Evaluative Prosodies of Political Actors: *The Wall Street Journal*[1] Coverage of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in the 2016 Election

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Abstract

Anchored in the premise that computer-aided research methods can illuminate linguistic inquiries, this paper postulates that the knowledge of evaluative prosody can provide insights into the workings of evaluation and the tacit formation of attitudes. Specifically, this research examines the extent to which the *WSJ*'s 'No endorsement' stance towards Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in the 2016 U.S. election is embedded in the evaluative prosodies ascribed to them, as investigated in a 5,8-million-word newspaper corpus. Deploying the corpus linguistics concept of evaluative prosody, the study explores whether the *WSJ* portrayal of the two candidates is politically motivated. The collocation extraction process was conducted using the corpus analysis software *AntConc 3.4.4*. The findings revealed that the nodes DONALD TRUMP and HILLARY CLINTON display roughly similar evaluative prosodies, mirroring the neutral political stance espoused by the newspaper in which they occurred. Analysis of corpus data thus showed that the *WSJ* coverage of the 2016 election was unequivocally aligned with its avowed intention to endorse no presidential candidate.

Keywords: evaluative/semantic prosody, *WSJ* coverage, political stance, Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton

[1] *WSJ*, henceforth

Evaluative Prosodies of Political Actors: *The Wall Street Journal*[2] Coverage of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in the 2016 Election

Discourse analysts (e.g., Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 2006) have ascertained that language is intriguingly used to mediate attitudes and opinions by constructing ideologically based representations. Interestingly, Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) have illustrated how a computer-aided text analysis can unveil latent attitudes across large corpora (e.g., Baker et al., 2013; Gabrielatos, 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). Semantic prosody, a newly emerging area of inquiry in corpus linguistics, can be situated within this context. In fact, this theoretical concept examines the evaluative dimension of certain lexical items in collections of naturally occurring texts (McEnery & Hardie, 2012) and reflects the recent changes that linguistics has witnessed to keep itself abreast of the digital revolution (Jensen, 2014). Premised on corpus evidence and tools (Adolphs & Carter, 2002), the study of semantic prosody has spurred tremendous interest among researchers in a range of disciplines such as lexicography, translation, language learning and teaching, pragmatics, and discourse analysis (Cheng, 2013; Zhang, 2010). A pragmatic-discourse perspective on this corpus linguistics concept would particularly assist in deciphering the hidden meanings infiltrated into language use (Partington, 2015).

Broadly speaking, semantic prosody is defined as a "consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates" (Louw, 1993, p. 157). The definition adopted in the scope of this study roughly corresponds to Baker et al.'s (2006) conceptualization of semantic prosody as "the way that words in a corpus can collocate with a related set of words or phrases, often revealing (hidden) attitudes" (p. 58). Such a view stresses the fact that collocation is the defining feature of semantic prosody and evaluation is its implicit function. It is worthy of note that semantic prosody has been variously referred to as 'pragmatic prosody', 'discourse prosody' (Stubbs, 2001), 'emotive prosody' (Bublitz, 2003), and more recently 'evaluative prosody' (Partington, 2015). The label selected to denote the concept under scrutiny in this paper is 'evaluative prosody', foregrounding its pragmatic and evaluative force.

The present research seeks to gain a deeper understanding of this phenomenon by exploring the evaluative prosodies of political actors across a newspaper corpus. Without recourse to intuitions and subjective judgments, the systematic analysis of evaluation will be made possible through quantitative data generated via corpus tools. In so doing, solid evidence as to which evaluative polarity the node DONALD TRUMP or HILLARY CLINTON displays, by virtue of its collocates, will be unveiled. This evaluative prosody analysis would therefore expose an illuminating aspect of the *WSJ*'s constructions of these two presidential candidates.

Evaluative Prosodies of 'Donald Trump' and 'Hillary Clinton'

This brief review of the literature aims to uncover the interplay between semantic prosody and the concepts of evaluation and reference and to shed light on media campaign coverage, with a special emphasis on the *WSJ* reporting on Trump and Clinton in the 2016 election.

Evaluative Underpinnings of Semantic Prosodies

Evaluation is conspicuously built in the very heart of semantic prosody, given that the latter is perceived as "an expression of the innate human need and desire to evaluate entities … as essentially *good* or *bad*" (Morley & Partington, 2009, p. 141, emphasis in original). In a

[2] *WSJ*, henceforth

similar way, this "good-bad parameter" (Thompson & Hunston, 2000, p. 25) is admittedly at the core of any evaluation process. Viewed from this perspective, semantic prosody and evaluation emerge as heavily intertwined phenomena, hence the term evaluative prosody.

Evaluative prosody is considered to be a useful frame of reference for the current empirical investigation in that it constitutes a robust toolkit for unraveling hidden linguistic patterns that can have a significant impact on "readers' inferences and evaluative judgments" (Hauser & Schwarz, 2016, p. 893). It is, in fact, said to provide "perhaps the strongest evidence ever uncovered that, in normal communication, lexical items are co-selected [principally] to fulfil speakers' constant need and desire to express a consistent attitude to whatever is being conveyed" (Partington, 2015, p. 301). Based on its collocates, a node can thus acquire a negative, positive, or neutral prosody (Stubbs, 1996). Neutrality itself, Jaffe (2009) arguably maintains, is an act of stance taking. By way of illustration, the verb 'set in' was found to commonly co-occur with collocates displaying negative valence such as *decay* and *malaise* and was thereby reported to have an unfavorable semantic prosody (Sinclair, 1987).

The contention that evaluative prosody is not an inherent or built-in feature of a lexical item, but a characteristic that is acquired depending on the type of its common collocates (Partington, 2015) legitimizes this study's endeavor to extend its applications to the lexical category of personal names used to refer to human subjects. It is to be noted that even when it was used in CADS like Baker et al. (2013) to discuss the representation of particular groups in the mass media, the term 'evaluative/discourse prosodies' roughly designated 'themes' or 'topics' and, importantly, the formal procedure to pin down evaluative prosodies—polarity classification of collocates—was not reported. It is also noteworthy that the prosody (positive, negative, or neutral) in the current context is not attached to the proper noun per se, but rather the referent that it denotes. Equally important, on the grounds of feasibility, references to the two candidates through lexical realizations other than their personal names—Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton—[3]are excluded from the analysis.

Evaluative Prosody and Reference

The underlying evaluative implications of the process of reference have been widely discussed in the literature. Simpson (1993), for example, postulates that attitude can be "encoded in the naming practices" (p. 143). Likewise, in a chapter entitled "Who Are You Talking About? Identification and Political Reference", Wilson (1990) highlights the existence of "some pragmatic grounding in a particular selection" (p. 78) being made for reference. With respect to the concept of evaluative prosody, however, emphasis will not be placed on the different referential choices made across the publication under analysis to reference the two candidates. Rather, the evaluative force of reference will be explored through the type of collocates that will be found to typically co-occur with each referent—the lemma DONALD TRUMP or HILLARY CLINTON.

