A Discourse Analysis of Bush's and Obama's Speeches Concerning the War on Terror

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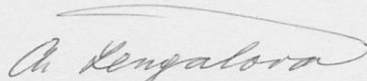Gee, James P. 2000. An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method. London: Routledge.

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ABSTRAKT

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá politickými proslovy pronesenými bývalým prezidentem Georgem W. Bushem a následně jeho nástupcem Barackem Obamou. Proslovy jsou tématicky zaměřeny na okolnosti války Spojených států amerických proti terorismu, počínaje teroristickým útokem na Světové obchodní centrum dne 11. září 2001 až po dopadení Usámi Bin Ládina. Cílem této práce je zanalyzovat jednotlivé přesvědčovací techniky, který byly použity jak prezidentem Bushem, tak Obamou, jejich postoj k válce proti terorismu a jakým způsobem či vůbec přijímají zodpovědnost za danou valku.

Klíčová slova:

Spojené státy americké, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, politické proslovy, přesvědčovací techniky, 11. Září 2001, válka proti terorismu

ABSTRACT

This bachelor's thesis deals with political speeches concerning the War on Terror given by the former president George W. Bush and the current President Barack Obama. The political speeches were chosen carefully in that respect to cover issues concerning the War on Terror only. The timeframe of these speeches extend from the terrorists attack on World Trade Center on September 11th 2001 till capturing Osama Bin Laden. The aim of this thesis is to discover and analyze the persuasive devices hidden in these speeches, the presidents' attitude concerning The War on Terror and how the presidents take responsibility for this war.

Keywords:

United States of America, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, political speeches, persuasive devices, 9/11, war on terror

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Political speeches are essential tools for those people who are in power. By them those people are able to express their opinion, to persuade the audience or to defend themselves in forms of counter arguments. Political speeches are always ideological i.e. they express ones opinion on some issue as the right one. Therefore, they should be investigated critically and objectively in order to discover the bias inside them. There are various persuasive tools which help to cover the bias inside political speeches such as metaphors, personifications, metonymy, three part lists and others. These tools help to create a sense of unity, strength and commitment so that the recipients might have eventually the same opinion as the speaker. If this happens, the political speech is successful and the audience is persuaded. It all depends on how the speaker is capable in terms of rhetoric, communication skills and how well his or her speech is prepared.

Considering all these variables I decided to make a research on political speeches concerning The War on Terror which have been given by former President Bush and current President Obama. The aim of this research is to investigate persuasive devices in their political speeches, the way how they are implemented and the possible effects which they have on the audience. The analysis will also focus on the differences in the stance concerning the War on Terror between the Presidents. It will also map the way how the Presidents refer to terrorism and how they take responsibility for the war.

I.   THEORY

1 DISCOURSE

It is hard to define the word "discourse" as there are multiple definitions used. One way how to look at the word discourse is from the general point of view, as the umbrella term. Gee refers to discourse simply as "language in use" (1991, 7). It means that whoever wants to investigate discourse is not only seeking for specific data but he or she is trying to discover what is happening once the trigger has been pulled and the language has been put in the action.

Another way how to perceive discourse is as the means of transportation of information. In other words, in order to receive some message, to express one's point of view on an issue, even to manipulate other people or make them do what someone else wants, it is necessary to produce discourse. Widdowson calls this feature "a communicative purpose of discourse" (2007, 7).

There are many more definitions of what the discourse means. According to Fairclough, discourse can refer to "extended samples of spoken dialogue, in contrast with written texts" or more generally to any piece of language either spoken or written (1992, 5). Furthermore, discourse can refer to different language varieties such as political discourse, sport discourse or newspaper discourse.

When the discourse is being performed, there are other variables which influence the process. This could be for instance a specific context in a given situation within which particular discourse is taking place. Context can be understood in many different ways. Widdowson refers to context as "the situation in which we find ourselves, the actual circumstances of time and place" (2007, 19). Context can be seen also as shared knowledge among group of people who are communicating with each other and in order to understand the meaning of particular discourse, they need to know what was said before. As Gee states, "it involves acting-interacting-thinking-valuing-talking-(sometimes writing-reading) in the 'appropriate way' with the 'appropriate' props at the 'appropriate' times in the 'appropriate' places" (1991. 17). It can be illustrated on the following example: '*The time has come'*. It is impossible to determine what the *time* is referring to without some background information. Yet, if the speaker says: '*I have to pay the rent every Monday and the time has come'* it is absolutely clear what the speaker is referring to. Therefore, discourse should be seen as something dynamic and complex, something which involves different levels of thinking and evaluating rather than just a static piece of language.

1.1   Written and Spoken Discourse

According to Brown and Yule the function of written discourse is classified as "transactional" (1983, 1). In other words, this function means that the producer's main goal is to give information to the readers and as Brown and Yule point out "it is important that the recipient gets the informative detail correct" (1983, 2). This can be illustrated on the situation when a doctor prescribes some pills to patient. The instructions how to take pills must be clear. If there is a mistake in number of pills that the patient is supposed to take, the consequences will be catastrophic (cf. Brown and Yule 1983, 2). In order to avoid such a situation, it takes usually much longer to produce written discourse than spoken discourse. Therefore, as Widdowson claims, "the mediation process is displaced and delayed and this obviously will often make a convergence between intention and interpretation more difficult to achieve" (2007, 7). Despite the fact that written discourse takes longer to produce, it has advantage that it can be prepared in advance and it is recorded, therefore anyone can get back to it (Brown and Yule 1983, 5). On the other hand, the significant disadvantage of written discourse as Brown and Yule point out is that "the writer has no access to immediate feedback and simply has to imagine the reader's reaction" (1983, 5). The overall meaning of written discourse also depends on how the text is organized, which types of fonts are used, if there is something foregrounded or backgrounded and whether the text is multimodal (for example, whether it uses pictures) or not (Widdowson 2007, 8).

As far as spoken discourse is concerned, the participants are more active in producing it. It is usually more fluent and spontaneous. As Widdowson states, "the participants in spoken interaction produce and process text as they go along and there is no need for it to be retained as a record" (2007, 7). Another feature concerning spoken discourse is the speaker's ability to implement 'paralanguage'. By this term it is meant that when communication is taking place, not only words are involved, but other features of language, paralanguage, are put in the action such as mimics, gestures, pitch of voice or body language as a whole (Widdowson 2007, 8). Once all these features are combined, they help develop the relationship between the performer and his audience, for instance, they contribute to the persuasive effect of the speech or can present the speaker as arrogant or self-confident.

To summarize, both written and spoken discourse fulfill basic need of mediating a message for various purposes. The purposes will most likely differ depending on the particular type of discourse.

