Speech Act of Persuasion in two Political Speeches American and British

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Abstract

The problem of the present study lies in the fact that political speeches can be included persuasion strategies. This type of speech acts is favored by politicians because they need it in order to persuade the audience.   The study aim behind this research is finding out the speech act of persuasion in two political speeches. This research hypothesized. The strategy of persuasion frequently used by American and British politicians.

The Procedures; Focusing on the identification and characterization of the strategies of persuasion, selecting a number of American and British presidential speeches as data for the study, and Analyzing the two selected speeches.

1. Introduction

Persuasion is one of the most important aspects of discourse analysis. It shows how people, especially politicians, use language is a persuasive manner to convince people about different matters. This research deals with the persuasive strategies available in political discourse.

Two different political leaders are candidates of this study. The study uses the data taken from Cameron, the British president and Obama as an American president. The texts selected are both augural speeches. The model of analysis is an eclectic one. It makes use of the strategies available in van Dijk' works and in Thomas et al. works.

The study gives a considerate theoretical account in which some views about persuasion and discourse analysis are given. It also provides short historical views about persuasion and a look at different Critical Discourse Analysis models. Finally, the study gives conclusions and recommendations about the concept of persuasion.

1.2 Discourse Analysis

The term *discourse* is derived from the Latin word *discoursus* which means 'to run to and fro'. This suggests that discourses move "back and forth between reflecting and constructing the social world" (Rogers et al. 2005:369).The term *discourse* has been fashionable in recent ten years. Different scholars have their own different definitions of discourse. It means "a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)" (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002:1). Discourse means actual instances of communicative action in the medium of language (Johnstone 2008:2). Discourse is "language use relative to social, political and cultural formations-it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social orders, and shaping individuals' interaction with society (Jaworski and Coupland 2006:3: as cited in Paltridge 2012:13).

Discourse is a general term that stands for language use which is in turn the result of an act of communication. Thus, discourse represents larger units of language such as paragraphs and

conventions (Richards and Schmidt 2010:174). Brown and Yule (1983:1) state that "the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions." Thus, discourse analysis is a branch of linguistic studies in which the focus lies on the processes of understanding a particular text under investigation. Discourse analysis is different from critical discourse analysis because it does not study ideology, power relations, racism…etc.

1.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a branch of discourse analysis in which the analysts study different concept like power, discrimination, ideology, persuasion strategies…etc.The roots of CDA "lie in Rhetoric Science, Text Linguistics, Anthropology, Socio-Psychology, Cognitive Science, Literary Studies and Sociolinguistics, as well as in Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics" (Wodak and Meyer 2009:1). CDA has neither specific methods nor tools. Rather, it is diverse in nature and it depends on different approaches to analyze texts under question. In addition, Wodak (1989: 10) defines CDA as "an approach to language study with a critical point of view for the purpose of studying language behavior in natural speech situations of social relevance".

Thus, the critical standpoint of CDA makes it different from the rest of methods and approaches. It is critical in the sense that it tries to uncover the hidden ideologies that might be unclear to an ordinary reader. Fairclough (2010:10-11) states a few general characteristics which can differentiate CDA from other forms of research and analysis:

1   It is not just an analysis of discourse (or more concretely texts), it is a part of some form of systematic transdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of the social process.
2   It is not just a general commentary on discourse, it includes some form of systematic analysis of texts.
3   It is not just descriptive, it is also normative. It addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of righting or mitigating them.

1.4 Different Approaches to CDA

As it was stated above CDA is a multidisciplinary approach to study text critically. In general, there are three different approaches to CDA. These are Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach (DRA) in which he gives a three-dimensional conception of discourse. These are text, discursive practice and social practice. In addition, he provides a three-stage method which is description, interpretation and explanation (1989 and 1992). van Dijk the Socio-Cognitive Approach (SCA) is the second approach in which van Dijk focuses on cognitive concept like knowledge, mental models…etc. van Dijk is best applied in domains like racism and prejudice and discrimination. He uses different methods when analyzing discourse like speech act theory, semantic moves, style…etc (1984, 1991, 2000). Finally, Ruth Wodak the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) is a historical approach that tries to locate the discourse in historical situation. She analyzes different data like racism and prejudice speeches. She, like different scholars, makes use of different tools to analyze data like transitivity and modality available in Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) developed by Halliday (2001, 2009).

Thus, different scholars within CDA use different approaches to analyze texts. There is a fixed method to be used to analyze texts. Rather, there are beliefs and opinions by those scholars to use different methods to arrive at their goals.