In broad terms, it is hypothesized that by frequently associating one candidate with collocates exhibiting a given polarity pattern, journalists can build up a particular type of evaluative prosody to this referent and thereby code in their evaluation without making it explicit, at least to the naked eye. Given that "semantic prosody can exert a strong influence on evaluative judgment" (Hauser & Schwarz, 2016, p. 882), by repetitive encounters with specific word combinations, the reader—a potential voter in this context—is likely to unconsciously internalize

[3] The Last Name (LN) option—Trump and Clinton—, though yielding more collocates, resulted in some inaccurate matches—typically instances referencing Bill Clinton rather than Hillary Clinton.

the association, be it positive, negative, or neutral. Having elucidated the relevance of evaluative prosody to the notion of reference and its centrality to the discussion of evaluation, this paper offers a brief overview of the *WSJ* coverage of the presidential election of 2016.

WSJ Coverage of the 2016 Presidential Election

The influence of the mass media on public opinion formation has gained increasing attention from media scholars in recent decades (e.g., Mutz & Soss, 1997; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). In the realm of politics, in particular, the potential impact of media content on policymaking has been extensively discussed by political communication researchers (e.g., Jasperson et al., 1998; Soroka et al., 2012). Most critically, the mass media are reported to partly shape public perceptions of candidates during election campaigns (Eberl et al., 2017). Against this intriguing backdrop, the present research addresses the coverage of the two front-runners, Trump and Clinton, in the 2016 election by the *WSJ*.

The issue of the U.S. media coverage of the 2016 election in general has prompted considerable research (e.g., Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Ben Ghozlen, in press; Faris et al., 2017; Patterson, 2016). This political event was described as "one of the most dramatic presidential elections in recent memory" (Fretts, 2016, para. 1) and was characterized by unprecedented collective rebuke of Trump's candidacy by the American press (*American Presidency Project* database).[4] Ranking among the top ten U.S. publications by daily circulation,[5] the *WSJ* rather adopted a 'No endorsement' stance (Mullin, 2016). In an editorial entitled "The Gamble of Trump",[6] the *WSJ* indeed expressed its strong disapproval of both candidacies—Trump's and Clinton's. Broadly speaking, despite its reportedly moderately conservative leaning, this publication has a reputation for objectivity and accuracy (Lesemann, 2020). According to a study carried out by the Pew Research Center (2014) which places U.S. news outlets on a 10-point-scale—ranging from 'consistently liberal' to 'consistently conservative'—based on the political orientations of their audiences, the *WSJ* was found to have a 'mixed' readership. Similar findings emerged from the Gallup and Knight Foundation (2018) survey which reported that the *WSJ* was perceived to be unbiased by both Republican and Democratic respondents. The corpus under investigation in this study was compiled from this publication. The following section provides more details about the collected data and analysis method.

Method

The methodology followed in this research draws on CADS (e.g., Baker et al., 2013; Gabrielatos, 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). Based on corpus analysis, the present study seeks to unveil how language could act as a tacitly 'loaded weapon' (Bolinger, 1980). Specifically, recurrent patterns of particular word combinations—node + collocates—are arguably believed to convey the text producer's stance on the respective evaluation targets (Hauser & Schwarz, 2016). In particular, a collocational analysis of the collected corpus will reveal the type of evaluative prosodies ascribed to Trump and Clinton in the *WSJ* corpus. This finding, in turn, would unravel one of the discursive strategies deployed by this American publication to represent the two front-runners in the 2016 electoral race.

The 5,8-million-word corpus under analysis comprises newspaper articles (news reports and editorials) that appeared in the *WSJ* from the candidacy announcement date relative to each

[4] https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/statistics/data/2016-general-election-editorial-endorsements-major -newspapers
[5] https://www.statista.com/statistics/184682/us-daily-newspapers-by-circulation/
[6] https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-gamble-of-trump-1478299393

candidate—April 12, 2015 and June 16, 2015 for Clinton and Trump respectively—to the Election Day. The newspaper corpus was retrieved from *ProQuest* database based on the keywords "Donald Trump" or "Hillary Clinton". In accordance with the comparative approach underpinning this research, the investigated corpus consists of two sub-corpora of approximately equal size, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Corpus Size

The *WSJ* corpus	
Trump sub-corpus	**Clinton sub-corpus**
2,984,247 words	2,884,129 words
5,868,376 words	

Regarding the collocation extraction toolkit, the freely available corpus analysis software *AntConc 3.4.4* (Anthony, 2016) was used to generate the collocate lists of DONALD TRUMP and HILLARY CLINTON (see Appendices 1 and 2). *AntConc 3.4.4* is a common research instrument in studies targeting semantic prosodies (e.g., Irfan, 2020). For reasons of space, the analysis was limited to the top 200 t-score ordered collocates (t-score ≥ 4) at a span of 5 words to the right and left. Based on close scrutiny of concordance lines (see Appendices 3 and 4 for a sample), the author classified these collocates into relevant themes—notably, 'Viability', 'Unviability', 'Controversies', 'Political affiliation', 'Candidate background', and 'Campaign stories' (see Figure 1). On this account, and after further examination of their co-text, these items were categorized into three valence categories—'positive', 'negative', and 'neutral'. Drawing on Egbert and Biber (2019), function words such as articles (e.g., *the*, *a*, *an*), prepositions (e.g., *for*, *to*, *of*), pronouns (e.g., *I*, *he*, *you*), and auxiliary verbs (e.g., *would*, *does*, *has*) were excluded from the analysis due to the high risk of inflating the 'neutral' category, thus skewing the study's results. This being so, only 115 lexical collocates in the Trump sub-corpus and 120 ones in Clinton's underwent the aforementioned exploration. The results derived from the evaluative prosody analysis described in this heading are outlined and discussed in what follows.

Findings and Discussion

The collocation extraction process yielded the collocates listed in Appendix 1 (collocates of DONALD TRUMP) and Appendix 2 (collocates of HILLARY CLINTON). Table 2 shows the frequency distribution of these collocates in the Trump and Clinton sub-corpora based on their valence. A close look at the percentages reveals a roughly similar distribution pattern across the two sub-corpora. Firstly, the overwhelming majority of the extracted collocates displayed neutral polarity—88.69 pct. (DONALD TRUMP) and 86.66 pct. (HILLARY CLINTON). Secondly, positive collocates amounted to almost 7.00 pct. with respect to both lemmas. Thirdly, collocates exhibiting negativity occurred at close frequencies of 4.34 pct. and 6.66 pct. in the Trump and Clinton sub-corpora respectively. In light of this, the collocational analysis unveiled that mostly neutral evaluative prosodies were attached to the two candidates' names in the investigated *WSJ* articles.

