين بأهداف برامج حملاتهم الانتخابية. وبالتالي، فإنه يهدف إلى تحليل عبارات المبالغة في السياق لتحديد مجموعة من الوظائف البراغمية التي تحققها تلك العبارات بالإضافة إلى تحليلها شكلياً لبيان أي من هذه الأشكال المقترنة مع الوظائف الأنفة الذكر تخدم الجانب الاقناعي للمبالغة. ولتحقيق هذه الاهداف تم اختيار ثلاث خطابات للرئيس الامريكي باراك اوباما في حملته الانتخابية للسباق الرئاسي في 2012 ومن ثم تحليلها لتحديد عبارات المبالغة. وقد كشفت النتائج من حيث المنظور الشكلي ان الكلمات المفردة تمثل الشكل الاكثر شيوعاً من حيث كم المبالغة في خطب اوباما. من حيث التحليل الوظيفي، بينت النتائج أن التأكيد والتقييم هما من ابرز الوظائف مما يؤكد ان الانطباع المراد خلقه لدى الناخبين يتم فقط من خلال الآثار المشتركة لتلك الوظيفتين.

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