

## **A Textual Analysis of Hyperbole and Litotes in Selected English Political Speeches**

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### **Abstract**

Hyperbole and litotes are two opposing rhetorical terms that can be seen in political speeches. Hyperbole is a form of overstatement while litotes is a form of understatement. The present study is concerned with the analysis of the two opposing tropes in political speeches to find their frequency in terms of types, uses, and functions. It also aims at finding out which one of these tropes is more or less common in the selected English texts, showing whether or not these devices are characteristic of this register; and explicating the pragmatic purpose behind using these two devices.

The model adopted in this study is an eclectic one that is adapted from Spitzbardt (1965), Galperin (1977), Leech (1983), McCarthy and Carter (2004), Mora (2006), Sert (2008), Claridge (2011), and Muhammad (2013). The method of analysis is both qualitative and quantitative.

From the analysis of the selected data, it has been revealed that hyperbole is more frequent than litotes in political texts, that the frequency of hyperbolic forms and functions outnumber their litotic counterparts and that hyperbole devices are characteristic of political language. The reason is plausibly that politicians seek their own interests. That is why they use more hyperbole in their speeches to make images and matters bigger and more

important on the part of the audience so as to convince and direct them to a particular aim, for example, to vote for their own benefit.

*Keywords: hyperbole, litotes, political speeches, pragmatics, register, rhetoric*

المستخلص

هناك العديد من الآراء والتعريفات والتصنيفات المتباينة بين مختلف العلماء بشأن ما هية او ماالذي يشكل التعبير الاصطلاحي. حيث يختلف العلماء بشأن تعريف وتوصيف وتصنيف التعبيرات الاصطلاحية ولهم وجهات نظرهم الخاصة في هذا الشأن. وبالتالي، فقد كان من العسير الى حد ما تعريف هذا المصطلح بطريقة واضحة ومنهجية. وبالتالي ينبغي إيلاء مفهوم الاصطلاح اهتماماً خاصاً ومناسباً.

كانت هناك العديد من التصنيفات المقترحة للتعبيرات الاصطلاحية، تمثلت في تصنيفات دلالية، ونحوية، ومفرداتية، ووظيفية، واخرى معجمية. وتم اقتراح العديد من الأنواع والاشكال في محاولة لتكوين وصف شامل للتعبيرات الاصطلاحية. مع ذلك يبدو أنه لا يزال هناك غموضاً مستحكماً يحول دون ايجاد توصيف وتعريف وتصنيف دقيق لهذه الناحية اللغوية، مما يجعل من العسير التوصل إلى توافق بشأن مفهوم التعبير الاصطلاحية.

تقدم هذه الدراسة نموذجاً شاملاً للتعبيرات الاصطلاحية في اللغة الإنجليزية حيث تكمن الفكرة في أخذ كل الميزات والأنواع المقترحة في الدراسات السابقة ودمجها في جدول واحد موحد. يكمن الهدف الأساسي والمنطقي من وراء هذا النموذج في توفير تصنيف ووجهة نظر أفضل حول ما هية التعبيرات الاصطلاحية. يتألف النموذج المقترح من عشر فئات رئيسية هي: المعنى، والشكل/الوضوح، والشفافية، والتركيبية، والمفرداتية، والثبات (المرونة النحوية)، والبنية، والوظيفة، والمرونة المعجمية، والشكلية، مع تصنيفات ثانوية لكل من الفئات العشر.

الكلمات الاساسية: التعبيرات الاصطلاحية، الاصطلاح، المفرداتية، الثبات، التركيبية، الشفافية، المعنى، الوظيفة

## 1. Introduction

Figures and tropes are two main categories of figurative language. The first category is known as 'figures of speech, schemes or rhetorical figures' and the second one is called 'figures of thought or tropes'. Generally, the name 'figures of speech' is used for both categories as it is defined by Baldick (2001: 97) as "an expression that departs from the accepted literal sense or from the normal order of words, or in which an emphasis is produced by patterns of sound."

Figurative meaning is out of line with generally accepted meanings, that is to say, it is not in accordance with normal or dictionary meanings. Generally, figurative language divides into two types: tropes or figures of thought and schemes or figures of speech.

Figurative Language deviates from the usual meanings of words. It creates imagination; therefore, it requires interpretation on the part of an audience and readers. According to Abrams and Harpham (2009: 118) figurative language "... is a conspicuous departure from what competent users of a language apprehend as the standard meaning of words, or else the standard order of words, in order to achieve some special meaning or effect. Figures are sometimes described as primarily poetic, but they are integral to the functioning of language and indispensable to all modes of discourse."

Hyperbole and litotes are two opposing rhetorical terms that can be seen in political speeches. Hyperbole is a form of overstatement while litotes is a form of understatement.

## 2. Statement of the Problem

Some speeches and writings are very impressive and powerful, and they leave great effects on audience and readers. Such abilities and skills of using language well and expressing opinions clearly, especially when speaking in public, are known as 'rhetoric'.

Political speeches have received increasing attention from different researchers in various areas of linguistics. Still, this register is to a considerable extent a fertile area of research in terms hyperbole and litotes from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. Hyperbole and litotes are two opposing rhetorical terms that can be seen in political speeches.

## 3. The Aims

The proposed study aims at finding out:

1. Types of hyperbole and litotes used in political speeches;
2. Whether or not these devices are characteristic of this register; and
3. The pragmatic purpose behind using these two devices.

## 4. Research Questions

The present study is designed to answer the following questions:

1. Which trope is more frequent in political speeches?
2. Which form / function prevails most in this register?
3. Are hyperbole and litotes characteristic of this register?
4. Is the use of hyperbole and litotes a pragmatic strategy adopted by the user for some pragmatic intentions?

#### 5. Method of Analysis

The method of analysis followed in this study is both quantitative and qualitative in that there are comparisons of means, statistical significance of findings, and description and evaluation. Analysis of the selected texts will start with:

1. Underlining and numbering the forms (devices) related to both tropes.
2. Analyzing the forms and functions of hyperbole and litotes, respectively.
3. Statistically analyzing hyperbolic forms and functions.
4. Statistically analyzing litotic forms and functions.
5. Analyzing the results of the study and drawing comparisons.
6. Drawing conclusions on the basis of the results of the study.

#### 6. Data for Analysis

The whole data for the present study consists of four political speeches: two American presidential speeches by Barrack Obama and by Bill Clinton, respectively. The other two are by two British Prime Ministers, David Cameron and Tony Blair, respectively.