Table 2

Polarity-Based Distribution of Collocates in the Trump and Clinton Sub-Corpora

	Polarity					
	Positive		Negative		Neutral	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Trump sub-corpus N = 115	8	6.95%	5	4.34%	102	88.69%
Clinton sub-corpus N = 120	8	6.66%	8	6.66%	104	86.66%

Figure 1 displays examples of collocates (in italics) illustrating the three above-mentioned valence categories. Specifically, neutral collocates pertained to three major themes: 'political affiliation', 'candidate background', and 'campaign stories'. By way of exemplification, *businessman* and *secretary* represent collocates that highlight Trump's business background and Clinton's political career (see their KWIC concordances in Appendices 3 and 4 respectively).[7] The category of 'campaign stories' groups collocates (e.g., *rally* and *proposed* below) that refer to political participants, events, actions, policies, etc. with no discernible attitudinal positioning vis-à-vis Trump or Clinton:

(1) "Real-estate developer **Donald Trump** has scheduled an evening *rally* at Clemson University, while Texas Sen. Ted Cruz is expected to stop in Myrtle Beach and Spartanburg" (Trump sub-corpus)

(2) "Democratic presidential candidate **Hillary Clinton** *proposed* expanding the program, in an op-ed late last month in the Gazette in Iowa, where she faces an important Democratic caucus in a farming state" (Clinton sub-corpus)

With regard to positive collocates, they evoked solely candidate 'viability' such as the collocate *victory* whose KWIC concordance is included in Appendix 3. It is worth mentioning that some collocates—e.g., *lead(s)*, *win(s)*, *beat*, and *ahead*—that seem to denote the electability of the candidate proved to display a rather mixed pattern of 'viability' and 'unviability', as shown in the following examples:

(3) "**Donald Trump**, with a big *lead* in the polls in Indiana" **vs.** "a six-point *lead* over **Donald Trump** in The *Wall Street Journal*/NBC poll"[8] (Trump sub-corpus)

(4) "**Donald Trump** is expected to *win* big in Connecticut's presidential primary on Tuesday" **vs.** "'**Donald Trump** cannot *win* the general election,' he says" (Trump sub-corpus

[7] Due to space constraints, KWIC concordances are limited to 20 lines.

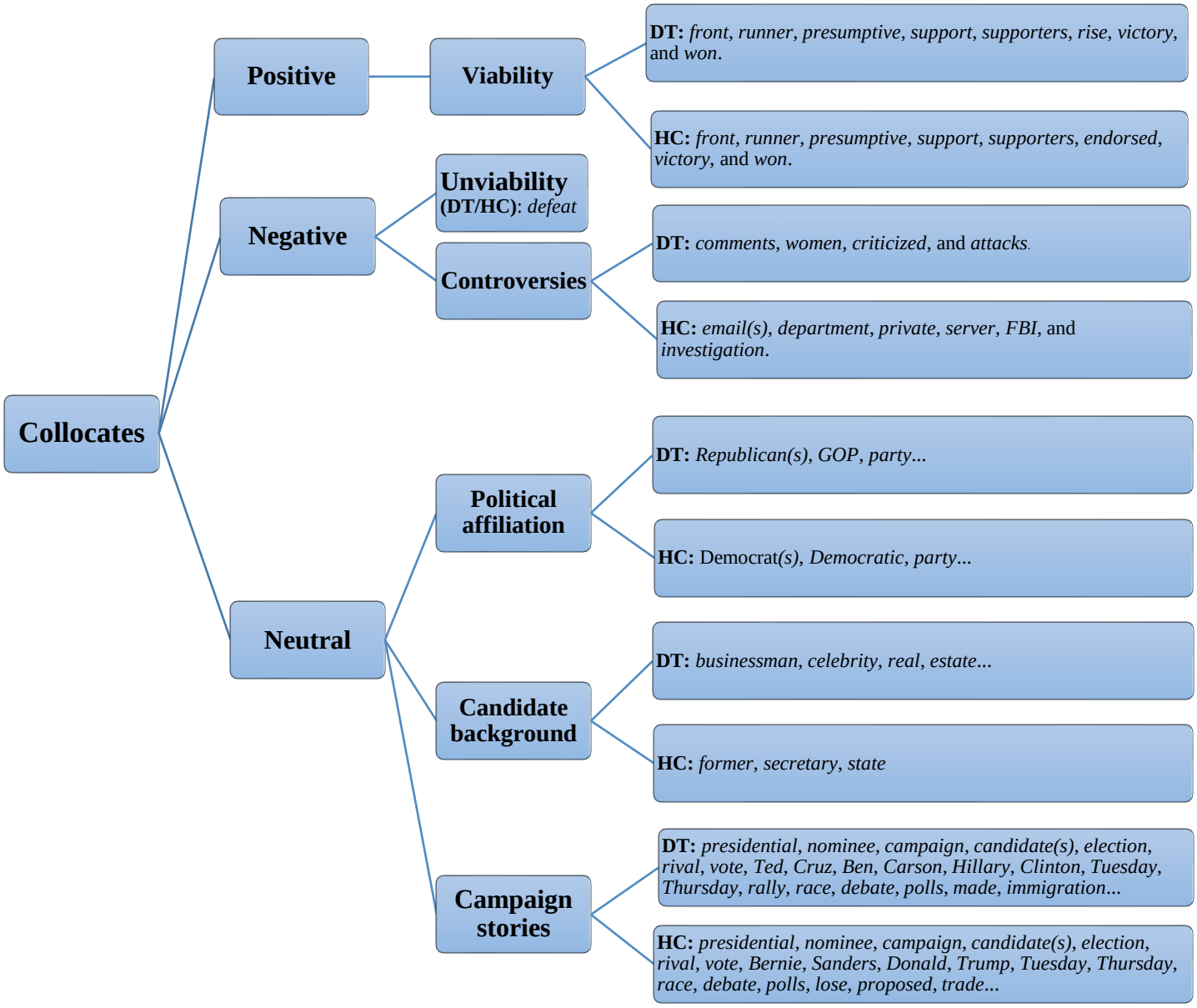
[8] Though the collocate *victory* can display similar contrasting polarity patterns, instances of '*victory* over DONALD TRUMP/HILLARY CLINTON' were infrequent in the investigated corpus.