1.5 Political Discourse Analysis

Political discourse analysis is one field tackled under the umbrella of CDA. It studies political speeches and debates by different presidents. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012:18) define political discourse analysis as that sort of analysis which is originated from a critical perception. That means, this perception emphasizes two features of political discourse which are: reproduction and contestation or competition of political authority. Moreover, he describes the concept of political discourse in terms of political persons or individuals including both politicians and citizens who pay attention to the political actions and political institutions. That is to say, any political discourse cannot be treated as a political one if it is out of its political institutions or contexts like parliament or government.

Thus, political speeches consist of some features such as the use or ornamental and appealing expressions with a view to convincing their audience. They usually use foreign phrases known as political jargons, three part statements, rhetorical questions and pronouns to influence and impress the audience. Political speeches might have many quotations and adequate use of repetitions. This use of such expressions can be manipulative and persuasive.

1.6 Persuasion: Defined

Many scholars agree on the fact the rhetoric was first known in Ancient Greece. Philosophers and great thinkers like Plato, Aristotle and many others have put the basic rules of rhetoric or persuasion as it is known in contemporary terminology. So, rhetoric and persuasion are used interchangeably. Thomas et.al (2004: 45) states that rhetoric is "the art of using language so as to persuade or influence others; the body of rules to be observed by a speaker or writer in order that he may express himself with eloquence." Partington (2010: 13) defines rhetoric as " the arts of persuasive discourse." van Dijk (1997: 12) states that rhetoric is "the art or study of persuasive public discourse. One central element of this classical rhetoric focused on special means that make discourse more memorable and hence more persuasive, namely the figures of speech."

Thus, persuasion makes use of non-linguistic features like metaphor, personification, repetition and it also makes use of some linguistic features like intensifiers, adjectives lexical items to make discourse more expressive, persuasive, developed and attractive.

1.7 The Importance of Persuasion

Persuasion is considered by most scholars as an effective way speakers or writers can master. Persuasion skills are important for everyone especially political leaders. The ability to influence an audience is a necessity to be a successful politician. Gass (2011: 3) clarifies that "persuasion is a type of human communication. There are positive sides of persuasion. For example it helps creating peace agreements between countries. Persuasion is very beneficial for varied and different purposes." Thus, successful persuaders can achieve their goals easier, faster and better than others.

1.8 The Adopted Model

The model of this study is an eclectic model. The researcher makes use of van Dijk's persuasive strategies in Prejudice in Discourse (1982), Racism and the Press (1991) and Ideology and

Discourse (2000). Also the researcher utilizes the strategies given by Thomas et al. in Language, Society and Power (2004).

a. Metaphor

van Dijk (2000: 77) states that metaphor is one of rhetoric devices in which abstract, complex, unfamiliar, new or emotional meanings become familiar and more concrete. The aim of using metaphor in political speeches is mainly of persuasive nature. Thomas et al. (2004: 46) state that politicians have to use metaphors to express abstract concepts as concrete entities. Their aim is to facilitate difficult concepts and meanings for the audience. Economy, fiancé, deficit and its related terms should be represented in accessible ways for the audience.

b. Personification

Personification is a figure of speech. It a literary or a poetic device in which language is used indirectly, metaphorically and in an imaginative way. Personification can be formed of a word or a phrase to make a comparison between two similar identities. Thomas et al. (2004: 47) clarifies that personification is viewed as a type of metaphor that is more frequently used in political discourse to refer to countries as though they were humans.

c. The Three Part List

It is one the most common persuasive strategies which combines identities that are equal in importance. Thomas et al. (2004: 49) argue that the three part list is a very common device in political discourse which make discourse more interesting and pleasing. They give an example from the 1997 British Parliamentary elections: "this is the result of four years of Liberal democrat and labour, whinge and weakness." Some CDA scholars use varied terms to refer to the same concept like "the set of three", "the rule of three", "the three pair list (the treble)", "group of three".

d. Contrast

van Dijk (1984: 139) argues that contrastive operations are typically used to highlight the differences between two groups or between two lifestyles or interests. Contrast comes to surface when there is a social struggle or competition over different aspects of life. For example, " we work hard, they are lazy; they easily get jobs, and we do not." (van Dijk 2000: 49).

e. Repetition

van Dijk (2000: 83) states that repetition is a general rhetorical device which can be found in different discourses. It is a current phenomenon. Repetition can be formed at the level of a word, a phrase or even a sentence.

f. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are important in sending persuasive messages by political leaders. For example, the first personal pronoun "I" is used to emphasize concepts and to declare some kind of responsibility. And also the pronoun "we" can be used to show togetherness and a share responsibility (Thomas et al. 2004: 52).

g. Modality

van Dijk (2000: 51) states that different propositions can be modified be different kinds of modalities. Different modal have different meaning depending on the context of situation. For example, the modal auxiliary "will" expresses determination or willingness. The modal "can" expresses probability or ability.