#### 7. The Adopted Model

The model adopted in this study is an eclectic one that is adapted from Spitzbardt (1965), Galperin (1977), Leech (1983), McCarthy and Carter (2004), Mora (2006), Sert (2008), Claridge (2011), and Muhammad (2013). As a whole, the adopted model for the present study is composed of the forms and functions of hyperbole and litotes for analysis as it is explained in this table:

Hyperbole		Litotes	
Forms	Functions	Forms	Functions
<p><b><u>1-Single-word hyperbole.</u></b></p> <p><b>NOUNS:</b></p> <p>a. Expressions of number</p> <p>b. Words referring to large amounts / quantities,</p> <p>c. Time expressions</p> <p>d. Nouns of hyperbolic nature</p> <p>e. Emphatic plural</p> <p>f. Emphatic genitive</p> <p><b>VERBS</b></p> <p><b>ADJECTIVES:</b></p> <p>a. Single adjectives</p> <p>b. Comparative</p> <p>c. Superlative</p>	<p>1. Emphasis</p> <p>2. Evaluation</p> <p>3. Expression of surprise</p> <p>4. Simplification</p> <p>5. Interest intensification</p> <p>6. Contrast of differences</p> <p>7. Humour</p> <p>8. Clarification</p> <p>9. Polite de-emphasis</p>	<p><b>1-Negations</b></p> <p>a. Single negation litotes</p> <p>b. Double negation litotes</p> <p><b>2-More than negation</b></p> <p>a- Downward monotonic determiners</p> <p>b-Comparatives</p> <p>c- Adverbs</p>	<p>a. Showing politeness.</p> <p>b. Emphasizing the enormity of a problem.</p> <p>c. Avoiding hurting the hearer's feeling and making the hearer sulky.</p> <p>d. Criticizing someone subtly (especially the people with higher rank and position in the society).</p> <p>e. Being a subtle form of sarcasm.</p> <p>f. Functioning as a metaphor.</p> <p>g. Making problems less serious.</p>

<p><b>ADVERBS:</b></p> <p><u>2- Phrasal hyperbole</u></p> <p>a. Noun phrase</p> <p>b. Adjective phrase</p> <p>c. Adverb phrase</p> <p>d. Verb phrase</p> <p>e. Prepositional phrase</p> <p><u>3-Clausal hyperbole</u></p> <p><u>4- Simile, metaphor and repetition</u></p>			
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### 8. Hyperbole

Hyperbole is a trope in which an exaggerated term is used for emphasis or effect. Abrams and Harpham (2009: 149) state that "The figure of speech, or trope, called hyperbole (Greek for "overshooting") is bold overstatement, or the extravagant exaggeration of fact or of possibility. It may be used either for serious or ironic or comic effect." Generally, hyperboles are exaggerations being used for effect. Hyperbole means to show something or someone bigger or more important than they actually are. So it is a device of figurative language and it has nothing to do with literal meaning, deception and telling lies as when someone says: 'This book weighs a ton.' Claridge (2011:1) asserts that maximizing things is a feature of human nature since they are not contented to report things or events as they really are. So he attributes such a feature to the natural human tendency.

### 9. Classifications of Hyperbole

The identification of categories or forms of hyperbole is regarded as the most important step especially in realizing and analyzing hyperboles in speeches and texts. As a general principle, it can be concluded from the definition of hyperbole that any word or expression can be considered as hyperbole when it is overstated or exaggerated for a particular purpose.

McCarthy and Carter (2004) mention five categories of hyperbole in their analysis. Sert (2008) takes this framework CANCODE (Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English) as a basis for the analysis of the coupling corpus which is a British TV series (written by Steven Moffat and aired on BBC2 from 2000 to 2004).

Sert (2008: 11) follows McCarthy and Carter (2004) by adopting the five basic hyperbolic categories for identifying the hyperbole-proneness of lexical items:

- (1) Expressions of number
- (2) Words referring to large amounts/quantities
- (3) Adjective modification of amount(s) and number(s) (adjective+ amounts of, etc.)
- (4) Time expressions, and
- (5) Size, degree and intensity

Claridge (2011: 40-41) categorizes hyperbole, as a whole, into two main branches: basic and composite hyperbole. Basic hyperbole, also known as domain-preserving hyperbole, is defined as those hyperbolic expressions that stay within the limits of the domain of corresponding literal expression such as the domain of temperature (cold and freezing) or (minute and centuries or forever) as parts of time domain... etc.

Composite hyperbole is the other type of hyperbole which is also known as domain-switching, i.e., metaphorical hyperbole. It is defined in opposition to basic hyperbole, that is to say those hyperbolic expressions that go beyond the

usual limits of a specific domain or they may be located in different semantic/cognitive provinces. Claridge (2011: 46) lists the following types:

- (1) numerical hyperbole ( *1,000 per cent* )
- (2) words of hyperbolic nature:
  - a. nouns ( *ages* )
  - b. adjectives ( *colossal* )
  - c. adverbs ( *astronomically* )
  - d. verbs ( *die* )
- (3) simile and metaphor ( *cross as the devil* )
- (4) comparative and superlative degrees ( *in less than no time* )
- (5) emphatic genitive ( *the finest of fine watches* )
- (6) emphatic plural ( *all the perfumes of Arabia* , Shakespeare)
- (7) whole sentences ( *he is nothing if not deliberate* )

Claridge (ibid: 46-47) also comments on Spitzbardt's (1963, 1965) classification of hyperbolic forms and criticizes some points in that classification of hyperbolic forms. Generally he observes two points; the first one is that Spitzbardt's classification is not based on a corpus; he quotes just a few attested authentic examples. The second one is that this classification has some defects or flaws. For examples, it does not indicate which form is much more or less frequent since it is not supported by a corpus.

Concerning this classification, two points are important: it should be based on clearly formal, i.e., syntactic and/or morphological (not semantic) considerations; and it should be empirically based on the available data. Claridge (2011: 49-70) discusses seven hyperbolic forms as following:

1. Single-word hyperbole
2. Phrasal hyperbole
3. Clausal hyperbole
4. Numerical hyperbole
5. The role of the superlative

## 6. Comparison

## 7. Repetition

## 10. Functions of Hyperbole

Mora (2006: 203-222) identifies and discusses nine hyperbolic functions as following:

1. Emphasis
2. Evaluation
3. Expression of surprise
4. Simplification
5. Interest intensification
6. Contrast of differences
7. Humour
8. Clarification
9. Polite de-emphasis

## 11. Litotes

This trope is an ironical and deliberate understatement for emphasis. It is a form of understatement in which an affirmative is expressed by the negation of the opposite. On this point, Geeraerts (2010: 29) states that "Litotes is the converse of hyperbole: expressing something in an attenuated way, like saying *I wouldn't mind* when you mean *I'd very much like to*." According to Rowe (1997: 128) "Litotes is the emphatic affirmation of something by denying its opposite."

Cruse (2006:186) defines litotes as a figure of speech where something like, quantity, intensity or seriousness of a statement is understated for rhetorical effect. A common example may be 'not bad' in our daily interactions that is said by a speaker when he or she believes that something is 'good' or 'very good' has been done or stated by someone. Mora (2006: 66) reports that the term litotes refers to a particular kind of understatement whereby speakers use

a negative expression where a positive one would have been more forceful and direct.

Geeraerts (2010:29) explains litotes as the opposite of hyperbole, in litotes things can be expressed less directly and in a weaker way, for example saying 'I wouldn't mind' instead of saying "I'd very much like to". Matthews (2007:229) states that the term litotes is employed in rhetoric for making someone or something look less important or smaller in amount ironically by negating the statement, namely an affirmative is stated by the negation of its contrary.