(5) "to make the case for why he can *beat* **Hillary Clinton** and be a worthy President" **vs.** "it will be extremely difficult to *beat* **Hillary Clinton** with such a chaotic, undisciplined and disconnected GOP" (Clinton sub-corpus)

(6) "recent surveys showing Democratic candidate **Hillary Clinton** *ahead* of Republican Donald Trump" **vs.** "Mr. Trump is also *ahead* of Democratic candidates **Hillary Clinton** … and Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders" (Clinton sub-corpus)

Figure 1

Collocates of DONALD TRUMP and HILLARY CLINTON



Note. DT and HC stand for DONALD TRUMP and HILLARY CLINTON respectively.

Negative collocates touched upon the themes of 'unviability' and 'controversies'. Regarding the former, it was realized through one single collocate in both sub-corpora, namely *defeat* (see its KWIC concordance in Appendix 4). Despite its explicit negativity, the collocate *lose* was classified as neutral[9] because, as Example (7) illustrates, it imparts the meanings of both 'unviability' and 'viability' with respect to the candidate in question:

(7) "worries among some Republicans that he could *lose* to Democrat **Hillary Clinton**" **vs.** "Democrat **Hillary Clinton** can *lose* the state" (Clinton sub-corpus)

Collocates laden with negative associations also revolve around the theme of 'controversies'. As a point of clarification, the classification of these collocates as such rests not only on their common connotative associations—the case for *attacks* and *criticized*—, but also on the kind of evaluative meanings that typically arise from the specific context of the discourse in which they are instantiated—such as *email(s)* in Example (8) and *women*:

(8) "An internal government review of former Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton**'s *email* archive has revealed that hundreds of those messages contain potentially classified information" (Clinton sub-corpus)

While the negative collocates of HILLARY CLINTON (see Figure 1) relate exclusively to her email controversy, DONALD TRUMP's collocates pertain to a range of controversies unfolding about him on the campaign trail. These include his misogyny and sexual misconduct—*women* and *comments*—, his xenophobic and racist attitudes—*comments*—, and his being always embroiled in some controversies such as allegations, a backlash, etc.—*criticized* and *attacks*. Appendices 3 and 4 provide the KWIC concordances for the collocates *women* and *email* respectively.

Examples (9) and (10), extracted from the Trump sub-corpus, plainly demonstrate how the collocate *comments* evokes the discourses of sexual misconduct, xenophobia, and racism with respect to the Republican front-runner:

(9) "But after watching the video of GOP candidate **Donald Trump** making lewd *comments* about women, she took to Facebook to announce that she couldn't vote Republican this year"

(10) "A second ad celebrates New York's diversity and hits Republican **Donald Trump** for his *comments* about Muslims and plans to build a wall along the Mexican border"

Against this shocking election background, encapsulated in the above illustrations, the *WSJ*'s 'No endorsement' policy may interestingly call into question whether this traditional media organization failed to fulfill its primordial 'watchdog' role (Franklin et al., 2005) while reporting on this event. The 2016 presidential race was, in fact, afflicted with unprecedented misinformation, populism, and immorality (Lilleker et al., 2016), rendering neutrality in Trump's coverage a questionable alternative (Greenwald, 2016).

The findings yielded by the present study can, however, be considered to be highly expected in many respects. To start with, the fairly unbiased political stance espoused by the *WSJ* during the 2016 campaign suggested that a basically neutral evaluative prosody would characterize the occurrences of the nodes DONALD TRUMP and HILLARY CLINTON in its articles. Additionally, as presidential front-runners, Trump and Clinton were expected to be

[9] This collocate and similar ones were grouped under the 'campaign stories' theme.

mostly endowed with an aura of victory, hence the higher frequency of 'viability'-related collocates than 'unviability' ones. Finally, given that negativity is a chief staple of media reporting on election campaigns (Nyhuis et al., 2020) and that U.S. media coverage of the 2016 presidential election was particularly reported to be scandal-oriented (McHale, 2017), the emergence of the 'controversies' theme in the course of the analysis was patently not surprising. In this respect, a number of studies (e.g., Patterson, 2016) showed that Clinton's email scandal received exceptionally heavy U.S. media coverage, ostensibly lessening her prospects for victory (Halcoussis et al., 2020). Hence, this finding may corroborate evidence from political communication effects research (e.g., Ansolabhere & Iyengar, 1995; Bruns et al., 2015; Miller & Krosnick, 1996) on the potential impact of mass media content on the shaping of public opinion.

Conclusion

Based on the above-mentioned results, the present research affirms that roughly similar evaluative prosodies—mostly neutral—were ascribed to DONALD TRUMP and HILLARY CLINTON in a 5,8-million-word corpus of newspaper articles compiled from the *WSJ* during the 2016 election campaign. This being so, the ideological disposition of this U.S. newspaper—'No endorsement' stance—is arguably well reflected in its representation strategies of Trump and Clinton, as manifested in the prosodies surrounding their names. The prevalent neutrality in the *WSJ* constructions of the two front-runners stemmed chiefly from the themes of political affiliation, candidate background, and campaign stories, while the less salient positivity and negativity rested on the discourses of viability and unviability/controversy respectively.

In view of this, this research has hopefully contributed to the substantial body of literature examining (i) the role of language as a covert mediator of ideology (Fairclough, 1989; Fowler, 2013; Simpson, 1993; Van Dijk, 2006) and (ii) the influence of the mass media on attitude formation and change (Eberl et al., 2017; Entman, 1993; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). Most importantly, the present study is, to the best of my knowledge, the first piece of research to extend the applications of evaluative prosody to the category of human referents. This novel area of enquiry is strongly believed to deserve more scholarly attention in that it offers a new route to uncovering the construction mechanisms of different participants in several discourse domains.

Though highly promising, the evaluative prosody study conducted in the scope of this research may be too limited to capture the bigger picture. Politically motivated portrayals of politicians may indeed occur outside the grasp of the basic L5-R5 collocation analysis. It is therefore highly recommended that future research addressing this intriguing phenomenon supplement the corpus linguistics approach adopted in the present study with a theoretical framework grounded in qualitative methodology such as the mass communication theory of framing.