1.2   Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a linguistic methodology involving different disciplines and views how to understand this methodology. As Brown and Yule claims "it is used to describe activities at the intersection of disciplines as diverse as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, philosophical linguistics and computational linguistics" (1983, viii). Each of this discipline uses discourse analysis to different purposes. For instance, sociolinguistics focuses mainly on "the structure of social interaction manifested in conversation, and their description emphasizes features of social context" whereas psycholinguistics' main concern is "the issues related to language comprehension" (Brown and Yule, 1983, viii). Another point of view on discourse analysis is used by philosophical linguists. According to Brown and Yule, their main interest is in investigating "the semantic relationships between constructed pairs of sentences and their syntactic realisations" but they also deal with "relationships between sentences and the world in terms of whether or not sentences are used to make statements which can be assigned truth-values" (1983, viii). All these disciplines are united by the fact that they use discourse analysis in order to determine how people treat the language in forms of communication and interpretation (Brown and Yule, 1983, ix).

According to Gee's approach, situated meanings are essential part of discourse analysis. Gee refers to situated meanings as one "tool of inquiry" used by analysts in discourse analysis (1991, 40). By investigating situated meanings in discourse analysis, the analyst can reveal the information about the social or cultural group that the speaker or writer belongs to. Gee refers to this matter as "the ways of looking at how speakers and writers give language specific meanings within specific situations" (1991, 40). Moreover, the author considers discourse analysis as a building process. Gee claims that "whenever we speak or write, we always and simultaneously construct or build six things or six areas of reality" (1991, 12). The buildings are somehow linked together and they serve as decoder tool for the recipient to understand the message which is being delivered. The situated meaning plays a major role in these building processes because each building is concerned with something else and tries to "fit the situated meaning" to its situation. The

six tasks are following: semiotic building; world building; activity building; socio culturally-situated identity and relationship building; political building and connection building. These building processes can be briefly illustrated as follows: semiotic building is concerned with semiotic system; world building deals with determination of different types of 'reality' such as "concrete and abstract, real and unreal or possible and impossible"; activity building is describing the activity which is happening; socio culturally-situated identity and relationship building is concerned with feelings, beliefs or attitudes; political building investigates the power relations; connection building deals with relations between past and future and their impact to the present (Gee 1991, 85-86). Each of these buildings can be understood as a separate field, but in overall they cooperate simultaneously with each other.

1.2.1   Critical Discourse Analysis

There are many ways how to perceive critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a sub-type of discourse analysis, nevertheless, all these definitions agree on the fact that the main domains of CDA are power and ideology. Fairclough states:

> Critical approaches differ from non-critical approaches in not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants (1992, 10).

According to van Dijk, CDA is a critical research that investigates how "the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (2001, 352).

Based on these approaches to CDA, the main task of this technique is to reveal the ideological fragments (bias) which are hidden in the text. CDA also tries to imply that not everything that was stated by the elite (=authorities, politicians etc…) is the best possible alternative for general public. Therefore, the analyst needs to be concerned "not only with ideational but also ideological representations of reality" in order to determine whether the text or speech is biased or not (Widdowson 2007, 71-72).

2   LANGUAGE OF POLITICS

Every language variety varies in different features due to the fact that each variety has its own code, the set of tools, phrases, words, jargons and terminology which is somehow connected to that particular field (Beard 2000, 5). For instance language of physicians, politicians or criminals will vary in all these features. What could mean something in medical jargon might mean something else in business jargon. This chapter will be dealing with the language used by politicians.

Common features of language of politics are specific lexis and the way how the performer addresses the recipients. This is connected with the "Ideological Square" principle, which emphasizes our good characteristics while the enemies or opponents are usually referred to by negative expressions, for instance, "terrorists vs. freedom fighters" (1997, 33). The negative properties of speaker are omitted, or if not, they are mentioned in forms of euphemisms. Van Dijk explains this on example when "bombs are called *Peacemaker* and our killings of civilians among the Others as *collateral damage*" (1997, 33). As van Dijk claims, "we may thus compose a lexicon of Newspeak, Nukespeak, Doublespeak or Polit-speak, simply by recording the words that describe US (and our allies) and THEM (and their supporters)" (1997, 33).

Another important feature in the language of politics is syntax. This includes the use of pronouns (which will be discussed in chapter 3), word order, active or passive sentences, topicalization, repetition or rhetorical questions. These syntactical devices all together help the language to gain in trustworthiness and to be more persuasive. The main function of all these is either to highlight the agent's or patient's good qualities or the bad ones. Moreover, these devices (especially passivization) allow us to stress out or delete the agent depending on particular need (van Dijk 1997, 33-34).

2.1   Political Discourse

Political discourse is sub-type of discourse which belongs to politicians and is ideological. The words like 'politics' or 'politician' are in most cases connected with power and ideology, i.e. with attempts to persuade people by expressing one's attitudes and set of beliefs and opinions (Beard 2000, 18). Isabela Fairclough and Norman Fairclough claim that "politics is about arriving cooperatively at decisions about what to do in the context of disagreement, conflict of interests and values, power inequalities, uncertainty, and all these factors can affect the rationality of the decisions that are made" (2012, 236).

Political discourse can be produced by both individual politicians and the whole political parties, for instance, in forms of speeches, political programs or manifests. All these forms are considered as part of political discourse only if they are produced in "institutional settings" i.e. their purpose is political. Therefore, situation, when politician is having an informal conversation with his friend and the purpose of such a conversations does not concern his professional position, is not considered as political discourse (van Dijk 2002, 20).

Political discourse sometimes lacks words for specific purposes and due to this absence new words are coined or words which already exist could obtain different meanings. This might and also happens in every kind of discourse and it is natural that those who use that particular discourse tend to create new, suitable words (Beard, 2000, 7). As Beard points out on example from Britain in 1980s, when the Conservative Party was in dominant position over the Labour party, they started to use a term "wets" for everyone who was against Mrs Margaret Thatcher. This term "wets" was used before to refer to pupils at school who were bullying, fearful and it carried quite negative connotation. As the word evolved during some time, it obtained positive connotation and those who were called "wets" by their enemies, started to refer to themselves as "wets" proudly. Beard explains this feature of political discourse as natural process. He states that by repetition of terms (in this case a term of abuse), the terms become established and lose their negativity (2000, 7).

Essential features of political discourse include satire, persuasive devices and political labelling. Persuasive devices are dealt with in more detail in chapter 3. Concerning satire, there is a close relationship between satire and laughter. Both of them are meant to produce entertainment, but the difference is that the satire uses laughter as a weapon against individuals, groups of people or authorities. The point is that satire, unlike just laughter or jokes, the main goal of which is to entertain, criticize what is happening in a ridiculous way. The crucial thing about satire is that there is an essential need of an audience to know some background information about what has been said satirically in order to understand the joke which has been embedded into message (Beard 2000, 5-18).

Political labelling could be simply understood as giving nicknames to a politician or to the whole parties. Since, the label could be created by both politicians and people who are dealing with them such as journalists or analysts it usually carries a lot of information as well as connotation which could be either positive or negative. For instance, Margaret

Thatcher was called the 'Iron Lady' because of her qualities as strong woman who kept her word and was unwilling to move back (Beard 2000, 7-8).