## 12. Classification of Litotes

### 1. Negations

a-Single Negation Litotes

b-Double Negation Litotes

### 2. More than Negation

a-Downward Monotonic Determiners (DMD)

b-Comparatives

c-Adverbs

## 13. Functions of Litotes

As for the functions, Anh (2010: 8) identifies seven functions of understatement:

- a. Showing politeness.
- b. Emphasizing the enormity of a problem.
- c. Avoiding hurting the hearer's feeling and making the hearer sulky.
- d. Criticizing someone subtly (people with higher rank and position in the society).
- e. Being a subtle form of sarcasm.
- f. Functioning as a metaphor.
- g. Making the problems less serious.

On the other hand, Muhammad (2013: 36-40) identifies six reasons behind using understatement in English as follows:

- a. Understatement as a sign of embarrassment.
- b. Understatement as a means of concealing anxiety.
- c. Understatement as a colloquial sign.
- d. Understatement as a tool of modesty and tactfulness.
- e. Understatement as a means of avoiding offence.
- f. Understatement as a means of emphasis.

#### 14.Data Analysis

This section presents in tabula forms the analysis of forms and functions of both tropes: hyperbole and litotes in the four selected political texts. The first part will present the forms and functions of hyperbole, followed by the forms and functions of litotes.

#### 15. Analysis of Forms and Functions of Hyperbole

Table (1): Analysis of Forms and Functions of Hyperbole in Text (1)

No.	Hyperbole	Form	Function
1	... to celebrate <i>a life unlike any other.</i>	prepositional phrase	Evaluation
2	... and <i>unique</i> qualities	Single adjective	Emphasis
3	... <i>a giant of history,</i>	Noun of hyperbolic nature	Emphasis
4	... <i>billions</i> around the world.	Expression of number	Emphasis
5	...the last <i>great</i> liberator of the 20th century.	Single adjective	Evaluation
6	He shared with <i>millions</i> of black and colored...	Expression of number	Emphasis

7	... a <i>thousand</i> slights..	Expression of number	Emphasis
8	... a <i>thousand</i> indignities..	Expression of number	Emphasis
9	.. , a <i>thousand</i> unremembered moments.	Expression of number	Emphasis
10	He used <i>decades</i> in prison to ....	Time expression	Emphasis
11	...that describes his <i>greatest</i> gift	Superlative	Evaluation
12	...he taught <i>millions</i> to find that truth	Expression of number	Emphasis
13	... overcome <i>centuries</i> of racial subjugation.	Time expression	Emphasis
14	...it took the sacrifice of <i>countless</i> people..	Single adjective	Emphasis
15	We will <i>never</i> see the likes of Nelson Mandela	Adverb	Evaluation
16	... his <i>largeness</i> of spirit..	Phrasal hyperbole	Emphasis
17	What a <i>great</i> soul it was.	Single adjective	Expression of surprise
18	We will miss him <i>deeply</i> .	Adverb	Emphasis

Table (2): The Analysis of Forms and Functions of Hyperbole in Text (2)

No.	Hyperbole	Form	Function
1	world's <i>oldest</i> democracy..	superlative	Evaluation
2	...our mission is <i>timeless</i> .	Single adjective	Emphasis
3	... And I thank the <i>millions</i> of men and women..	Expression of number	Emphasis
4	...that is still the world's <i>strongest</i> ..	superlative	Evaluation
5	...to <i>billions</i> around the world.	Expression of	Emphasis

		number	
6	<i>Profound and powerful forces</i>	Single adjective	Emphasis
7	...the lives of <i>millions</i> of Americans..	Expression of number	Emphasis
8	...when <i>millions</i> of poor children...	Expression of number	Emphasis
9	And Americans have <i>ever</i> been a restless..	Adverb	Emphasis
10	And Americans have <i>ever</i> been a <i>restless</i> ...	Single adjective	Emphasis
11	... our people have <i>always</i> mustered...	Adverb	Emphasis
12	We must do what no generation has had to do before.	Clausal hyperbole	Emphasis
13	... and at the same time cut our <i>massive</i> debt...	Single adjective	Emphasis
14	...we must compete for <i>every</i> opportunity...	Single adjective	Emphasis
15	... and worry <i>endlessly</i> about who is in and	Adverb	Emphasis
16	...the new world is more free but less stable.	comparative	Evaluation
17	But our <i>greatest</i> strength is the power of our ideas...	superlative	Evaluation
18	for <i>millions</i> of others who are...	Expression of number	Emphasis
19	<i>centuries</i> of challenge.	Time expression	Emphasis
20	...the <i>deepest</i> measure of unity.	superlative	Evaluation
21	America's long heroic journey must go <i>forever</i>	Adverb	Emphasis

Table (3): The Analysis of Forms and Functions of Hyperbole in Text (3)

No.	Hyperbole	Form	Function
1	...what tops the list <i>every</i> time	Single adjective	Emphasis
2	... to reduce <i>all</i> forms of waiting...	Adverb	Emphasis
3	...In fact we have saved <i>more</i> than that	comparative	Emphasis

4	...But to those in <i>any</i> doubt,	Single adjective	Emphasis
5	...for reducing waiting <i>in all its forms</i> in the NHS.	Emphatic plural	Emphasis
6	19 of them and with <i>more</i> on the way...	comparative	Emphasis
7	...will make it <i>easier</i> for people who find it hard to...	comparative	Emphasis
8	There is no <i>more</i> anxious time than waiting to see	comparative	Evaluation
9	a consultant is just <i>over seven weeks</i> .	Time expression	Emphasis
10	waiting <i>over 13 weeks</i> have been growing.	Time expression	Emphasis
11	a record <i>extra half a million</i> patients were treated	Time expression	Emphasis
12	are <i>much more</i> deep-seated.	comparative	Evaluation
13	outpatients than <i>ever</i> before...	Adverb	Emphasis
14	Although the NHS is seeing <i>more</i> outpatients	comparative	Evaluation
15	...patients are being referred to consultants is <i>faster</i> than	comparative	Evaluation
16	...in the <i>best</i> way.	superlative	Emphasis
17	... some hospitals and GPs are far <i>less</i> efficient at	comparative	Evaluation
18	... over 11 <i>million</i> new outpatients seen	Expression of number	Emphasis
19	<i>Over 15,000</i> women suspected of having breast cancer...	Expression of number	Emphasis
20	And the <i>best</i> practice ...	superlative	Emphasis
21	best practice of some must be applied <i>everywhere</i> .	Adverb	Emphasis

Table (4): The Analysis of Forms and Functions of Hyperbole in Text (4)

No.	Hyperbole	Form	Function
1	It represents the <i>best</i> of British and the <i>best</i> of Malaysia.	superlative	Evaluation