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Appendix 1. Top 200 t-score ordered collocates of DONALD TRUMP

Total No. of Collocate Tokens: 40393

Rank	Freq.	F. L	F. R	t-score	Collocate
1	5359	71	5288	72.26267	trump
2	1923	878	1045	36.24876	the
3	961	831	130	30.31469	Republican
4	1193	515	678	30.18058	and
5	1145	619	526	28.92344	to
6	891	667	224	27.55273	for
7	906	393	513	25.08575	a
8	660	547	113	24.98403	presidential
9	926	684	242	24.40173	of
10	689	195	494	23.63765	is
11	479	424	55	21.57373	nominee
12	682	283	399	21.33279	in
13	535	326	209	19.90852	that
14	452	70	382	19.70963	has
15	400	225	175	18.50141	Clinton
16	342	181	161	17.96161	Hillary
17	416	194	222	17.87972	on
18	353	93	260	16.55437	his
19	262	241	21	16.01813	front
20	335	223	112	15.81594	with
21	270	220	50	15.72143	GOP
22	316	177	139	15.64904	as
23	258	228	30	15.56478	candidate
24	235	222	13	15.20228	runner
25	327	97	230	15.11039	he
26	257	66	191	13.75858	said
27	224	66	158	13.71211	campaign
28	231	109	122	13.48593	be
29	184	147	37	13.46391	presumptive
30	201	125	76	12.91551	about
31	210	63	147	12.72498	who
32	158	55	103	11.83451	Cruz
33	207	117	90	11.82454	it
34	202	141	61	11.79557	by
35	172	97	75	11.70087	I
36	171	57	114	11.56043	would
37	135	34	101	11.34798	Ted
38	172	60	112	11.15127	have
39	169	115	54	11.11811	from
40	169	78	91	11.02564	are
41	123	107	16	10.92537	businessman
42	146	78	68	10.69594	not
43	156	68	88	10.44419	at
44	155	55	100	10.39194	but
45	138	49	89	10.30719	will
46	130	90	40	10.24346	if
47	107	32	75	10.09943	Bernie
48	137	55	82	9.81915	an
49	143	51	92	9.80592	was
50	136	71	65	9.67535	this
51	104	36	68	9.46505	Sanders
52	100	20	80	9.43400	Sen
53	102	74	28	9.23608	over
54	107	42	65	9.19233	president
55	93	82	11	9.07034	against
56	81	74	7	8.83171	rival
57	207	42	165	8.71186	Mr
58	118	64	54	8.69210	or
59	89	61	28	8.48386	Republicans
60	83	65	18	8.30381	like
61	92	50	42	8.19862	one
62	86	63	23	8.08614	you
63	91	62	29	8.07245	than
64	86	61	25	8.05064	election
65	81	44	37	7.99717	after
66	84	33	51	7.98079	up
67	72	33	39	7.97903	Tuesday
68	66	10	56	7.95669	Ben

69	78	43	35	7.82712	no	121	47	26	21	5.75660	two
70	72	62	10	7.80925	vote	122	34	22	12	5.74832	celebrity
71	68	67	1	7.76838	between	123	51	17	34	5.70695	Democratic
72	79	57	22	7.68330	when	124	37	8	29	5.69653	himself
73	84	60	24	7.58835	her	125	41	13	28	5.67861	win
74	88	56	32	7.54229	party	126	35	32	3	5.60201	behind
75	76	32	44	7.48689	been	127	36	27	9	5.59929	why
76	59	15	44	7.46968	Carson	128	43	31	12	5.59427	house
77	63	48	15	7.14453	support	129	34	14	20	5.58102	leading
78	76	50	26	7.13805	political	130	50	14	36	5.55991	had
79	54	34	20	7.09010	Democrat	131	39	13	26	5.55752	made
80	69	46	23	7.00129	what	132	40	20	20	5.54956	say
81	59	54	5	6.98962	race	133	42	30	12	5.51685	how
82	51	40	11	6.94838	rise	134	32	4	28	5.51265	Jr
83	81	41	40	6.92253	more	135	37	16	21	5.47929	nomination
84	59	15	44	6.87845	may	136	35	10	25	5.47865	saying
85	57	25	32	6.85007	make	137	37	16	21	5.47420	right
86	55	12	43	6.80642	says	138	42	24	18	5.42116	do
87	74	45	29	6.78012	their	139	36	33	3	5.39179	Washington
88	62	54	8	6.77685	candidates	140	43	14	29	5.38840	most
89	102	44	58	6.77122	new	141	32	22	10	5.37857	estate
90	60	36	24	6.76831	now	142	45	25	20	5.35353	other
91	64	22	42	6.74690	all	143	33	5	28	5.31400	Texas
92	63	37	26	6.68987	can	144	38	19	19	5.30274	just
93	49	15	34	6.60952	Monday	145	37	12	25	5.28559	should
94	67	31	36	6.51596	we	146	31	18	13	5.25676	Sunday
95	47	18	29	6.50705	Thursday	147	34	19	15	5.24151	off
96	61	24	37	6.50624	out	148	39	21	18	5.21646	only
97	52	36	16	6.35046	while	149	44	17	27	5.16366	also
98	50	39	11	6.33168	debate	150	30	14	16	5.14627	attacks
99	55	24	31	6.31370	could	151	33	10	23	5.14377	likely
100	44	25	19	6.27475	lead	152	35	5	30	5.11096	won
101	52	25	27	6.22775	first	153	34	25	9	5.10530	see
102	75	41	34	6.18456	they	154	45	29	16	5.09148	which
103	56	27	29	6.16059	him	155	30	14	16	5.08095	does
104	51	26	25	6.15516	into	156	26	21	5	4.96337	defeat
105	42	17	25	6.14730	Wednesday	157	33	26	7	4.95443	way
106	44	25	19	6.13380	real	158	37	20	17	4.95190	former
107	40	13	27	6.12392	candidacy	159	50	19	31	4.93959	Mrs
108	40	17	23	6.09602	comments	160	37	15	22	4.92837	because
109	61	44	17	6.08603	voters	161	27	6	21	4.91798	presidency
110	44	26	18	6.03024	polls	162	50	22	28	4.89439	last
111	44	31	13	6.00327	think	163	40	27	13	4.88506	Obama
112	52	30	22	5.98662	so	164	27	10	17	4.87530	rally
113	48	31	17	5.96770	even	165	34	17	17	4.85291	among
114	47	30	17	5.87594	primary	166	28	9	19	4.84661	night
115	52	26	26	5.86986	some	167	36	23	13	4.84399	many
116	41	9	32	5.86598	called	168	30	11	19	4.84101	recent
117	44	24	20	5.82205	week	169	25	3	22	4.83352	proposed
118	40	11	29	5.81053	supporters	170	26	6	20	4.81836	wants
119	39	19	20	5.80005	running	171	51	29	22	4.80484	people
120	43	31	12	5.79287	both	172	29	16	13	4.79963	women

173	26	13	13	4.74258	victory
174	28	23	5	4.71409	whether
175	34	14	20	4.67252	policy
176	32	17	15	4.66052	our
177	28	17	11	4.65369	know
178	46	28	18	4.65225	she
179	25	12	13	4.59405	Marco
180	34	10	24	4.58866	tax
181	26	10	16	4.58307	never
182	44	28	16	4.57648	state
183	22	4	18	4.57193	Carly
184	27	14	13	4.54618	being
185	22	7	15	4.53532	criticized
186	30	16	14	4.48958	Rubio
187	25	10	15	4.46811	though
188	23	14	9	4.46709	March
189	26	13	13	4.46192	show
190	22	3	19	4.45192	wins
191	21	17	4	4.44673	alternative
192	21	16	5	4.41966	am
193	27	9	18	4.40526	immigration
194	25	16	9	4.39179	media
195	21	11	10	4.38115	reality
196	27	11	16	4.37955	well
197	25	8	17	4.37604	another
198	29	20	9	4.36204	Bush
199	20	5	15	4.34627	declared
200	24	10	14	4.33178	plan