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2. Data Analysis

The data of this paper consists of two political speeches. The first speech is taken from David Cameron, the British Prime Minister and Barack Obama the president of United States. Both speeches are inaugural speeches delivered by these two presidents after being nominated.

2.1 Analysis of Text 1

David Cameron's victory speech, delivered on Downing Street Friday 8 May 2015

Cameron uses metaphors many times to create an atmosphere of responsibility whether positive or negative one. The first metaphor used is the metaphor of building. Cameron states that **"Her Majesty the Queen has asked me to form a new government."** PM uses the metaphor of building to picture the government as if it were a building has to construct or establish. Cameron uses creation and construction metaphor again when he says **"I aim to form a proper and full coalition between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats."** He stresses the idea that the coalition is an important step that both the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats should work together to achieve in the future. Cameron also uses the metaphor of journey to draw a welcome picture for his country. He says that **"together we can reach better times ahead"** the target domain in this line is the future of Britain which can be arrived at through hard work and co-operation between these two parties. Thus, Cameron presents his country as being on a journey and it is good to keep moving forwards and bad to go backwards. Another journey metaphor is given in this line **"I think its best days still lie ahead"** he compares best days as a destination for a journey. Thus, he promises his people good service and comfortable life in future. Also Cameron uses a conflict or simply war metaphor to convince and persuade his people to accept his goals and plans. He says **that "the service our country need right now is to face up to our really big challenges, to confront our problems, to take difficult decisions, to lead people through those difficult decisions"** he uses such kind of metaphor to highlight the role and the place he is going to go through it and also to shed light on the efforts he is going to put in order to meet his audience's needs. He uses strong verbs like face up, take and lead to send a message that he is going through a hard and formidable mission. Thus, the conflict metaphor is used to describe the government policies as if they were part of a military campaign. Cameron also uses a servant-master metaphor when he says **"the politicians are always their servant and never their masters"** he tries to show the fact that he is not a master but rather he is a servant who attempts to convince his people that he will try his best to meet and to achieve their goals and solve their problems.

Personification concrete objects, physical materials and abstract ideas as if they were alive. Personification is a powerful tool for portraying images by appealing to the feelings and emotions of people being addressed. **"One of the tasks that we clearly have is to rebuild trust in our political system"** Cameron makes some kind of a comparison between political system and human. He personifies the political system as a human that has to be perfect or at least good the deserve trust. This comparison gives a positive image about Cameron's plans to reform the political system. **"I believe that is the right way to provide this country with the strong, the stable, the good and decent government that I think we need so badly"** Cameron describes his government as if it were a human. He personifies the new government and tries to convince his audience that it is strong, stable, good and decent. It will help people and it will meet their needs. He personifies his government more than one time. He uses such expressions "decent government" "strong government" and "decisive government" to try to catch the attention of people to the qualities of his government and also to tell people of what he is capable of. **"I want to make sure that my**

government always looks after the elderly, the frail and the poorest in our country" Cameron personifies his new government as if a person who takes care of the elderly, the frail and the poorest. Another personification provided in this line **"A coalition will throw all sorts of challenges"** depicts Cameron' coalition as though it were a strong person who can throw up problems, get rid of economic problems and to put an end to the big challenges that his home faces. The three part list is frequently used by PM. He tries to connect and combine many concepts, putting them together in a specific arrangement. It is one the most important persuasive devices. **"Above all it will be a government that is built on some clear values. Values of freedom, values of fairness, and values of responsibility."** Cameron tries to convince his audience of his vision and attempts to win their support and approval. He says that his government will be up to expectations of his people. All of the above values have their place in Cameron's government. **"But I believe together we can provide that strong and stable government that our country needs based on these values-rebuilding family, rebuilding community, above all, rebuilding responsibility in our country"** again PM stresses the importance of family and it is the core of every successful country. He declares that the concept of family, society and responsibility are the most important priorities of his new government. It means that he is going to do his best to build, fix and improve all of these aspects in his country. Another is example of three part list is **"Yes that's about cleaning up expenses, yes that is about reforming parliament, and yes it is about making sure people are in control"** Cameron refers to the most important issues and the current problems that his country faces and promises to do his best to find solutions with the help of his government and the whole people through group work. It means that his government and his people should work together to pass the critical situation. Thus, he outlines the tasks his government has to achieve. These tasks are economical, political and social**. " a real change is where everyone pulls together, comes together,works together, where we all exercise our responsibilities to ourselves, to our families, to our communities and to others"** Cameron uses the word "together" to show the significant side of working together. Both politicians and British people have to do their jobs to make Britain prosper again. Cameron also makes use of four part list in his speech. The proposition "to" is used to create four element list. Thus there are different responsibilities to different parts of British society and each one has to do his or her part. **"I want to make sure that my government always looks after the elderly, the frail and the poorest in our country"** Cameron insists that his government pays attention to those who are elderly, frail and poor. He believes in social service or national health services.