2	... and your support <i>over many years</i> in helping	Time expression	Emphasis
3	...there are many <i>huge</i> challenges facing our world...	Single adjective	Emphasis
4	...But one of the <i>biggest</i> challenges	Superlative	Evaluation
5	... who follow a <i>completely perverse</i> ...	Phrasal hyperbole (Adjective phrase)	Emphasis
6	We need to be, as you were, sir, <i>absolutely clear</i> about the nature of the threat...	Phrasal hyperbole (Adjective phrase)	Emphasis
7	terrorism is linked <i>exclusively</i> to	Adverb	Emphasis
8	...they are <i>completely different</i> ...	Phrasal hyperbole (Adjective phrase)	Evaluation
9	...we should be <i>absolutely clear</i> on this point.	Phrasal hyperbole (Adjective phrase)	Emphasis
10	...by over a <i>billion</i> people across the world...	Expression of number	Evaluation
11	...by over a <i>billion</i> people <i>across the world</i> ...	Phrasal hyperbole (Adverb phrase)	Evaluation
12	...This is <i>profoundly wrong</i> .	Phrasal hyperbole (Adjective phrase)	Evaluation
13	We need to be <i>absolutely clear</i> .	Phrasal hyperbole (Adjective phrase)	Emphasis
14	intertwined as <i>never</i> before in the face of prejudice...	Adverb	Evaluation
15	...are source of <i>great</i> anguish...	Single adjective	Emphasis
16	...the <i>vast</i> majority of Muslims.	Single adjective	Emphasis
17	... can only <i>ever</i> be a part of the answer.	Adverb	Emphasis
18	... <i>everywhere</i> to stand firm...	Adverb	Emphasis
19	...this idea has captured imaginations <i>around the world</i> .	Phrasal hyperbole (Adverb phrase)	Emphasis

20	...And it seems to me the <i>most</i> crucial question is:	superlative	Evaluation
21	These democratic foundations are the <i>greatest</i> threat...	superlative	Evaluation
22	That is a vision that has inspired people <i>throughout history</i> ...	Phrasal hyperbole (Adverb phrase)	Evaluation
23	...indeed the <i>best</i> foundation for it.	superlative	Evaluation
24	young people <i>across the world</i> should be inspired to choose democracy	Phrasal hyperbole (Adverb phrase)	Emphasis
25	...This would be the <i>greatest</i> defeat that al-Qaeda	superlative	Emphasis
26	<i>more</i> than anything else.	comparative	Evaluation

### 16. Analysis of Forms and Functions of Litotes

Table (5): The Analysis of Forms and Functions of Litotes in Text (1)

No.	Litotes	Form	Function
a	...I'm <i>not</i> a saint," he said...	Single negation	Showing politeness
b	He was <i>not</i> a bust made of marble...	Single negation	Functioning as a metaphor
c	...but they are <i>no</i> less important.	Downward monotonic determiner	Emphasizing the enormity of a problem
d	...there were <i>no</i> easy answers in front of that child in Qunu.	Downward monotonic determiner	Emphasizing the enormity of a problem

Table (6): The Analysis of Forms and Functions of Litotes in Text (2)

No.	Litotes	Form	Function
a	...It will <i>not</i> be easy...	Single negation	Emphasizing the enormity of a problem
b	...We can do <i>no</i> less.	Downward monotonic determiner	Emphasizing the enormity of a problem

Table (7): The Analysis of Forms and Functions of Litotes in Text (3)

No.	Litotes	Form	Function
	0	0	0
	0	0	0

Table (8): The Analysis of Forms and Functions of Litotes in Text (4)

No.	Litotes	Form	Function
a	...You can be a devout, faithful Muslim and <i>not</i> be an extremist.	Single negation	Avoiding hurting the hearer's feeling
b	Religion and political ideology are <i>not</i> the same thing.	Single negation	Emphasizing the enormity of a problem

### 17. Analysis of Results

#### 18. Lexical Analysis of Hyperbole

In this study, and on the basis of the adopted model, the lexical level is made up of the investigation of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The results of each analysis are represented in terms of frequency and percentage in tables as follows:

Table (9): Lexical Analysis of Hyperbole in the Four Texts

Type	Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives	Adverbs	Total
Fr.	23	0	37	13	73
Per.	31.50%	0%	50.70%	17.80%	100%

Type	Expressions of number	Words referring to large amounts/quantities	Time expressions	Nouns of hyperbolic nature	Emphatic plural	Emphatic genitive	Total
Fr.	14	0	7	1	1	0	23
Per.	60.86%	0%	30.44 %	4.35%	4.35%	0%	100%

Table (10): Noun Forms of Hyperbolic Use in the Four Texts

Table (11): Adjectives of Hyperbolic Use in the Four Texts

Type	Single adjectives	comparative	superlative	Total
Fr.	14	10	13	37
Per.	37.84%	27.02%	35.14%	100%

The numbers of the adverbs indicating hyperbole in the whole data under analysis are (13) making up (17.80%) out of the hyperbolic total number at the lexical level (73) shown in table (9).

### 19. Simile, Metaphor and Repetition

Table (12): Simile, Metaphor and Repetition of Hyperbolic Use in the Four Texts

Type	Simile	Metaphor	Repetition	Total
Fr.	0	0	0	0
Per.	0%	0%	0%	0%

## 20. Phrasal Hyperbole

Table (13): Types of Phrasal Hyperbole Used in the Four Texts

Type	NP	AdjP	AdvP	VP	PP	Total
Fr.	1	6	4	0	1	12
Per.	8.33%	50%	33.34%	0%	8.33%	100%

## 21. Clausal or Sentential Hyperbole

Only one (1) instance of clausal hyperbole is found in the whole data.

Table (14): Forms of Hyperbole in the Four Texts

Type	Fr.	Per.
single-word hyperbole	73	84.88%
Simile and metaphor	0	0%
Repetition	0	0%
Phrasal hyperbole	12	13.96%
Clausal hyperbole	1	1.16%
Total	86	100%

## 22. Functions of Hyperbole

Table (15): The Functions of Hyperbole in the Four Texts

Type	Fr.	Per.
Emphasis	59	68.60%

<b>Evaluation</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>30.24%</b>
<b>Expression of surprise</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1.16%</b>
<b>Simplification</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Interest intensification</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Contrast of differences</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Humour</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Clarification</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Polite de-emphasis</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 23. Forms of Litotes

Table (16): Forms of Litotes in the Four Texts

<b>Type</b>	<b>Fr.</b>	<b>Per.</b>
<b>Single negation</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>62.50%</b>
<b>Double negation</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Downward monotonic determiners</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>37.50%</b>
<b>Comparatives</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Adverbs</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 24. Functions of Litotes

Table (17): Functions of Litotes in the Four Texts

<b>Type</b>	<b>Fr.</b>	<b>Per.</b>
<b>Showing politeness</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12.50%</b>
<b>Emphasizing the enormity of a</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>62.50%</b>

<b>problem</b>		
<b>Avoiding hurting the hearer's feeling</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12.50%</b>
<b>Criticizing someone subtly</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Being a subtle form of sarcasm</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Functioning as a metaphor</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12.50%</b>
<b>Making the problems less serious</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100%</b>