2.1.1   Rhetoric and Persuasion

As Beard states, rhetoric can be understood as the art of speaking, more specifically public speaking. Yet, according to Plato and Aristotle, the so called "fathers" of rhetoric, it is not only about public speaking but also involves all forms of human communication in general. Nevertheless, for political purposes it always was, is and probably will be linked with power, persuasion and manipulating the audience (2000, 35). As van Dijk claims about classical rhetoric, "classical rhetoric, apart from its uses in the courtroom, was primarily developed as an art to persuade people in a political assembly" (2002, 34).

To guarantee that the political speech will persuade the audience, it is essential to implement rhetorical skills. Beard claims that "in some instances we place the skills of rhetoric above the value of honesty" (2000, 36). In order to make the speech of speaker successful, it is necessary to meet three basic requirements which rhetoric defines as ethos, logos and pathos (Charteris-Black 2005, 11).

2.1.1.1   *Ethos, Logos and Pathos*

This subchapter draws upon Charteris-Black's description of ethos, logos and pathos (2005, 9-11). The first mode of persuasion, ethos, is concerned with the moral principles and personal characteristic of speaker. This could be explained as an ability of the speaker to maintain his personal qualities as a human being or even go beyond his or her moral principles in order to persuade the audience and meet his or her goal.

The second mode of persuasion, logos is more about the message itself. Charteris-Black refers to logos as "the content of a speech" (2005, 11). It concerns the subject of a speech, the information which is provided by the speaker and the right arguments.

The third mode of persuasion is pathos. Pathos is related to evocation of emotions in the receivers' minds. In other words, a good speech should appeal to feelings, either negative or positive, otherwise it can be considered as a failure. Moreover, feelings play significant role in speeches, because as Charteris-Black claims, "people are reluctant to change; thus, in order to convince them to do so, the persuader has to relate change to something in which the persuadee already believes" (2005, 11).

To summarize, if all these factors as personal qualities of a speaker (ethos), the proper content of a speech (logos) and the ability to evoke feelings (pathos) are maintained, the resulting speech should be successful.

2.1.2 Structure of Political Speeches

According to Charteris-Black, the whole concept of structure of political speech is referred by one simple word "taxis" (2005, 4). The taxis or in other words the structure of a speech is divided into five different levels: introduction, outline, support, counter-arguments and conclusion (Charteris-Black 2005, 4). Thereby, this sub-chapter will provide with a brief outlook of all these levels and techniques and strategies which should be used.

Firstly, the main goal of an introduction should be to approach the audience and to arouse feelings that both the speaker and the audience are on the same ship, fighting for the "right" thing together (Charteris-Black 2005, 4-8). This could be done by various rhetorical devices such as inclusive we (it will be discussed in chapter 3).

The next level, outline, should provide the audience with main information of what the speech is going to be about. It should outline the issue the speaker wants to discuss and gives some basic information. In the support stage, the speaker should demonstrate the issue on some examples in order to make the speech more trustworthy and to gain in credibility. By giving examples the audience can easily imagine the current issue and it helps them to realize that it is also in their concern to deal with it (Charteris-Black 2005, 4-8).

In the following stage some counter-arguments might occur from the side of audience and the speaker should be able to deal with them in proper way (Charteris-Black 2005, 4-8). In order to do this he or she needs to have some knowledge of background information. Then, the final part should include the repetition of what has been said as well as emphasis on the unity between the speaker and the audience, in a powerful and persuasive way in order to show the speaker's commitment (Charteris- Black, 2005, 4-8).

3   PERSUASIVE TOOLS

This chapter is going to examine the most common types of rhetorical devices as well as give examples. It will also argue about the strategic usage of these tools and the benefits resulting from them. Furthermore, the impact of these tools on the audience will be taken into account. These persuasive tools will then be searched for and analyzed in practical part of this thesis.

3.1   Metaphors

The word metaphor has been originally taken from Greek from the word Metapherein, where *Meta* means 'with' or 'after' and *pherein* means to 'carry' (Charteris-Black 2005, 14). According to Lakoff and Johnson, metaphors are part of our everyday lives. They claim that "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action" (1980, 3). It influences the way how people think, speak or act and moreover, this process is happening naturally, unconsciously without realizing which metaphorical expression an individual is going to use or how he or she is going to form the idea which appears in his or her mind (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 3-6). Therefore, metaphors play a major role in peoples' communication.

There are a number of other definitions of metaphor varying between the simple one, such as Aristotle's reference to metaphor in *Poetics* as "giving the thing a name that belongs to something else" (quoted in Ross 1952, 1457b), to more complex one, such as Charteris-Black's definition of metaphor as "a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context or domain where it is not expected to occur" (2005, 14).

Considering metaphor as part of persuasive discourse, it could be recognized as one of the most powerful tools based on the high frequency of its usage. An important aspect of metaphor is that it appeals to people's emotion and has a cognitive function. As Charteris-Black explains, "it mediates between these conscious and unconscious means of persuasion – between cognition and emotion" (2005, 13). Therefore, areas like sport and war are usually considered as a source domain of metaphors for political discourse because of their ability to evoke emotions and bring up connotations with strength, fighting, contest or competition (Beard 2000, 21). Considering areas such as sport or war they refer to either winning or losing and the same applies in politics.

3.1.1 Conceptual Metaphor

Conceptual metaphor is type of metaphor which occurs often in everyday life as well as in different discourses e.g. political discourse (political speeches). Conceptual metaphors do not shape just the way how people speak but they also influence the way how people think and act and this usually happens automatically without noticing (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 3). To exemplify this phenomenon on example, consider the following metaphors aimed at the process of thinking:

My mind got stuck.

My head is overheating.

The wheels in my head are not turning.

Based on these metaphors, it can be inferred that the conceptual metaphor would be *the brain is a machine or engine.*

3.2 Personification

Personification is similar to metaphor. However, the main difference between those two is that metaphor is used to describe something as something else whereas personification gives human properties to inanimate thing. As Charteris-Black claims, "personification is a linguistic figure in which an abstract and inanimate entity is described or referred to using a word or phrase that in other contexts would be used to describe a person" (2005, 41). Another approach to personification according to Harris is that "personification metaphorically represents an animal or inanimate object as having human attributes—attributes of form, character, feelings, behavior, and so on" (2005, 35).

Personification is considered as powerful, persuasive device because of its ability to appeal to people's emotions. This means that it takes all our assumptions, attitudes and connotations which are related to human beings and then it transfers them to some abstract unit. Hence, personification could either portray the target entity in positive way by highlighting its good qualities or oppositely as an evil by highlighting its negative qualities (Charteris-Black 2005, 41).

The opposite of the personification is depersonification. Depersonification means that something which is originally in all respects animate, but portrayed as an inanimate. Charteris-Black demonstrates this phenomenon on example of collateral damage where this expression was used to refer to civilians who died during bomb attacks (2005, 41). The depersonification is also commonly used to portray the enemy as not human being and

therefore imply that destruction of that enemy is necessary and natural (Charteris-Black, 2005, 182).