Concerning contrast, Cameron uses different contrast pairs as a rhetorical device to reflect the conflict between different sides, parts and attitudes. Cameron employs this type of persuasion techniques in order to have the audience's confidence, approval and acceptance**. "and that the politicians are always their servant and never their masters"** Cameron uses contrastive pairs to highlight the difference between his party and the Labour Party. The Conservative Party is based on the value that politicians are always the people's servants but the Labour Party considers politicians the masters of their people who are inferior to them. He makes a comparison between the two points of view. He uses the opposite ideas by the two major political parties. The contrast becomes clear through the use of two opposites, servant and master to persuade the audience that his party is the best choice to lead the new government. Another example of contrastive pairs is **"One where we don't just ask what are my entitlements, but what are my responsibilities. One where we don't ask what am I just owed, but more what I can give."** The contrastive pairs " my

entitlements" and "my responsibilities" makes a clear picture of what Cameron believes in which is in more responsibilities. And also the contrast between "owe" and "give" shows that Cameron sheds light on his belief and emphasizes that Cameron wants his people to give before asking about what they take.

Concerning repetition, Cameron repeats some significant lexical items to achieve his political goals and to persuade his audience of the righteousness of his plans and views. Cameron uses the word "problems" three times in the following **examples" We have some deep and pressing *problems*-a huge deficit, deep social *problems*, a potential system in need of reform/ "**And I think the service our country needs right now is to face up to our really big challenges, to confront our *problems*" Cameron tries to shed light on the serious delimma in his country. He states that his government, his people and himself should work together to face and to overcome the current situation. Cameron repeats the word "government" 11 times to show that he is after a strong government, to show that he is a political person who will do his best for his country, to show his proudness of his government.

Regarding the personal pronouns, Cameron uses and mixes the use of the pronoun "I" and the pronoun "we" to create an impression in his audience. For example **"I am to form a proper and full coalition between Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats"** the pronoun "I" emphasizes Cameron's personal responsibility as a political leader. For example **"I came into politics because I love this country. I think its best days still lie ahead and I believe deeply in public service"** the pronoun "I" shows Cameron' interests and values. He loves his country and he works for the sake of his people. Cameron uses the pronoun "I" twenty two times to construct his personal identity. He uses "my" three times. Cameron uses the pronoun "we" in **"We have some deep and pressing problems"** to show that British people are in the same boat. It is an inclusive pronoun that is used to refer to shared problems and the general threat that people have to be aware of. The pronoun "we" can be exclusive in the following example " where we don't just ask what are my entitlements/ where we don't ask what am I just owed" to express his new political views. In this example, the pronoun "we" stresses the importance of hard work that Britain needs.

With regards to modalities, Cameron uses different modals with different intentions. He uses the modal "will" three times in the following examples **"We will always help/ Above all it will be a government that is built on some clear values/ A coalition will throw up all sorts of challenges/ this government will now start work on doing"**. Thus, it is clear that when there is a government task, Cameron uses the modal "will" which shows and tells determination and enthusiasm and a promising step towards a bright future. We will help, we will defend, we will clean, we will get rid of…etc. For example "we must take everyone through with us on some of the difficult decisions we have ahead" the modal "must" should obligations and duties that must be obeyed. "Must" should government is going to let people be active throughout the process of building Britain again. The modal "can" shows ability and possibility of some events. **"Those who can't we will always help"** the government will do its best to help people who are considered to be frail or poor.

2.2Analysis of Text 2
Barack Obama ,Second Presidential Election Victory Speech . Delivered 7 November 2012, McCormick Place Chicago, Illinois
Obama at the beginning of his speech uses the pronoun "we" many times says that **Asst .prof. Dr Bushra Ni'ma Rashid we are an American family / and we rise or fall together as one notion**

and one people " he considers all the American people as one family , and they will be together in all circumstances . By these words he refers to the unity of people . Obama uses the pronouns (**I**) emphasizes Obama's personal responsibility as a political leader. For example " **I am looking forward to reaching out andworking with leaders of both parties to meet the challenges we can only solve together".** Obama by these words tries to create an impression in his audience and show them his power and his future plans , and he can only do this by their help . Obama uses the pronouns "we" several times for example "**we can work together to move the country forward"** He uses these words to show them that they have their rights in this country , and also they have the responsibility to participate and move on this country. Obama again uses personal pronouns for example the pronoun "I" is used to emphasize concepts and to declare some kind of responsibility . For example "**I believe we can keep the promise of our founding"** Here Obama shows the people that he hold all the responsibility for bright future .