## 25. Findings

The most salient findings drawn from the statistical analysis of the frequency of forms and functions of hyperbole and litotes can be summed in the following points:

- Among the main forms of hyperbole, single-word hyperbole is much more frequent than phrasal and sentential hyperboles. It forms (73) (84.88%) instances out of the total number (86) of all hyperbolic forms.
- Adjectives, as a part of single-word hyperbole, come with the highest frequency (37) (50.70%) comparing with nouns (23) (31.50%), verbs (0) and adverbs (13) (17.80%) denoting hyperbole.
- Among the nine types of hyperbolic functions, emphasis comes with the highest frequency which forms (59) instances with (68.60%) out of the total occurrences of hyperbolic functions that form (86).
- Among the five types of litotes, single negation comes with the highest frequency (5) instances (62.50%) out of the total (8) occurrences of litotic forms.
- Concerning the functions of litotes, 'emphasizing the enormity of a problem' is more common, comparing with the rest, in the selected data. It forms (5) instances making up (62.50%) out of the total (8) occurrences of litotic functions.

## 26. Conclusions

In the light of the findings of this study, the following points can be concluded;

- Hyperbole and litotes are characteristic of political speeches. They are often used by politicians to have greater effects on the audience.
- Hyperbolic devices are more frequent than litotic devices in the whole selected data.
- The reason could be that politicians seek their own interests. That is why they use more hyperbole in their speeches to make images and matters bigger and more important on the part of the audience so as to convince and direct them to a particular aim, for example, to vote for their own benefit. The case of religious speeches is quite different since there is no any personal interest on the part of preachers or religious men.

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## Appendix

Text (1) Nelson Mandela memorial: Barack Obama's speech in full December 10, 2013

To Graça Machel and the Mandela family; to President Zuma and members of the government; to heads of state and government, past and present; distinguished guests -- it is a singular honor to be with you today, to celebrate a life (1) unlike any other.

To the people of South Africa -- people of every race and walk of life -- the world thanks you for sharing Nelson Mandela with us. His struggle was your struggle. His triumph was your triumph. Your dignity and hope found expression in his life, and your freedom, your democracy is his cherished legacy.

It is hard to eulogize any man -- to capture in words not just the facts and the dates that make a life, but the essential truth of a person -- their private joys and sorrows; the quiet moments and (2) unique qualities that illuminate someone's soul. How much harder to do so for (3) a giant of history, who moved a nation toward justice, and in the process moved (4) billions around the world.

Born during World War I, far from the corridors of power, a boy raised herding cattle and tutored by elders of his Thembu tribe -- Madiba would emerge as (5) the last great liberator of the 20th century.

Like Gandhi, he would lead a resistance movement -- a movement that at its start held little prospect of success. Like King, he would give potent voice to the claims of the oppressed, and the moral necessity of racial justice. He would endure a brutal imprisonment that began in the time of Kennedy and Khrushchev, and reached the final days of the Cold War.

Emerging from prison, without force of arms, he would -- like Lincoln -- hold his country together when it threatened to break apart. Like America's founding fathers, he would erect a constitutional order to preserve freedom for future generations -- a commitment to democracy and rule of law ratified not only by his election, but by his willingness to step down from power.

Given the sweep of his life, and the adoration that he so rightly earned, it is tempting then to remember Nelson Mandela as an icon, smiling and serene, detached from the tawdry affairs of lesser men.

But Madiba himself strongly resisted such a lifeless portrait. Instead, he insisted on sharing with us his doubts and fears; his miscalculations along with his victories. " (a) I'm not a saint," he said, "unless you think of a saint as a sinner who keeps on trying."

It was precisely because he could admit to imperfection, because he could be so full of good humor, even mischief, despite the heavy burdens he carried, that we loved him so. (b) He was not a bust made of marble; he was a man of flesh and blood -- a son and husband, a father and a friend.

That is why we learned so much from him; that is why we can learn from him still. For nothing he achieved was inevitable. In the arc of his life, we see a man who earned his place in history through struggle and shrewdness; persistence and faith. He tells us what's possible not just in the pages of dusty history books, but in our own lives as well.

Mandela showed us the power of action; of taking risks on behalf of our ideals. Perhaps Madiba was right that he inherited, "a proud rebelliousness, a stubborn sense of fairness" from his father.

Ban Ki-Moon remembers Mandela lessons Mandela memorial: World leader montage

Certainly he shared (6) with millions of black and colored South Africans the anger born of, "(7) a thousand slights, (8) a thousand indignities, (9) a thousand unremembered moments ... a desire to fight the system that imprisoned my people."

But like other early giants of the ANC -- the Sisulus and Tambos -- Madiba disciplined his anger; and channeled his desire to fight into organization, and platforms, and strategies for action, so

men and women could stand up for their dignity. Moreover, he accepted the consequences of his actions, knowing that standing up to powerful interests and injustice carries a price.

"I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination," he said at his 1964 trial. "I've cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Mandela taught us the power of action, but also ideas; the importance of reason and arguments; the need to study not only those you agree with, but those who you don't. He understood that ideas cannot be contained by prison walls, or extinguished by a sniper's bullet.

He turned his trial into an indictment of apartheid because of his eloquence and passion, but also his training as an advocate. (10) He used decades in prison to sharpen his arguments, but also to spread his thirst for knowledge to others in the movement. And he learned the language and customs of his oppressor so that one day he might better convey to them how their own freedom depended upon his.

Mandela demonstrated that action and ideas are not enough; no matter how right, they must be chiseled into laws and institutions. He was practical, testing his beliefs against the hard surface of circumstance and history. On core principles he was unyielding, which is why he could rebuff offers of conditional release, reminding the apartheid regime that, "prisoners cannot enter into contracts."

But as he showed in painstaking negotiations to transfer power and draft new laws, he was not afraid to compromise for the sake of a larger goal. And because he was not only a leader of a movement, but a skillful politician, the constitution that emerged was worthy of this multiracial democracy; true to his vision of laws that protect minority as well as majority rights, and the precious freedoms of every South African.

Finally, Mandela understood the ties that bind the human spirit. There is a word in South Africa -- Ubuntu - that describes (11) his greatest gift: his recognition that we are all bound together in ways that can be invisible to the eye; that there is a oneness to humanity; that we achieve ourselves by sharing ourselves with others, and caring for those around us.

We can never know how much of this was innate in him, or how much of was shaped and burnished in a dark, solitary cell. But we remember the gestures, large and small - introducing his

jailers as honored guests at his inauguration; taking the pitch in a springbok uniform; turning his family's heartbreak into a call to confront HIV/AIDS - that revealed the depth of his empathy and understanding.

He not only embodied Ubuntu; he taught (12) millions to find that truth within themselves. It took a man like Madiba to free not just the prisoner, but the jailer as well; to show that you must trust others so that they may trust you; to teach that reconciliation is not a matter of ignoring a cruel past, but a means of confronting it with inclusion, generosity and truth. He changed laws, but also hearts.