3.3   Metonymy

Another feature of persuasive discourse is metonymy. As Harris claims, "metonymy is very similar to synecdochy (and in fact, some rhetoricians do not distinguish between the two) in which the thing chosen for the metaphorical image is closely associated with the subject with which it is to be compared" (2005, 34). It should be seen more like strategic device rather than the persuasive one. This is due to the fact that metonymy has unique ability to avoid direct reference to those who initiate the action. Beard states about metonymy that "it involves replacing the name of something with something that is connected to it, without being the whole thing" (2000, 19). To exemplify this phenomenon words like 'The White House' or 'No 10 Downing Street' can be examples of metonymy, as in *The White House just announced that the negotiation with Russia was successful.*, or *No 10 Downing Street has not commented on that yet.* The White House basically means President of United States and his advisors not the impressive palace where they work. In the second example the 'No 10 Downing Street' refers to Prime Minister of Britain.

Considering these examples, the process of omitting agent is clearly visible and it demonstrates how powerful metonymy could be. Especially, when the topic of discussion is about negative actions like raising taxes or military intervention, the initiators of such actions appreciate not to be addressed personally but by the means of metonymy (Beard 2000, 19-27).

3.4   Analogy

Analogy as a tool of political discourse is commonly used to compare things in greater range unlike the metaphors or metonymy which engage mostly at "word or phrase level" (Beard 2000, 27). This could be interpreted as comparing two fields which have some features in common (economy of the state and households), but if it is investigated more deeply, it is obvious that the same principles cannot be applied to both of them. As Beard claims "analogy operates by comparing two objects of different types; but these two objects have certain elements in common" (2000, 27).

As Beard points out, this method was often used by Margaret Thatcher when she spoke about the economic situation of Great Britain and the risks they, as the government,

are willing to or not willing to undergo. She compared the situation on national level with the situation of families and their own economy. What she did was to simplify the issue so that the individuals were able to understand what she is trying to state as well as she appealed to their emotions by making them feel that she cares In this particular example, it helped Margaret Thatcher to create closer relationship between her and the listeners so they might be more willing to trust her and support her. On the other hand, her tactic was found as a faulty one by some economic experts, since there is so many differences between government's economy and the personal one (2008, 27-28).

3.5   Other Persuasive Tools

So far this chapter has mentioned some of the most frequent persuasive devices concerning political discourse and public speaking itself, but there are many more devices which are worthy to mention such as three part list, contrastive pairs and the use of pronouns.

3.5.1   Three Part List

Three part list or the list of three can be found in most political speeches. It is favorite technique used by speakers of all kind. One of the ways how to create three part list is by a simple repetition of the same words or to put it another way a lexical repetition (Beard 2000, 38-40), as in the following example:

Oh Dear, Oh Dear, Oh Dear.

Another way how the three part list could appear is by means of syntactical repetition where the structure of the sentence looks similar or is the same, for instance:

We have served…

We have fought…

We have succeeded…

Yet, as Beard points out, "the three-part list does not have to be mere repetition. It can have different words, but with a similar general meaning, as in the opening words of Nelson Mandela's first speech on his release from prison in 1990" (2000, 39). His speech was initiated by three part list, but in forms of synonymy of words 'friend' and 'freedom' in given context as can be seen in the following example taken from his speech which he addressed to rally in Cape Town on his release from prison in 1990.

Friends, comrades and fellow South Africans. I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all (Nelsons Mandela). (Beard 2000, 39).

There are two purposes of three part list. Firstly, it is the emphatic function when the speaker is trying to highlight particular part of the speech and, secondly, it shows certain rate of unity and completion in the speech (Beard 2000, 38).

3.5.2   Contrastive Pairs

Another rhetorical device frequent in political discourse is contrastive pairs or sometimes called antithesis. This rhetorical device is similar to three part list, however, it is based on opposites (Beard 2000, 39). In other words, it shows the contrast between two things or persons which or who are in direct opposition. To illustrate it on example, pairs such as heaven and hell; war and peace; good and evil are considered as contrastive pairs.

3.5.3   Pronouns

The properly chosen pronouns are essential part of political speeches because they link the speaker with his or her listeners and could either clearly express the speaker's stance or might help to share the responsibility among others. The speaker can choose either singular pronoun such as, 'I' and 'me' or plural forms such as, 'we' and 'our'. However, it happens normally that the speech is mixture of both of these in order to make it more natural and also it provides the speaker with free choice of what he is willing to take credit for or not (Beard 2000, 41-61).

Beard claims that if the speaker decides to use singular form it usually expresses his or her strong attitude and certain rate of self-involvement in current issue. Hence, the advantage of using singular pronouns could be seen especially when positive information is being delivered because it allows the speaker to take credit for that. On the other hand, the disadvantage of singular pronouns appears when something did not happen as it was supposed to, and then, the initiator has to take all the blame on him/herself (2000, 45-46). Therefore, a good speaker should handle the distribution of singular pronouns to spots where he or she is sure about some fact or is willing to take a risk.

On the other hand, by using plural pronouns such as, 'we' and 'our', the speaker involves not only himself or herself, but all the other people who are listening. This could extend from colleagues in parliament to whole country. Therefore, as pointed out by Beard, this strategy is usually used when the speaker is not willing to bear all the responsibility or when he or she is not so sure about the issue which is being currently discussed or when the speaker wants to stress out that him/her and, for instance, citizens are doing something together as a team. The disadvantage of plural pronouns can be that if

everything was accomplished successfully, it is not only the individual but the whole group of people who takes credit for that (2000, 45-46). Thus, the speaker should consider using this strategy in questions like military invasions where it is important to appeal to people's emotions and unite them, to give them feeling that it is not only the speaker who wants such an action but all of them want it.

However, the use of 'we' can be sometimes ambiguous because it opens up question who is actually the 'we'. The audience cannot be sure whether the politician is referring just to his or her party or it is meant to all people who are listening. As van Dijk claims, "principles of exclusion and inclusion are at play here" (van Dijk 2014, 34). Therefore, it depends mostly on given context where that particular speech is taking place and it is on every individual how he or she perceives this or wants to perceive it (Beard 2000, 61). This can be illustrated on the following example: If the recipient is supporter of party A, it is likely that he or she would perceive 'we' as "all of us" but on the other hand, if the recipient is opponent of party A, he or she would probably perceive "we" as referring to party A which is capable of such things, while party the B is not.

As far as plural pronouns like 'you' and 'yours' are concerned, they arouse feelings of ambiguity. They can mean both singular and plural and thus they could be sometimes misleading. Again, the major role in recognizing what is meant by 'you' in such situations is context. As consequence of this ambiguity, it is important to consider which strategy suits more to which situations, because they can both help to persuade the audience or discourage them.