Appendix 2. Top 200 t-score ordered collocates of HILLARY CLINTON

Total No. of Collocate Tokens: 35160

Rank	Freq.	F. L	F. R	t-score	Collocate
1	4620	66	4554	67.72271	Clinton
2	1536	681	855	34.40972	the
3	1160	594	566	31.57376	and
4	858	751	107	29.09505	Democratic
5	993	570	423	28.54553	to
6	960	711	249	27.65568	of
7	798	561	237	26.88461	for
8	804	333	471	25.36295	a
9	540	429	111	22.79889	presidential
10	638	271	367	22.47928	in
11	527	156	371	21.27820	is
12	450	247	203	19.38487	Trump
13	378	64	314	18.48906	has
14	409	247	162	18.15262	that
15	382	183	199	18.06873	on
16	325	153	172	17.48240	Donald
17	296	109	187	16.96042	Sanders
18	287	256	31	16.71426	nominee
19	299	98	201	16.68125	campaign
20	281	249	32	16.67172	front
21	272	245	27	16.42584	runner
22	274	236	38	16.08964	state
23	251	212	39	15.76047	secretary
24	249	65	184	15.68959	Bernie
25	260	30	230	15.62072	her
26	245	223	22	15.36544	candidate
27	229	225	4	15.06222	Democrat
28	271	192	79	14.90772	with
29	213	184	29	14.32958	former
30	246	125	121	14.32907	as
31	197	127	70	12.65985	by
32	197	49	148	12.57655	said
33	239	92	147	12.49051	Mr
34	176	55	121	12.18190	who
35	160	21	139	12.00710	she
36	183	134	49	11.78371	his
37	161	94	67	11.60477	from
38	160	45	115	11.50469	have
39	187	104	83	11.46507	he
40	149	45	104	11.42748	will
41	155	48	107	11.28781	was
42	155	78	77	11.27457	be
43	139	68	71	11.22180	president
44	120	99	21	10.87673	rival
45	123	108	15	10.81031	against
46	123	94	29	10.62910	Obama
47	132	44	88	10.51903	would
48	146	71	75	10.36760	it
49	131	68	63	10.30774	this
50	113	78	35	9.93179	if
51	124	47	77	9.84218	but
52	124	43	81	9.83989	are
53	117	48	69	9.66974	an
54	109	73	36	9.47703	about
55	114	52	62	9.43568	or
56	114	47	67	9.33183	at
57	96	43	53	9.29768	over
58	87	9	78	9.22518	email
59	107	41	66	9.18961	Republican
60	103	41	62	9.11331	more
61	95	63	32	9.09271	election
62	100	48	52	9.05787	not
63	75	55	20	8.57155	presumptive
64	82	67	15	8.39060	when
65	75	19	56	8.29288	Sen
66	83	54	29	8.24702	than
67	72	68	4	8.22425	between
68	77	73	4	8.22156	candidates
69	67	46	21	7.98519	Bill
70	70	43	27	7.98008	democrats
71	67	31	36	7.89035	Tuesday

72	62	25	37	7.76861	emails
73	67	41	26	7.75915	while
74	94	50	44	7.74649	new
75	78	49	29	7.73403	party
76	64	46	18	7.64772	both
77	77	36	41	7.58701	I
78	67	39	28	7.44073	what
79	61	34	27	7.26522	now
80	65	37	28	7.13066	one
81	53	12	41	7.09650	lead
82	58	40	18	7.09591	into
83	61	15	46	7.03794	been
84	55	47	8	7.01992	debate
85	71	32	39	6.99586	they
86	52	32	20	6.94207	likely
87	53	43	10	6.83720	vote
88	57	17	40	6.82405	also
89	53	36	17	6.79428	support
90	57	25	32	6.79155	out
91	53	27	26	6.68821	most
92	47	36	11	6.63251	Barack
93	48	34	14	6.58258	then
94	54	28	26	6.51814	up
95	50	26	24	6.50736	first
96	48	29	19	6.49163	week
97	44	28	16	6.46468	department
98	58	27	31	6.45879	their
99	47	34	13	6.42013	race
100	50	31	19	6.35359	after
101	41	2	39	6.34764	server
102	38	35	3	6.10547	beat
103	40	23	17	6.07674	general
104	39	3	36	6.06487	private
105	41	11	30	6.02623	made
106	40	36	4	6.00021	Washington
107	46	15	31	5.95148	all
108	38	8	30	5.91103	running
109	36	34	2	5.91017	investigation
110	46	13	33	5.89672	had
111	40	19	21	5.89358	should
112	42	20	22	5.88513	do
113	37	11	26	5.83017	Monday
114	35	16	19	5.74339	victory
115	43	21	22	5.70872	can
116	48	27	21	5.67943	last
117	39	18	21	5.67650	house
118	34	20	14	5.66494	November
119	37	10	27	5.65405	win
120	39	24	15	5.64043	primary
121	39	23	16	5.63700	policy
122	41	18	23	5.62420	no
123	38	11	27	5.60219	may
124	34	10	24	5.56308	plan
125	33	29	4	5.56275	behind
126	36	17	19	5.55331	white
127	41	32	9	5.53417	him
128	40	13	27	5.51688	other
129	39	20	19	5.50904	could
130	37	21	16	5.46780	even
131	39	24	15	5.45022	so
132	33	20	13	5.44559	whether
133	30	5	25	5.33036	wants
134	30	11	19	5.32766	leading
135	32	18	14	5.30608	Iowa
136	32	20	12	5.29209	nomination
137	33	4	29	5.27848	won
138	32	22	10	5.25939	polls
139	34	5	29	5.24048	million
140	29	8	21	5.23429	presidency
141	29	3	26	5.22657	elected
142	35	22	13	5.21785	like
143	29	11	18	5.15960	Wednesday
144	30	15	15	5.15680	top
145	34	12	22	5.15403	because
146	30	20	10	5.14383	show
147	29	10	19	5.02914	next
148	32	23	9	5.01858	only
149	39	16	23	5.01504	we
150	27	8	19	5.00883	Sunday
151	26	21	5	5.00173	endorsed
152	35	17	18	4.99711	some
153	34	12	22	4.98158	were
154	38	27	11	4.93643	voters
155	25	23	2	4.92224	defeat
156	28	23	5	4.91955	including
157	27	13	14	4.89323	left
158	27	19	8	4.88033	far
159	25	6	19	4.87424	wins
160	27	19	8	4.84446	supporters
161	25	8	17	4.84153	ahead
162	24	19	5	4.82673	opponent
163	24	3	21	4.80347	proposed
164	25	12	13	4.80077	policies
165	26	22	4	4.78901	month
166	34	20	14	4.78544	which
167	24	22	2	4.73997	side
168	30	17	13	4.73382	tax
169	26	4	22	4.71986	called
170	24	7	17	4.70193	plans
171	31	17	14	4.70135	there
172	23	15	8	4.67758	lose
173	29	10	19	4.64025	time
174	26	20	6	4.63835	think
175	26	8	18	4.63256	see