For the people of South Africa, for those he inspired around the globe, Madiba's passing is rightly a time of mourning, and a time to celebrate his heroic life. But I believe it should also prompt in each of us a time for self-reflection. With honesty, regardless of our station or circumstance, we must ask: how well have I applied his lessons in my own life?

It is a question I ask myself as a man and as a President. We know that like South Africa, the United States had to overcome (13) centuries of racial subjugation. As was true here, it took the sacrifice of (14) countless people -- known and unknown -- to see the dawn of a new day. Michelle and I are the beneficiaries of that struggle.

But in America and South Africa, and countries around the globe, we cannot allow our progress to cloud the fact that our work is not done. The struggles that follow the victory of formal equality and universal franchise may not be as filled with drama and moral clarity as those that came before, but they are (c) no less important.

For around the world today, we still see children suffering from hunger, and disease; run-down schools, and few prospects for the future. Around the world today, men and women are still imprisoned for their political beliefs; and are still persecuted for what they look like, or how they worship, or who they love.

Nelson Mandela reminds us that it always seems impossible until it is done

We, too, must act on behalf of justice. We, too, must act on behalf of peace. There are too many of us who happily embrace Madiba's legacy of racial reconciliation, but passionately resist even modest reforms that would challenge chronic poverty and growing inequality.

There are too many leaders who claim solidarity with Madiba's struggle for freedom, but do not tolerate dissent from their own people. And there are too many of us who stand on the sidelines, comfortable in complacency or cynicism when our voices must be heard.

The questions we face today -- how to promote equality and justice; to uphold freedom and human rights; to end conflict and sectarian war -- do not have easy answers. But there (d) were no easy answers in front of that child in Qunu.

Nelson Mandela reminds us that it always seems impossible until it is done. South Africa shows us that is true. South Africa shows us we can change. We can choose to live in a world defined not by our differences, but by our common hopes. We can choose a world defined not by conflict, but by peace and justice and opportunity.

We will (15) never see the likes of Nelson Mandela again. But let me say to the young people of Africa, and young people around the world -- you can make his life's work your own. Over 30 years ago, while still a student, I learned of Mandela and the struggles in this land. It stirred something in me.

It woke me up to my responsibilities -- to others, and to myself -- and set me on an improbable journey that finds me here today. And while I will always fall short of Madiba's example, he makes me want to be better. He speaks to what is best inside us. After this great liberator is laid to rest; when we have returned to our cities and villages, and rejoined our daily routines, let us search then for his strength -- for his (16) largeness of spirit -- somewhere inside ourselves.

And when the night grows dark, when injustice weighs heavy on our hearts, or our best laid plans seem beyond our reach -- think of Madiba, and the words that brought him comfort within the four walls of a cell:

It matters not how strait the gate,

How charged with punishments the scroll,

I am the master of my fate:

I am the captain of my soul.

What a (17) great soul it was. We will miss him (18) deeply. May God bless the memory of Nelson Mandela. May God bless the people of South Africa.

Text (2) First Inaugural Address Washington D.C., January 21, 1993 Bill Clinton

My fellow citizens:

Today we celebrate the mystery of American renewal.

This ceremony is held in the depth of winter. But, by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring.

A spring reborn in the world's (1) oldest democracy that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America.

When our founders boldly declared America's independence to the world and our purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America, to endure, would have to change.

Not change for change's sake, but change to preserve America's ideals-life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. Though we march to the music of our time, (2) our mission is timeless.

Each generation of Americans must define what it means to be an American.

On behalf of our nation, I salute my predecessor, President Bush, for his half-century of service to America.

And I thank (3) the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over Depression, fascism and Communism.

Today, a generation raised in the shadows of the Cold War assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues.

Raised in unrivaled prosperity, we inherit an economy that is still (4) the world's strongest, but is weakened by business failures, stagnant wages, increasing inequality, and deep divisions among our people.

When George Washington first took the oath I have just sworn to uphold, news traveled slowly across the land by horseback and across the ocean by boat. Now, the sights and sounds of this ceremony are broadcast instantaneously to (5) billions around the world.

Communications and commerce are global; investment is mobile; technology is almost magical; and ambition for a better life is now universal. We earn our livelihood in peaceful competition with people all across the earth.

(6)Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world, and the urgent question of our time is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy.

This new world has already enriched the lives of (7) millions of Americans who are able to compete and win in it. But when most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt many of our enterprises, great and small; when fear of crime robs law-abiding citizens of their freedom; and when (8) millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead—we have not made change our friend.

We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps. But we have not done so. Instead, we have drifted, and that drifting has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence.

Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths. And Americans have (9) ever been a (10) restless, questing, hopeful people. We must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us.

From our revolution, the Civil War, to the Great Depression to the civil rights movement, our people have (11) always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history.

Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow citizens, this is our time. Let us embrace it.

Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America.

And so today, we pledge an end to the era of deadlock and drift—a new season of American renewal has begun.

To renew America, we must be bold.

(12) We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, in their future, and at the same time (13) cut our massive debt. And we must do so in a world in which (14) we must compete for every opportunity.

(a) It will not be easy; it will require sacrifice. But it can be done, and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake, but for our own sake. We must provide for our nation the way a family provides for its children.

Our Founders saw themselves in the light of posterity. (b) We can do no less. Anyone who has ever watched a child's eyes wander into sleep knows what posterity is. Posterity is the world to

come-the world for whom we hold our ideals, from whom we have borrowed our planet, and to whom we bear sacred responsibility.

We must do what America does best: offer more opportunity to all and demand responsibility from all.

It is time to break the bad habit of expecting something for nothing, from our government or from each other. Let us all take more responsibility, not only for ourselves and our families but for our communities and our country.

To renew America, we must revitalize our democracy.

This beautiful capital, like every capital since the dawn of civilization, is often a place of intrigue and calculation. Powerful people maneuver for position (15) and worry endlessly about who is in and who is out, who is up and who is down, forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here and pays our way.

Americans deserve better, and in this city today, there are people who want to do better. And so I say to all of us here, let us resolve to reform our politics, so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people. Let us put aside personal advantage so that we can feel the pain and see the promise of America.

Let us resolve to make our government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called "bold, persistent experimentation," a government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays.

Let us give this capital back to the people to whom it belongs.

To renew America, we must meet challenges abroad as well at home. There is no longer division between what is foreign and what is domestic-the world economy, the world environment, the world AIDS crisis, the world arms race-they affect us all.

Today, as an old order passes, the new world is (16) more free but less stable. Communism's collapse has called forth old animosities and new dangers. Clearly America must continue to lead the world we did so much to make.

While America rebuilds at home, we will not shrink from the challenges, nor fail to seize the opportunities, of this new world. Together with our friends and allies, we will work to shape change, lest it engulf us.

When our vital interests are challenged, or the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act-with peaceful diplomacy whenever possible, with force when necessary. The

brave Americans serving our nation today in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, and wherever else they stand are testament to our resolve.