II.   ANALYSIS

4   METHODOLOGY AND CORPUS

Since this thesis is concerned with discourse analysis of Bush's and Obama's political speeches concerning the war on terror the method of critical discourse analysis is the most suitable method for this research. This is due to the fact, that critical discourse analysis is concerned with ideology, bias, power abuse and distribution and its impacts on people. These criteria need to be taken into account when analyzing political speeches.

The aim of this research is to find rhetorical devices within Bush's and Obama's speeches concerned with the War on Terror, analyze them and determine what these speeches have in common. The focus will also be on examination of differences in the attitudes of both presidents towards the War on Terror and in the way how they portray this issue.

4.1   Corpus of Political Speeches

The corpus of data for the analysis consists of Bush's and Obama's political speeches which are concerned with issues related to the War on Terror. Thus, the corpus contains speeches of both a democratic and a republican president. One of the criteria for selection was that for each year since the 9/11 one political speech was collected. Every speech is concerned with either the current situation of the war, the progress of the war or future plans. The target audience of these speeches extends from general public, members of congress to armed forces. The collection of both Bush's and Obama's political speeches are approximately same long. The Bush's political speeches have 100.656 characters without spaces and the Obama ones have 122.247 characters without spaces. The political speeches are following:

For George Washington Bush:

- Address to the Nation. (2001)
- State of the Union. (2002)
- Update in the War on Terror. (2003)
- Defending the War. (2004)
- War Update. (2005)
- 9/11 Retrospective. (2006)

For Barack Obama:

- The plan for Afghanistan. 2009

- Address to the Nation. End of Combat Operations in Iraq. (2010)

- Remarks by the President on the Way Forward in Afghanistan. (2011)

- Changes in Military Strategies. (2012)

- Drones, War and Defense. (2013)

- State of the Union Address. (2014)

Every political speech above was taken from website www.presidentialrhetoric.com except of one Obama's speech *Remarks by the President on the Way Forward in Afghanistan* which was taken from website www.whitehouse.gov/.

All examples which are used in practical part of this thesis are taken exclusively from political speeches mentioned above.

5   ANALYSIS OF BUSH'S SPEECHES

The analysis of Bush's speeches reveals common features, patterns and statements which can be found in each of his speeches which have been analyzed. First thing that the analysis shows is the way how Bush perceives the impact of terrorist. Even though the initial attack (9/11) happened at the soil of the United States, Bush does not consider this situation as only America's problem but as global issue. Bush tries to appeal to people of other nations by saying that not only Americans were attacked and killed but people of all nations have suffered and he stresses out that America is country built by immigrants and therefore the terrorist attack should be perceived as a global threat to all nations. This can be seen in following statements:

(1) *Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistans; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 citizens of India; men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens* (Bush, Address to the Nation, September 20, 2001).

(2) *This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom* (Bush, Address to the Nation, September 20, 2001).

(3) *There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries… They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction* (Bush, Address to the Nation, September 20,2001).

He supports his claims by evidence obtained due to intelligence agencies that terrorists operate worldwide and that they have sophisticated network throughout the world with many sleeping cells hidden in number of countries waiting for the signal to attack again. He stresses out the importance of intelligence agencies by saying, "*Breaking this proliferation network was possible because of the outstanding work done by the CIA. Dedicated intelligence officers were tireless in obtaining vital information, sometimes at great personal risk. Our intelligence services do an essential job for America*" (Bush, Defending the War, July 12, 2004).

Second thing that the analysis helped to discover is what attitude to Muslims Bush conveys in his speeches in general. Even though the terrorists groups concerning the War on Terror are mainly formed by Muslims, Bush does not follow the stereotype which might occur in someone's mind that terrorism is connected with Muslims and their religion and that all Muslims are the same. His stance is just opposite, as illustrated on example bellow. In this example Bush addresses Muslims in his speech nine days after the September the 11th happened.

(4) *We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans and by millions more in countries that America counts as Friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful*. (Bush, Address to the nation, September 20, 2001).

On the other hand, he refers to those Muslims who are part of terrorist organization as "traitors to their own fate", as the pilgrims who went astray, as those who use their religion as justification to acts they commit (Bush, Address to the Nation, September 20, 2001). Bush interprets what they do as the acts against the freedom as can be seen in the example (5) below. Therefore, he often uses term for terrorists as the enemy of freedom and he claims about freedom that it is something which needs to be protected no matter what it costs.

(5) *And Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber – a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms – our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.* (Bush, Address to the Nation, September 20, 2001)

Another common aspect in Bush's speeches is the way how he looks at the war. Based on the evidence in the speeches, Bush does not consider the option that they might fail in this war. He is sure that this War on Terror will be won by America and its allies. As he repeats in each of the analyzed speeches, although this war will be long and bloody, America with its allies will not lose.

5.1 Persuasive devices in Bush's political speeches

The analysis has revealed significant number of persuasive devices implemented in analyzed speeches of President Bush. This chapter starts with one of the main persuasive ideological strategies employed in the speeches – the ideological square of Us versus Them. Then, it will provide examples of other persuasive devices, the possible reasons why they were implemented and the possible impact of these devices on the audience.

5.1.1 Us versus Them

A significant aspect of Bush's speeches is the use of ideological square of Us versus Them, where Us stands for America and its allies, and Them stands for terrorists. Speaking about lexis which is used when Bush refers to terrorists, a lot of words carrying negative connotations are used in order to emphasize the bad characteristics of the terrorists and to highlight the seriousness of the situation. Words such as *evil, murder, tyranny, to kill, fascism, a hostile regime, brutal and murderous ideologies* are used. Moreover, the sentences concerning the terrorist actions are mostly put in active voice, which clearly signals who is the agent and who is the patient. In other words, the responsibility for the actions is clearly seen, as in examples (6), (7) and (8).

(6) *The terrorist's directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans* (Bush, Address to the Nation, September 20, 2001).

(7) *Most, but not all, of these killers operate in one area of the country* (Bush, Update in the War on Terror, September 7, 2003).

(8) *They have a common goal – reclaiming Iraq for tyranny* (Bush, Update in the War on Terror, September 7, 2003).

On the other hand, when Bush speaks about the action that the government or military had to undergo, words with positive connotations are used. When he refers to the actions which need to be done in order to stop terrorism, he usually uses expressions such as *to bring enemies to justice, to bring justice to enemies* or *to meet violence with justice.* These expressions enable to describe the actions concerning the killing or capturing of terrorists in more human way. Also the word 'justice' embedded in such expressions functions as indicator that what America is doing is right thing, in other words it functions as a justification for steps that America undertakes.

Moreover, when an action is concerned with elimination of terrorists such sentences are usually put in passive voice so the responsibility for killing someone does not point exactly to Bush and Americans. These situations are illustrated on examples (9), (10) and (11).

(9) *Nearly two-thirds of al Qaeda's known leaders have been captured or killed* (Bush, Update in the War on Terror, September 7, 2003).

(10) *Enemies of freedom are making a desperate stand there – and there they must be defeated* (Bush, Update in the War on Terror, September 7, 2003).