  Personification is a powerful tool that the presidents use for portraying images by appealing to the feelings and emotions of people being addressed . Obama uses personification for example **" You will hear the determination in the voice of a young field organizer".** Obama personified the determination as a human being and we are going to hear its voice .He supports or encourage these specific group . Obama uses the technique of personification for the second times . For example he says **" I'm not talking about blind optimism …… I have always believed that hope is that stubborn thing inside us that insists, despite all the evidence to the contrary that something better awaits us, so long as we have the courage to keep reaching, to keep working, to keep fighting. "** Here Obama personifies the optimism as human who cannot see , to show the importance of hope in their life , and how they cannot do anything without it , he impliedly encourage them to go forward and to keep working . Obama again uses personification technique . For example he says " **The country moves on with confidence "** He uses country which is abstract concepts as concrete entities (move on) in order to show them that they are in the right way and their future will be full with confidence. Barack Obama uses the personification again   " **Our economy is recovering."** He personified economy as recovering , in order to feel American people feel optimistic about their future .

The modal auxiliary which is one of the strategies of persuasion , the model "can" expresses probability or ability for example **"I believe we can keep the jobs, and new opportunity / we can build this progress we've made / we can seize this future together "**Thus, it is clear that Obama focuses on two things. The first one is that working together for the public interest by using the pronoun "we" ,and the second thing is showing his ability and his wiling to build this country by using the model "can" .

Obama also uses here the repetition strategy by repeat the phrase "we can" three times to emphasis its required meaning . Obama uses this technique again "**you'll hearthe determination,you'll hear the deep patriotism, you'll hear the pride in the voice of volunteer "** Obama uses this technique because this kind of words are likely to hear by everyone specially if it comes from the president.

 Obama also uses contrast which is used to high-light the differences between two groups . For example he says "**because we are not as divided as our politics suggest"** Obama here contrast between what politics suggest and what   are they   in fact, he use this technique to make the American people feel proud   .

Obama also uses the metaphor technique in this speech in order to express abstract concepts as concrete entities. For example he says "**These arguments we have are a mark of our liberty** " Obama here links the arguments with liberty .

The three part list is frequently used by PM. Obama tries to connect and combine many concepts, putting them together in a specific arrangement**. "we want our children to live in America that is not burdened , that is not weakened, that is not threatened".** Here Obama elaborate how their future should be **.** He uses the word children instead of (I want you to live ..)in order to make them sympathy with him , and show them that he is eager about the future of their children .

Sample 1 concerning the Van dijk Strategies

Strategy	Statistic		
	Cameron	Obama	Total
Contrast	3	1	3.0 %
Metaphor	6	1	6.0%
Repetition	1	2	0.0 3%
Modality	2	3	2.0%

Sample 1

From table 1, we can have a general view of the two speeches. **According** to these two speeches, we can see that the most technique they have used is metaphor in average 6.0%. The second technique is the metaphor in average 3.0% .The third technique is the modality in average 2.0%. The last one is repetition in average 0.03%.

Sample 2 concerning the Thomas strategies

Strategy	Statistic		
	Cameron	Obama	Total
Personification	4	4	4.1 %
The three part list	5	1	5.0 %
Personal pronouns	1	2	0.0 %
Modality	2	3	0.0 %

Table 2

From table 2, we can have a general view of the two speeches. We can conclude that the most technique they have used is the three part list in average 5.0%. The second technique is the Personification in average 4.1%.The third technique is modality and personal pronouns are in the same average 0.0%.

Conclusions

After analyzing the selected speeches it has been concluded that both presidents use linguistic and literary strategies to persuade their audiences. Both political leaders use some persuasive strategies and tools to make their discourses or speeches more persuasive and to convey their specific policies, ideas, views and plans. Thus, the persuasive strategies via language reflect the ideologies of politicians.

The language used in the speeches reveals that both presidents employ some persuasive techniques which enable them to convey their messages effectively, influence and convince their audiences. Thus, the accurate analysis of persuasion within CDA framework clarifies and uncovers ideologies and inner motivation of both characters. They make their audiences agree with them, accept their appeals, change their attitudes towards some issues or plans, trust their political systems and their governments as well.

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