176	28	18	10	4.62791	how
177	35	24	11	4.60754	political
178	24	7	17	4.59766	speech
179	24	9	15	4.59711	never
180	32	20	12	4.56258	you
181	28	17	11	4.49109	two
182	26	7	19	4.47033	among
183	25	19	6	4.45861	back
184	22	12	10	4.40400	Thursday
185	21	2	19	4.40177	raised
186	22	10	12	4.38027	saying
187	20	5	15	4.37800	leads
188	22	13	9	4.37170	though
189	21	5	16	4.35876	Friday
190	24	12	12	4.33657	say
191	22	9	13	4.33568	Hampshire
192	35	25	10	4.33061	people
193	21	8	13	4.32833	administration
194	24	17	7	4.29552	government
195	24	12	12	4.22984	trade
196	20	10	10	4.21971	months
197	19	16	3	4.20511	FBI
198	20	9	11	4.20442	making
199	21	17	4	4.16859	know
200	21	11	10	4.16829	being

Appendix 3. KWIC Concordances for Sample Collocates of DONALD TRUMP

businessman

KWIC		File
politics as usual. The Republican front-runner,	businessman Donald Trump, says that he is already	DT WSJ
Republicans who might otherwise never vote for	businessman Donald Trump a reason to think about	DT WSJ
on a highly unconventional strategy to leapfrog	businessman Donald Trump and Texas Sen. Ted Cruz.	DT WSJ
year if the Republican presidential nominee is	businessman Donald Trump, who has drawn support fr	DT WSJ
they offered in a survey released Wednesday.	Businessman Donald Trump and Sen. Ted Cruz of	DT WSJ
e candidate and antiestablishment fervor has made	businessman Donald Trump GOP front-runner. In 2014	DT WSJ
at the national level that has propelled	businessman Donald Trump and Texas Sen. Ted Cruz	DT WSJ
ined with the increasing likelihood of polarizing	businessman Donald Trump becoming the party's pres	DT WSJ
devastating loss in his home state to	businessman Donald Trump, embodied that dream -- y	DT WSJ
it in November are rising as brash	businessman Donald Trump looks increasingly likely	DT WSJ
-old retiree in Cape Coral, Fla., supports	businessman Donald Trump in the GOP presidential r	DT WSJ
of 39% of likely primary voters, followed by	businessman Donald Trump at 33% and Texas Sen. Ted	DT WSJ
. That is more delegates than some states.	Businessman Donald Trump, Texas Sen. Ted Cruz, Ohi	DT WSJ
. But some in the party worry that	businessman Donald Trump, the GOP front-runner, mi	DT WSJ
the regulations that are just destroying us,"	businessman Donald Trump said at a recent Dallas	DT WSJ
'Connor, Patrick ProQuest document link Abstract:	Businessman Donald Trump breezed to victory in Mic	DT WSJ
strongly opposes, Texas Sen. Ted Cruz and	businessman Donald Trump. In a column published Mo	DT WSJ
provide clues to races to come, Republican	businessman Donald Trump dominated in economically	DT WSJ
to lead the party's opposition to	businessman Donald Trump. Mr. Cruz's chief rival	DT WSJ
, Janet ProQuest document link Abstract: New York	businessman Donald Trump won Republican primaries	DT WSJ

victory

KWIC		File
, with Indiana primary voters about to give	Donald Trump a resounding victory and a clear	DT WSJ
? I doubt it. It's no surprise	Donald Trump in his New York victory speech	DT WSJ
have much of a race anymore," declared	Donald Trump in his Tuesday night victory speech,	DT WSJ
. Links:Check Bunche for Availability Full text:	Donald Trump's victory in New York Tuesday	DT WSJ
Janet ProQuest document link Abstract: Republican	Donald Trump swept to a resounding victory Tuesday	DT WSJ
-runners, and just when they needed that.	Donald Trump won a resounding victory, easily the	DT WSJ
rick ProQuest document link Abstract: Businessman	Donald Trump breezed to victory in Michigan and	DT WSJ
in his home state are immeasurable. A	victory by front-runner Donald Trump in Tuesday'	DT WSJ
." Links:Check Bunche for Availability Full text:	Donald Trump's blowout victory in Nevada's	DT WSJ
Bunche for Availability Full text: LAS VEGAS --	Donald Trump's Nevada victory Tuesday was propelle	DT WSJ
. Links:Check Bunche for Availability Full text:	Donald Trump's convincing victory in South Carolin	DT WSJ
independents in her party's primary. A	victory by businessman Donald Trump would come wit	DT WSJ
days suggests that the prospect of a	Donald Trump victory worries markets more than the	DT WSJ
in December. But some warn that a	victory by Donald Trump could upset such expectati	DT WSJ
e the Tuesday vote, suggesting Republican nominee	Donald Trump has a chance at victory. That	DT WSJ
how the election's outcome -- particularly a	victory by Republican candidate Donald Trump -- wo	DT WSJ
foreign fund managers say they believe a	Donald Trump victory would hurt markets, given wha	DT WSJ
during a period of market turmoil. A	victory by Donald Trump would likely be more	DT WSJ
, open the gate to a presidential-election	victory for Donald Trump if he could pull	DT WSJ
Atlantic, many analysts have said that a	victory by Republican candidate Donald Trump in th	DT WSJ