(11) *America still faces determined enemies, and we will not be safe until those enemies are finally defeated* (Bush, 9/11 Retrospective, September 7, 2006).

Bush perceives what the terrorists did and will do as acts against freedom, therefore he usually calls this war as *freedom's fight* and terrorist are recognized as *enemies of freedom.* Thus, when the fighting is concerned, it is usually referred as *defending and protecting the peace*. As result of these expressions the concept that they create is that America together with its allies are right in what they are doing, even though they are willing to kill people (terrorists and also innocent civilians) in order to protect freedom and spread peace.

Furthermore, the portrayal of America and its allies as the 'good ones' is intensified by Bush's representation of the war as providing help to those nations which are corrupted by the evil in form of terrorists, to those nations which are unable to help themselves and therefore are in need of America's help, as in example (12).

To summarize, using the ideological square Us versus Them helps to portray America (Us) as the good ones, highlighting their good aspects, trying to present the war as a war for a good cause and on the other hand the terrorists (Them) as the bad ones who are trying to destroy the values of democratic society.

(12) *We are helping the long suffering people of that country, to build a decent and democratic society at the center of the Middle East. Together we are transforming a place of torture chambers and mass graves into a nation of laws and free institutions* (Bush, Updated in the War on Terror, September 7, 2003).

5.1.2   Metaphors used by Bush

When President Bush speaks about the terrorists and terrorist attacks, he usually refers to them by metaphors which express and are associated with unpleasant feelings such as fear, despair or pain in order to emphasize the seriousness of the situation. Following metaphors were used: *A night fell on a different world; Campaign of murder and destruction; Dangerous killers are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs.* All these metaphors portray terrorists as dangerous, unpredictable and hostile people. They help to create the negative representation of Them and might function as a justification of actions which have been and will be done against them.

As the war continues the terrorist networks are being eliminated, countries like Iraq and Afghanistan are becoming free and the fight for the freedom is becoming accomplished, Bush's speeches draw upon feelings of hope that the life will return to normal. Every time when Bush refers to those positive accomplishments in this War on Terror, he usually uses metaphors such as *to carry the hope of freedom, or Iraq became the beacon of hope or people have tasted freedom or Sadam is behind the bar of justice.* These metaphors have an incredible power inside. The war is long and tiring as any war but when people, either citizens or military forces, see the results behind them, it motivates them and it gives them power to continue the endless fight.

5.1.3   Personification and Depersonification used by Bush

The field where Bush uses personification a lot is in term of freedom and victory. Freedom and victory are usually recognized as living entities, therefore statements such as *freedom itself is under attack* or *freedom is at risk* or *victories to come* are commonly used in his speeches. The reasons for personification in these situation is to portray freedom as a living entity which needs protection.

As far as depersonification is concerned in Bush's political speeches, it is usually realized in sentences such as *the threat has been removed, the danger has been reduced* or *Forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom.* In such examples the words 'threat' or 'danger' refer to terrorists but the act of either killing or capturing them is represented in more kind way. It also shows that either to kill or capture them is necessary in order to provide peace and freedom, even though they are people. Therefore, these sentences might serve also as a kind of justification for actions that have been done.

5.1.4   Metonymy Used by Bush

Metonymy is used very often in Bush's political speeches. It is usually used to refer to Americans, their allies, people in the world in general and people working in different departments operating within United States territory such as Homeland Security and FBI. When Bush wants to express gratitude or when he is asking for something or warning someone, he often formulates his statements as following:

America is grateful; America is winning the War on Terror; The world changed on the September 11th; Your country thanks you; Our nation is at war; Homeland Security will make America not only stronger, but safer.

Using the metonymy of 'America', 'our nation' or the 'world' to stand for people provides the recipients with a sense of unity. In other words, he shows them that they are not alone in what they are doing and that it is their common goal.

Metonymy is also used when Bush refers to terrorists. He does not target individual terrorists but he replaces them with the name of the terrorists group or a synonymy. This is due to the fact that when name of terrorist group is used instead of an individual, for instance the name of its leader, it helps to create portrayal that the terrorists are well organized and possibly more dangerous. These aspects help people to realize the threat which stands in front of them. This can be seen in examples (13) and (14).

(13) *al Qaeda's vision for the world* (Bush, Address to the Nation, September 20, 2001).

(14) *The Taliban regime is committing murder* (Bush, Address to the Nation, September 20, 2001)

5.1.5   Three Part List and Contrastive Pairs

Three part list is another frequent device used in Bush's political speeches. It was used approximately sixty times in Bush's political speeches. The use of three part list is frequent when Bush refers to American characteristics, goals and accomplishments as well as to terrorist ones. It is used to encourage recipients and persuade them that America with its allies will not lose this war, as in, *we will not tire, we will not falter and we will not fail* or *we have known freedom's price, we have shown freedom's power and we will see freedom's victory* or *we will stay, we will fight and we will win*. On the other hand, when

he refers to the terrorists, usually three elements, carrying negative connotations, follow in order to emphasize the bad aspects of terrorism. The three part lists concerning the terrorism are following: conditions that give rise to *radicalism and hatred and terror*, ideology that *hates freedom, rejects tolerance and despises all dissent*

Another situation when the three part list is used significantly is when Bush refers to American qualities and characteristics. This can be illustrated on examples such as …we fight with *vigilance, determination and courage*… or …thanks to one American for the *strength and calm and comfort* she brings to our nation… By these characteristics the America is recognized as strong, persistent entity determined to win this war no matter what it costs.

As far as the contrastive pairs are concerned in analyzed political speeches, they usually show the contrast between what America with its allies fight for and what the terrorists fight for. Thus, they support the Us versus Them strategy. Following contrastive pairs were found:

Freedom versus *fear; justice* versus *cruelty; everywhere that freedom takes hold, terror will retreat; it will end in victory and glory or in misery and humiliation.*

On these examples it is clear that America is represented as fighting for positive goals, such as freedom and justice, trying to beat the tyranny and stop spreading the fear caused by terrorists.

5.1.6   Pronouns

In significant number of sentences, the inclusive 'we' or possessive pronouns 'our' and 'your' are implemented within Bush's political speeches. It can be considered as natural process of speaking since it was used approximately three hundred ninety-six times. When President Bush refers to the nation, it is obvious that he uses the inclusive '*we'* or '*our'* to provide the recipients with feelings of unity, for instance in the sentences such as *It is our responsibility to act this way* or *We will not give up* or *your country needs you*.

The use of direct addressing is more frequent in terms of asking citizen to do something. It usually appears in sentences such as 'I ask you to join me…' or 'I hope you will join me…' The 'I' statements were used approximately one hundred twenty-seven times. This direct addressing enables the speaker to engage people in the situation, to catch their attention and make them start thinking about it.

6 ANALYSIS OF OBAMA'S SPEECHES

The analysis of Obama's political speeches reveals some repetitious features common for those speeches, mainly concerning the way how Obama perceives the war as well as the impact of the war on America.