(17) But our greatest strength is the power of our ideas, which are still new in many lands. Across the world, we see them embraced-and we rejoice. Our hopes, our hearts, our hands, are with those on every continent who are building democracy and freedom. Their cause is America's cause.

The American people have summoned the change we celebrate today. You have raised your voices in an unmistakable chorus. You have cast your votes in historic numbers. And you have changed the face of Congress, the presidency and the political process itself. Yes, you, my fellow Americans have forced the spring. Now, we must do the work the season demands.

To that work I now turn, with all the authority of my office. I ask the Congress to join with me. But no president, no Congress, no government, can undertake this mission alone. My fellow Americans, you, too, must play your part in our renewal. I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service-to act on your idealism by helping troubled children, keeping company with those in need, reconnecting our torn communities. There is so much to be done-enough indeed (18) for millions of others who are still young in spirit to give of themselves in service, too.

In serving, we recognize a simple but powerful truth-we need each other. And we must care for one another. Today, we do more than celebrate America; we rededicate ourselves to the very idea of America.

An idea born in revolution and renewed through (19) centuries of challenge. An idea tempered by the knowledge that, but for fate, we-the fortunate and the unfortunate-might have been each other. An idea ennobled by the faith that our nation can summon from its myriad diversity the (20) deepest measure of unity. An idea infused with the conviction that America's long heroic journey (21) must go forever upward.

And so, my fellow Americans, at the edge of the 21st century, let us begin with energy and hope, with faith and discipline, and let us work until our work is done. The scripture says, "And let us not be weary in well-doing, for in due season, we shall reap, if we faint not."

From this joyful mountaintop of celebration, we hear a call to service in the valley. We have heard the trumpets. We have changed the guard. And now, each in our way, and with God's help, we must answer the call.

Thank you and God bless you all.

**Text (3) Speech by the Prime Minister Tony Blair at the Outpatient Seminar, 13 October 1999**

When you ask patients what they think is wrong with the NHS, (1) what tops the list every time is the amount of time spent waiting. Waiting for a doctor's appointment, in casualty, for test results, for an appointment with a consultant or for an operation. Most people are happy with their treatment when they receive it, but get frustrated with the length of time they have to wait. That is why as a symbol of our intention (2) to reduce all forms of waiting we put forward our pledge at the last election. Let me remind you of it: 'To cut waiting lists by treating an extra 100,000 patients - as a first step by releasing £100m saved from NHS red tape. We are well on the way to meeting that pledge. We have saved the £100m from red tape. In fact we have saved (3) more than that - £240 million so far. And waiting lists are now 60,000 lower than when we took office. This pledge is important. It will be delivered. I know that some people think it was a foolish pledge. But to (4) those in any doubt, the length of waiting lists does matter. If you are waiting to get through a turnstile into a football ground or through a supermarket checkout you go to the one with the shortest queue! Where people are right is in saying that waiting times are also vital. How long you wait in the queue is a key concern for people. Our waiting list initiative has cut average waiting times - as well as the numbers waiting. But reducing waiting lists is only one part of our strategy for reducing waiting in (5) all its forms in the NHS. We have set up NHS Direct to provide instant health advice round the clock. The new NHS walk-in centres we announced in July -19 of them and with (6) more on the way - will make it (7) easier for people who find it hard to get to their GP during normal surgery hours, to get health care when they need it. The £100 million we are spending modernising Accident and Emergency departments will help cut waiting in casualty. But there is more to do. You have come here today as GPs, managers, consultants, health professionals and patients to help us improve our performance on outpatient waiting times. There is (8) no more anxious time than waiting to see a consultant to find out what is wrong with you and whether you will need an operation. You are people with hands-on experience of cutting through delays. The first thing to say is that three-quarters of people get an outpatient appointment within 13 weeks of their GP requesting one. In fact the average time you wait to see a consultant is just (9) over seven weeks. But the numbers (10) waiting over 13 weeks

have been growing. Some people allege that this is because we are deliberately making people wait longer for an outpatient appointment, in order to slow up the rate at which patients get referred for operations and so keep down the length of in-patient waiting lists. That is just plain wrong. Last year – a year when a record (11) extra half a million patients were treated in hospital – the NHS also dealt with a record number of outpatients, including an extra 175,000 new outpatients. So we are treating more new outpatients as well as cutting waiting lists.

The problems with long out patient waits are (12) much more deep-seated.

Although the NHS is seeing (13) more outpatients than (14 ) ever before, patients are being referred to consultants is (15 ) faster than the rate at which they are being seen. We need to understand why this is and whether we are dealing with this rising demand (16) in the best way.

There are four main specialities where long waiting times are a particular problem: orthopaedics; ear, nose and throat, ophthalmology and dermatology. Today we will hear how some parts of the NHS have successfully addressed these problem areas and what lessons we can learn.

It is unacceptable that some hospitals and GPs are (17 ) far less efficient at dealing with outpatient appointments than others. This is something we must change.

So we have a big agenda. It will take time to sort out. But we have already made a good start.

This year we expect hospitals to provide an extra third of a million first outpatient appointments. Backed by £30 million from the NHS Modernisation Fund, over (18) 11 million new outpatients seen for the first time.

We are introducing booked appointments across the NHS. Pre-booking appointments is both more convenient for patients and helps to cut waiting.

The National Patients Action Team is visiting GPs and hospitals to spread new and better ways of working and helping to reduce outpatient waiting in the same way it has done for inpatient waiting.

And for cancer, where speed of diagnosis can be so important, we are making sure that everyone who needs to be seen urgently has an appointment within two weeks. (19) Over 15,000 women suspected of having breast cancer have already benefited from this service since it was introduced in April.

During the year 2000, the two-week standard will cover all other cancers. Delivering this will be a challenge for the NHS. So today I can announce that we are publishing new guidelines and providing an extra £10 million to help GPs and hospitals prepare for this improved service.

So work is in hand to cut outpatient waiting times. But we need to do more. We must monitor our performance on outpatients as rigorously as on inpatients. And the (20) best practice of some must be applied (21) everywhere.

But Ministers and Government have not got all the answers. We need your help. We want the enthusiasm and ideas of NHS staff so that together we can provide the sort of prompt convenient service the public wants.

Text (4) Speech at the University of Nottingham, Malaysia, 2012 David Cameron (Conservative)

Thank you, Prime Minister Najib. Ladies and gentlemen, as-salamu alaykum. Thank you for inviting me to join you today, and thank you for speaking about our shared interests, our shared values, our shared history.

Prime Minister, ever since your visit to London and your speech in Oxford last year, I've been keen to share a platform with you on the Global Movement of Moderates. So I'm very pleased to do so as part of my visit to Malaysia today. We are here to discuss something that we feel very strongly about as your powerful speech just now has demonstrated. I think it's great that we're able to do this at the Nottingham University campus here in Malaysia; the first full campus of a British university overseas. A really pioneering partnership that sees the full breadth of the academic study and research here in Malaysia. It represents (1) the best of British and the best of Malaysia. I'm very proud to be here today.