women

KWIC		File
work to try to win moderate Republican	women put off by Donald Trump. It won'	DT WSJ
and that he's a bigot and	women don't like Donald Trump," bellowed Mr.	DT WSJ
Watching the new ads listing some of	Donald Trump's boorish comments about women, I	DT WSJ
K. Norment Jr., told the Washington Post. "	Donald Trump's war on women is alive	DT WSJ
opposed her because she is a woman. "	Donald Trump's war on women is alive	DT WSJ
ter she took on Republican presidential candidate	Donald Trump over his treatment of women -- might	DT WSJ
after watching the video of GOP candidate	Donald Trump making lewd comments about women, she	DT WSJ
sexual assault. "What's unique is that	women are critiquing Donald Trump who never enter	DT WSJ
now is whether recent news items regarding	Donald Trump allegedly kissing and groping women y	DT WSJ
ends, even after the allegations about Republican	Donald Trump's behavior toward women in the	DT WSJ
. Strike this pose when someone brings up	Donald Trump's lewd comments about women in	DT WSJ
Wasserman, Oct. 14 in the Cook Political Report:	Donald Trump's behavior towards women continues to	DT WSJ
cided to make following allegations from multiple	women that Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump	DT WSJ
he engaged in a lewd conversation about	women with Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump	DT WSJ
from a 2005 video in which GOP nominee	Donald Trump makes lewd remarks about women, Mr.	DT WSJ
before the surfacing of a video of	Donald Trump talking about women in crude language	DT WSJ
, still reeling from a videotape in which	Donald Trump speaks crudely about women, openly bi	DT WSJ
ng criticism over Republican presidential nominee	Donald Trump's crass comments about women left	DT WSJ
it seems like ancient history, now that	Donald Trump's treatment of women has become	DT WSJ
York Times published an expose subtitled "How	Donald Trump Behaved with Women in Private," than	DT WSJ

Appendix 4. KWIC Concordances for Sample Collocates of HILLARY CLINTON

secretary

KWIC		File
William A ProQuest document link Abstract: Former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton will be the	HC WSJ
't Heard From FBI on Emails Former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said the Federa	HC WSJ
review of classified information found on former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's personal emai	HC WSJ
vailability Full text: STANFORD, Calif. -- Former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton delivered a bro	HC WSJ
and rallies in Tucson and Phoenix. Former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton will host a	HC WSJ
polls showing the race tightening, both former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Vermont Sen	HC WSJ
Kasich has 63. In the Democratic primary, former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who is leading	HC WSJ
between Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders and former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. White House Ch	HC WSJ
-American electorates, he loses badly to former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. In recent days	HC WSJ
Sen. Bernie Sanders appeared to threaten former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's path to	HC WSJ
ed in economically challenged cities while former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton attracted sizab	HC WSJ
State Department completed its release of former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's email archive	HC WSJ
Mr. Buffett, a Democrat who supports former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, has inserted h	HC WSJ
a contrast in debates next to former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who is the	HC WSJ
ratings than any other GOP candidate. (Former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, the Democratic	HC WSJ
up support for the Taliban. In 2011 then-	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said that Pakis	HC WSJ
Democratic caucuses by six points to former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. By contrast, a	HC WSJ
race between Sen. Bernie Sanders and former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton resulted in som	HC WSJ
between Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders and former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is playing out	HC WSJ
, is facing attacks from his rival, former	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, over his votes	HC WSJ

defeat

KWIC		File
for Availability Full text: Bernie Sanders's	defeat Tuesday of Hillary Clinton in Wisconsin's	HC WSJ
win the Republican nomination, and who can	defeat pro-abortion Hillary Clinton in November."	HC WSJ
to put together a ticket than can	defeat Hillary Clinton." Mr. Weaver points out tha	HC WSJ
better enjoy the feeling while it lasts.	Hillary Clinton's thunderclap defeat in the Michig	HC WSJ
Mr. Trump. Mr. Trump predicted he would	defeat Democratic front-runner Hillary Clinton in	HC WSJ
also pointedly questioned how Mr. Trump could	defeat or challenge Democrat Hillary Clinton after	HC WSJ
he is the best Republican contender to	defeat Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton	HC WSJ
showed then-Sen. Barack Obama set to	defeat Hillary Clinton in New Hampshire, but she	HC WSJ
motivate enough volunteers to be able to	defeat Hillary Clinton. When Americans have electe	HC WSJ
polls as if rage and insult will	defeat Hillary Clinton and implement conservative	HC WSJ
utside group committed the necessary resources to	defeat Hillary Clinton, so the NRA had to	HC WSJ
targeting college students who helped Mr. Sanders	defeat Hillary Clinton in the district in April.	HC WSJ
work with voters from all communities to	defeat crooked Hillary Clinton this fall." Artemio	HC WSJ
GOP voters as the man who could	defeat Hillary Clinton now face a moment of	HC WSJ
oward the Republican nomination, then a landslide	defeat by Obama heir Hillary Clinton, has been	HC WSJ
ailability Full text: Could Bernie Sanders really	defeat Hillary Clinton in California? The question	HC WSJ
ensure the resources are in place to	defeat Hillary Clinton and the Democrats in Novemb	HC WSJ
in deference to their shared quest to	defeat likely Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton i	HC WSJ
, opposition to abortion and the desire to	defeat likely Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton i	HC WSJ
would unite by November in order to	defeat Hillary Clinton, the likely Democratic nomi	HC WSJ

email

KWIC		File
any political bias in the scrutiny of	Hillary Clinton's email use at the State	HC WSJ
on the Justice Department's investigation into	Hillary Clinton's private email server. All the	HC WSJ
information found on former Secretary of State	Hillary Clinton's personal email server until the	HC WSJ
text: The Justice Department's investigation into	Hillary Clinton's email arrangement is entering a	HC WSJ
Bryan Pagliano, the techie who set up	Hillary Clinton's private email operation. Now tha	HC WSJ
its release of former Secretary of State	Hillary Clinton's email archive on Monday, making	HC WSJ
danger posed by former Secretary of State	Hillary Clinton's private email server. Let's	HC WSJ
estigation into whether top-secret information on	Hillary Clinton's personal email server was classi	HC WSJ
cking through messages recovered from the private	email server Hillary Clinton used to conduct publi	HC WSJ
ntil the department delivers documents related to	Hillary Clinton's email and staff -- requests it	HC WSJ
comments in his "60 Minutes" interview about the	Hillary Clinton email scandal remind me of his 201	HC WSJ
to the FBI and Justice Department about	Hillary Clinton's email server. The FBI has	HC WSJ
to appoint a special counsel to investigate	Hillary Clinton's email transgressions. Mr. Cornyn	HC WSJ
Russian and Chinese governments know more about	Hillary Clinton's email server than do the	HC WSJ
Full text: When a government official (think	Hillary Clinton) uses a private email account for	HC WSJ
that the other one wins the election.	Hillary Clinton has her email affair (see nearby).	HC WSJ
text: The FBI is finally looking into	Hillary Clinton's handling of email as Secretary	HC WSJ
for Availability Full text: The truth about	Hillary Clinton's email practices is murkier than	HC WSJ
government review of former Secretary of State	Hillary Clinton's email archive has revealed that	HC WSJ
s" (Potomac Watch, July 3): The controversy about	Hillary Clinton's email needs to be elevated	HC WSJ