6.1 Us versus Them

The use of ideological square, Us versus Them, where Us stands also for America and its allies and Them for the terrorists, is similar to Bush. One aspect that the analysis reveals is the way how Obama refers to terrorists. He does not use the word terrorist much. Instead of it he usually refers to them as extremists or those who commit violence, as sectarians or in some cases simply as the men. All these words carry negative connotations and therefore it emphasizes the bad characteristics of Them. This can be seen in examples (15) and (16).

(15) *On September 11, 2001, 19 men hijacked four airplanes and used them to murder nearly 3,000 people* (Obama, The Plan for Afghanistan, December 1, 2009).

(16) *No country is more endangered by the presence of violent extremists* (Obama, Remarks by the President on the Way Forward in Afghanistan, June 22, 2011).

As far as the structure of the sentences is concerned, the statements concerning the terrorist actions are usually put in active voice so it is clear who did what and who is responsible for what. This applies also for the statements concerning the actions done by America and its allies against the terrorists. This enables to take more responsibility for the acts that America with its allies have done. It can be demonstrated on examples (17) and (18). In comparison to Bush's political speeches where the statements concerning killing or capturing terrorists are usually put in passive voice, the same statements in Obama's political speeches are mostly in active voice so the responsibility is clear (see table 1).

	Obama	Bush
Active sentences	17	7
Passive sentences	4	15

Table 1 – Number of active and passive sentences referring to actions against terrorism

(17) *The United States will never tolerate a safe haven for those who aim to kill us* (Obama, Remarks by the President on the Way Forward in Afghanistan, June 22, 2011).

(18) *Terrorism and sectarian warfare threatened to tear Iraq apart* (Obama, Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq, August 31, 2010).

Speaking about responsibility, Obama is not afraid to show that he himself is involved in the War on Terror and is willing to take responsibilities for the war. This is realized by a frequent use of singular pronoun 'I'. This 'I' is commonly used throughout his speeches rather than the inclusive 'we'. It seems that he presents himself as 'soldier' who fights this war too but not with a machine gun in his hands but with the acts he is doing through the law. By this Obama presents himself as a strong leader. Moreover, it contributes to the picture that America and its leader are not afraid of Them and therefore it puts Us in the powerful position. The use of 'I' is demonstrated on examples (19) and (20).

(19) *I encourage Iraq's leaders to move forward* (Obama, Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq, August 31, 2010).

(20) *I will not let that happen again* (Obama, Changes in Military Strategy, January 5, 2012).

When Obama refers to armed forces, he usually refers to himself as Commander-in-Chief. It shows his close relation to those who serve and it also shows his respect to them. This can be seen in examples (21), (22) and (23).

(21) *But as Commander-in-Chief, I must weigh these heartbreaking tragedies against the alternatives* (Obama, Drones, War, and Defense, May 23, 2013)

(22) *As commander in chief, I have used force when needed to protect the American people* (Obama, State of the Union, January 28, 2014).

(23) *As Commander-in-Chief, I'm going to keep it that way* (Obama, Changes in Military Strategy, January 5, 2012).

The way how Obama presents the war is as the help to the nations which are poisoned by terrorists and as defending the freedom and safeness. By this, he intensifies that this war

is fought for a good cause and helps to recognize America and its allies (Us) as the good ones. He also expresses concern with the impacts of the war on America. He admits that the war is long and extremely expensive, he states that the cost of the war for the past decade is around one trillion dollars, and not only many people have suffered but also the economy or education have so. This can be seen in examples (24), (25) and (26).

(25) *The United States has paid a huge price to put the future of Iraq in the hands of its people* (Obama, Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq, August 31, 2010).

(25) *We have sent our young men and women to make enormous sacrifices in Iraq, and spent vast resources abroad at a time of tight budgets at home* (Obama, Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq, August 31, 2010).

(26) *Our most urgent task is to restore our economy, and put the millions of Americans who have lost their jobs back to work* (Obama, Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq, August 31, 2010).

Therefore, he speaks frequently about ending the war and about sending the troops back home and about starting restoring the economy and improving the education. In other words, start making not only other nations better place but America as well, because the war has fulfilled what it was supposed to.

6.2 Persuasive devices in Obama's political speeches

This analysis has revealed significant number of persuasive devices implemented in analyzed speeches of President Obama. This chapter will be structured in a similar way to the chapter on persuasive devices in Bush's political speeches.

6.2.1 Metaphors used by Obama

When President Obama refers to the terrorists and their characteristics, the metaphors he uses create a concept that the terrorism is some kind of illness and the acts done by America and its allies are the cure. He uses metaphors such as *poisoned our national discourse* or *cancer of violent extremism* or *evil that lies in the hearts of some human beings*. Therefore, this conception empowers the ideology that America and its allies are helping other nations in this war to be cured.

Another way how Obama portrays the terrorism is as a natural phenomenon with negative consequences, such as earthquake. The metaphors which create this concept are *this is the epicenter of violent extremism* or *those who lives under the dark cloud of tyranny*. By using these metaphors Obama stresses out that the countries which are affected by terrorism need to save themselves. Therefore, it serves as justification for invading into their countries and chasing the terrorist.

As this endless war is coming to the end, the terrorist networks are being destroyed, the leaders are captured or killed and the countries are being freed, Obama refers to the changing situation by several metaphoric expressions such as *we have achieved hard-earned milestones; after the guns have fallen silence; it is time to turn the page; light of a secure peace can be seen in the distance; a new dawn of democracy; decade of peace and prosperity arrived; wave of change washes over the Arab world* or *light of a secure peace can be seen in the distance*. These expressions evoke hope and imply that the new, better age has come, the age of peace, security, liberty and no fear. In other words, function of these expressions is to imply that the good times are coming.

This is contrasted with metaphors used when Obama speaks about the war retrospectively and admits that it was not an easy war. It was war of many sacrifices either in the terms of human beings or economy. He refers to this issue by metaphors such as *rough waters, or darkest of storms* so again the concept of natural phenomenon is implemented.

As winning of this war is concerned, Obama usually portrays this as *putting the terrorists on a path to defeat*. This metaphor can be found in most of the analyzed speeches and. The meaning of this metaphor is that there is no other option for the terrorist and that the defeat is just matter of time.

Another common metaphor concerning the consequences of this War on Terror is *the shadows or demons of battle*. The metaphor stands for those service members who fought bravely in this war but the war gave them a burden which they have to bear till the end of their lives in form of post-traumatic stress disorders or depressions.

6.2.2   Personification and Depersonification used by Obama

Frequent use of personification is with the words such as 'success, 'danger', 'peace' or 'security' when they are provided the characteristics of animate entities. This can be

demonstrated on following examples: *The danger will grow if…; Peace cannot come to land that…*

The reasons for the use of personification in these examples might be that it helps to catch attention of the recipients and it makes the statements more serious and trustworthy.