I know, Prime Minister, that developing this campus has long been an urge of yours when you were Education Minister. So I'm grateful to you, Prime Minister Najib, for your vision and your support (2) over many years in helping to bring this about.

Now of course, there are many (3) huge challenges facing our world that we could discuss today: tackling climate change; securing sustainable economic growth; how we cope with the aftermath of the financial crisis. But one of the (4) biggest challenges of all is how we tackle the rise of Islamist extremism: young men who follow a (5) completely perverse, warped interpretation of Islam who are prepared to blow themselves up and kill their fellow citizens in the process.

And that extremism is what I want to talk about today. We need to be, as you were, sir, absolutely clear about the nature of the threat we face in order to address it correctly. So let me first be (6) absolutely clear what I'm not saying. I'm not saying that terrorism is linked (7) exclusively to any one religion or ethnic group. It is not. In Britain, in my country for example, we still face threats from dissident groups, terrorist groups in Northern Ireland. And I'm also not suggesting that Islam is the same as Islamist extremism. It is not: they are (8) completely different and we should be (9) absolutely clear on this point.

Islam is a religion of peace observed devoutly by (10) over a billion people (11) across the world. Islamist extremism is a warped political ideology. It is vital that we make this distinction between religion on the one hand and an extremist political ideology on the other. Because time and again, too many people equate the two. They think whether someone is an extremist is dependent on how much they observe their religion. So, they talk about moderate Muslims as if all devout Muslims must be extremist. This is (12) profoundly wrong. You can be a devout, faithful Muslim and (a) not be an extremist. And the idea that extremism means passion whereas moderation is for those weak in their faith, is also a dangerous myth. We need to be (13) absolutely clear. Religion and political ideology (b) are not the same thing. The real divide, as you said Prime Minister, is not between East and West or between the developed or developing worlds or between Muslims and non-Muslims, the real divide is between political moderates and political extremists.

Now, having made that distinction, let's be clear about the reality of the threat that we face from Islamist extremism. From 9/11 and 7/7 to the bombs in Madrid or in Bali, we have seen our security interests intertwined (14) as never before in the face of prejudice, persecution and sickening acts of terror and violence. These killings have been indiscriminate. Indeed, there are more Muslim people in the death toll of these bombs than any other religious group. As you have said so powerfully, Prime Minister, the terrorists who carried out these attacks do not represent Islam. And such vile misrepresentations of Islam, as you said again today, are source of (15) great anguish to the (16) vast majority of Muslims. And your powerful and moving condemnation of suicide bombing in your speech in Oxford last year, repeated again today, has rightly won you plaudits and admiration. Together, we must defeat this ideology. And I believe that we can. So, let me turn to how we do so.

Part of the answer has to be a security response. There are people who have tried to kill and maim and who have to be stopped. And thanks to counter-terrorism efforts and thanks to the cooperation of like-minded states, this can happen. But this, as you've just said, can (17) only ever be a part of the answer. We can stop many of the terrorists through counter-terrorism measures: policing, intelligence, prosecution, conviction. And another important part of defeating extremism is to tackle all the issues of grievance, whether it is the treatment of the Palestinians or the poverty of so many Muslims in the world.

But while that can drain the swamp, we should be clear that nothing justifies terrorism. And as the Prime Minister has said, some of the terrorists indeed come from middle income or even wealthy backgrounds. So ultimately, as you have argued, as I argue today, we need to defeat the idea on which that terrorism is based. And this is where the Global Movement of Moderates is so vital. As you have said, it is for people who cherish moderation, dignity and justice (18) everywhere to stand firm, to stand proud and to dissipate the pool of terror and deny those at the margins a foothold in this middle ground. That is what your movement is all about and it is why I'm so pleased to support it.

Now, since your speech at the UN in September 2010 this idea has captured imaginations (19) around the world. And we very much welcome the new Global Movement of Moderates foundation and have been thinking about how we can help support a European dimension for this work. And it seems to me the (20) most crucial question is: how do we inspire people, particularly young people that this is the right approach?

For some time many people claimed that the way to tackle extremism and to maintain security, stability and moderation was to enforce it with strong, authoritarian leaders. This was the argument that gave support - including, I have to say, from the West - to leaders like Mubarak in Egypt, Gaddafi in Libya or Assad in Syria. But the reality is that authoritarianism builds up resentment by denying people the rights and the responsibilities and the freedoms of citizenship. It denies them dignity. It feeds rather than negates the narrative of Muslim and Arab victimhood. It weakens the legitimacy of the state and fails to address the very emotions and frustrations that can drive people to extremism in the first place. So, authoritarianism cannot be the way to defeat extremism or to bolster moderation in the long-term.

The right way to foster this moderation is I believe to build the building blocks of democracy. The independence of the judiciary, the rule of law, the rights of individuals, a free media and association, a proper place in society for the army, strong political parties and a strong, rich, civil society. These democratic foundations are the (21) greatest threat to extremism and the vital foundation for moderation.

Why? Well, because democracy, real democracy - not just where you vote every four or five years, but where you have a real voice, real rights, real freedoms - that is the foundation of dignity. The Islamist extremists claim they provide a route to dignity through the supposed purity of their world view but they're wrong. Their denial of individual rights and freedoms are in fact the denial of true dignity. The extremists want to impose a particular and very specific form of Islam on society to the exclusion of all others. So, they reject debate and democratic consent. They argue that Islam and democracy are incompatible and they deny rights to people who don't share their particular view. Democracy requires people to respect the rights of others and to make their case reasonably in a democratic debate. It demands that everyone enjoys the same freedoms, rights and responsibilities as citizens together, whether or not they subscribe to any one specific version of religious faith. And as I've said, most crucially of all, democracy gives people the power and dignity to choose; the ability to take decisions over your own lives, not to have someone else's will imposed on you.

That is a vision that has inspired people (22) throughout history, and the struggles for freedom - whether in North Africa or in Burma today - show it still inspires people in our modern world. Democracy and moderation go hand in hand. And that is what countries like Malaysia and Indonesia are showing. It is possible to develop a democracy and a modern economy that neither compromises people's security nor their ability to practise their religion by guaranteeing democratic citizenship for all. A citizenship that means access to justice and the rule of law is available to everyone. A citizenship that means every individual has the same fair access to services. A citizenship that means that everyone has a fair chance to play a role in shaping their own society.

As I said in Jakarta this morning, there is a great global opportunity right now to demonstrate that democracy doesn't endanger stability, moderation and prosperity; but is indeed (23) the best foundation for it. That democracy offers an alternative to both dictatorship and extremism. And

that following the example of the Global Movement of Moderates, young people (24) across the world should be inspired to chose democracy as their future. This would be the (25) greatest defeat that al-Qaeda and its affiliates could ever suffer. They fear democracy, they fear choice, they fear young people being inspired by that vision (26) more than anything else. And that to me is what the Global Movement of Moderates and your leadership, Prime Minister, can help us to bring about.

Thank you very much for listening.