As far as depersonification is concerned in Obama's political speeches, it is similar to Bush's speeches. It usually involves statements such as *the threat is still active'* or *the evil is waiting for another attack.* In those examples the words 'threat' or 'evil' stand for the terrorists. The reasons to use depersonification in these situation is to highlight that the terrorist are dangerous people who need to be treated as any other threat i.e. they need to be eliminated.

6.2.3   Metonymy used by Obama

Similarly to Bush, Obama uses metonymy such as America, our nation, Congress or my administration to stand for the specific people. It can be illustrated on statements such as *my administration has worked vigorously to establish…* or *the strategy that my administration will pursue…* In these sentences the word administration refers either to congressmen and congresswomen or to his advisors in The White House. More metonymy which Obama uses are demonstrated on examples (27), (28) and (29).

(27) *America has no interest in fighting an endless war in Afghanistan* (Obama, The Plan for Afghanistan, December 1, 2009).

(28) *Government can take advantage of improved security* (Obama, The Plan for Afghanistan, December 1, 2009).

(29) *Our nation may be travelling through rough waters* (Obama, Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq, August 31, 2010).

Another field where the metonymy appears is when President Obama refers to terrorist organizations (similarly to Bush's speeches). It seems than that for instance, The Taliban is a unified entity action on its own. Examples of metonymy concerning the terrorist organizations are following: *al Qaeda continues to plot against us; Taliban refused to turn over Osama bin Laden; Hezbollah that engage in acts of terror…*

6.2.4 Three Part List and Contrastive Pairs used by Obama

Three part list is common feature of Obama's analyzed speeches. The three part list was used approximately fifty-four times. Obama usually uses this rhetorical technique when he addresses to a broader audience. For instance he starts his speech with three part lists such as *to men and women in uniform, to our civilian personnel and to our many coalition partners* or *America, our allies and the world*.

Another area where the use of three part list in Obama's speeches is quite common is when he speaks about the goals. Obama defined three main goals of this War on Terror and those appear in the form of three part list in every of analyzed speeches. This can be seen in examples (30) and (31).

(30) *I set a goal that was narrowly defined as disrupting, dismantling, and defeating al Qaeda and its extremist allies* (Obama, The Plan for Afghanistan, December 1, 2009).

(31) *Our overarching goal remains the same: to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qaeda* (Obama, The Plan for Afghanistan, December 1, 2009).

The use of three part list is also typical in situations where Obama comments on personal or technical characteristics of the armed forces. When he refers to the army he usually uses three part lists such as *best-trained, best-equipped, best-led military in history* or *armed forces that are agile, flexible and ready for the full range of contingencies and threats.* What he is trying to indicate by using such three part lists is the fact that the America's armed forces are the best that the world has ever known. This might serve as an encouragement to Americans and a warning to all potential enemies who would dare to stand against America.

As far as the contrastive pairs are concerned in analyzed political speeches, similarly to Bush's speeches, they usually show the contrast between what America represents and what the terrorists represent. This can be illustrated on the examples (32) and (33).

(32) *Not the deepest of fears but the highest of hopes* (Obama, The Plan for Afghanistan, December 1, 2009).

(33) *Based not just on our fears but also on our hopes* or *every time of war and peace* (Obama, Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq, August 31, 2010).

These contrastive pairs provide the recipients with clear view of what America and the terrorists represent.

6.2.5 Pronouns

Based on the analysis of Obama's political speeches, it is obvious that Obama prefers the use of singular pronoun 'I' more than President Bush since it was used one hundred ninety-eight times (for comparison see Table 2). This phenomenon shows that Obama is willing to take more responsibility by himself than President Bush and also it shows his personal involvement in this war. Examples of 'I' statements are following:

(34) *I encourage Iraq's leaders to move forward* (Obama, Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq, August 31, 2010).

(35) *I will not let that happen again* (Obama, Changes in Military Strategy, January 5, 2012).

On the other hand the use of inclusive 'we' appears also in analyzed speeches, but in different situations. The 'we' statements usually represents what the whole America has experienced since this war has begun or what America has done. The inclusive 'we' was used approximately three hundred twenty-three times. Examples of 'we' statements are following:

(36) *We've now been through nearly a decade of war* (Obama, Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq, August 31, 2010).

(37) *We've endured a long and painful recession* (Obama, Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq, August 31, 2010).

Frequency of inclusive 'we' and pronoun 'I'	Obama	Bush
Inclusive 'we'	323	396
'I'	198	127

Table 2 – Frequency of the use of pronouns 'we' and 'I' in Obama's and Bush's speeches.

CONCLUSION

The analysis has revealed some aspects common for both Bush's and Obama's speeches. One of them is a similar use of persuasive devices such as metaphors, personifications, metonymy, three part lists and contrastive pairs.

Another aspect which unites both presidents is that neither one of them tends to stereotypically classify Muslims. They treat the terrorists as individuals with no regard to their religion. Moreover, the speeches are similar in their message that those nations which are corrupted by terrorist organizations are unable to help themselves, therefore the intervention of America and its allies is necessary in order to save them and free them. Both presidents proclaim that this war is fought in the name of freedom and bringing justice to those who deserve it. This is used to persuade citizens that the war is for a good cause. Moreover, another common aspect of both Obama's and Bush's political speeches is that they highlight the fact that even though the initial attacks (9/11) were committed on America's soil, this war is not only America's problem.

Considering the terms by which the terrorists are being referred to, it might seem that Bush's attitude to those who are part of terrorist organization is more aggressive because Bush refers to them simply as terrorists and the connotations which the word terrorist carries are that they hurt someone. On the contrary, Obama uses more soft words such as extremists or sectarians where the connotations do not necessarily mean to hurt someone.

Another thing that this analysis has helped to discover is that Obama is willing to take more responsibilities since he uses the singular pronoun 'I' more often and less the inclusive 'we' than Bush. Oppositely, Bush uses the inclusive 'we' more often than Obama and less the singular pronoun 'I'.

Speaking about responsibility, in Bush's political speeches the statements concerning killing or capturing terrorists are usually put in passive voice with the agent omitted so the responsibility for these actions is shifted and hidden whereas the same statements in Obama's political speeches are mostly in active voice so the responsibility is clear. Following chart shows the number of active and passive sentences for both Presidents.

Another difference is that Obama identifies himself more significantly as part of America's military. He often refers to himself as the Commander-in-chief whereas Bush lacks this attitude and usually refers to army as separate thing.

The analysis has also helped to discover differences in stance between former President Bush and President Obama on the War on Terror. Whereas President Bush is

more concerned with the war and its progress than with the possible future impacts on America, President Obama takes into consideration also the losses which come with the war, especially economical ones and seems to be more concerned with people who are affected by the consequences of the war. This might be because of the different period of the war they were in. Therefore the aspect of the time has to be taken into consideration as well. President Bush was at the beginning of the war, therefore he was more concerned with the progress and pursuing the terrorists whereas President Obama was at the final phase of the war and tends more to ending this war.

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APPENDICES

Both Bush's and Obama's political speeches are available on enclosed CD.