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The Linguistic Methods USA Politicians Used to Justify the Invasion of Iraq

A Dissertation

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صدق الله العظيم

سورة

الفاتحة

DEDICATION

To

The twin of my Soul ,

The beloved partner of

my life

The memory of my Husband

Mohammed Alazawi

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ABSTRACT

Language is a vital element for the production and perception of any communicative process including political discourse .The language of political discourse is basically directed to change others' attitudes and behavior, a goal that has always been important to those involved in politics. Political actors usually try hard to persuade people to support politicians' causes. Hence, political language has become a subject of interest and significance for many researchers especially the linguists who seek to analyze discourse components from various standpoints. Their efforts have resulted in a great deal of discourse in political its ,types, strategies, and techniques This research is an attempt to identify the language of USA politicians used to justify the Invasion of Iraq in the speeches that have been delivered by the American president G.W Bush the period from January 20th 2001 to February 26th 2003. The aims are to analyze some of these speech separately in order to identify the dominant language methods , language features, and the strategies of persuasion that exists in all the selected data and decide whether or not these specific linguistic methods and the strategies of persuasion are exist systematically in all the selected speeches. If the analysis proves that they are heavily and deliberately used in all the speeches, then this would point

to a strategy the politician follows in making his speeches. Three hypotheses have been put forward for the empirical verification:

- 1.** The general hypotheses that the study is based upon, are that the president G.W Bush makes use of linguistic methods and persuasive strategies in his speeches a justifications of a war against Iraq.
- 2.** Then the linguistic surveying as a complementary part to the pragmatic one.
- 3.** The linguistic methods and pragmatic investigation of speeches reveals a high frequency of occurrence of Clause Relations and strategies of persuasion.

Persuasion is the most natural and civilized way of changing the world. Since the consumers of persuasion attempt to change their attitude. Persuasion is considered as a basic tool for achieving certain goals effectively to achieve certain aims of certain influence . This role of persuasion can be observed clearly in the field of politics which is almost present in any single conversation between two or more individuals. Most of recent studies focus on the complex and interrelated link between persuasion and politics , and on how the politician employs persuasion strategies in a way that enables him to persuade his hearer of what he is talking about, and thus, realizing his goals.

Linguistic methods and the , political persuasion have been manipulated in the speeches of G.W Bush of the period from January 20th 2001 to February 26th 2003 as justifications of a war against Iraq. The hearer can recognize how G.W Bush uses linguistic persuasion strategies effectively and manipulatively to achieve what he is talking about in a persuasive manner.

The study has been organized into five chapters, the first of which presents the problem, the aim , the hypothesis , the scope, the procedure, data, and the value of the study. Chapter two deals with the theoretical aspects related to persuasion , highlighting at the (identity, definition of persuasion, strategies, parts ,psychological basis, techniques, semantic, syntactic, attitude and the theories of persuasion , as well as shedding light on the Clause Relations(clause Relation in discourse, Rhetorical, taxonomy of clause Relation)and at the same time the study offers definition, types of Rhetoric and it also presents the Argument and Argumentation (types, persuasive , definition , explanation of argumentation). As to chapter three it presents political discourse (speech, technique, language, analyzing, political discourse and a presidential speech). Chapter four is dedicated to data analysis of selected speeches.

Finally chapter five presents the general results and conclusions and suggests certain relevant recommendations in these interesting areas of political discourse analysis.

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الخلاصة

ان لغة الكلام وبصوره عامه هي واحدة من اهم الوسائل التي نستخدمها في حياتنا اليومية وذلك للتعبير عن آرائنا والتأثير في المتلقي وبما يخدم ويعزز وجهة نظر المتكلم, ولعل من اهم ما يميز لغة المشتغلين في السياسة هو كونها لغة "اقناع" يكون الهدف الاساسي من وراء صياغتها هو احداث التأثير والتغيير المطلوبين في سلوك وقرارات المتلقي وبما يخدم نوايا المتكلم وبغض النظر عما اذا كانت تلك النوايا طيبة وتصب في مصلحة المجموع او أن تكون على العكس من ذلك .

لقد اصبح تحليل الخطاب السياسي مؤخرا" مثار اهتمام الكثير من الباحثين وعلى وجه الخصوص المولعين بتحليل الخطابات السياسية ذات الاهداف الأقناعية أو العسكرية . لقد اثمرت جهود المهتمين بتحليل لغة الأقناع في الخطاب السياسي عن معرفة الوسائل اللغوية المستخدمة في هذه الخطب واستراتيجياتها , ولعل واحدة من تلك الخطب التي ستكون محور البحث والتحليل في هذه هي التي القاها الرئيس بوش في للفترة ما بين (20 كانون اول 2001 الى 26 شباط الدراسة 2003)، حيث لوحظ في اغلب خطب الرئيس (بوش) استخدام اساليب لغوية متنوعة للإقناع على نحو حاذق – ومؤثر لتحقيق ما يتحدث عنه على نحو مقنع . حيث يتناول هذا البحث الأساليب اللغوية و التداولية للخطب السياسية المستخدمة للأثارة و الإقناع وذلك بغية تحديد اطار تحليلي يتم على ضوء نتائجه الأساليب اللغوية التي تؤدي الى الإقناع , حيث ان هذه الدراسة تتناول وبالتحليل العملي الخطابات السياسية التي القاها الرئيس بوش في للفترة ما بين (20 كانون اول 2001 الى 26 شباط 2003).

ان الغاية من وراء هذا البحث هي تحليل عينة منتقاة من هذه الخطب بغية التعرف على العناصر اللغوية الأكثر شيوعا" وتكرارا" من اجل الوصول الى اقناع المتلقي و من اجل الوصول الى استنتاج في ما اذا كانت تلك العناصر اللغوية المحددة قد تم استخدامها بصورة منتظمة ومتعمده لكي تؤدي الى اقناع المستمع .

تهدف هذه الدراسة الى التحقق من الفرضيات التالية :

1. تفترض الدراسة وجود اساليب لغوية مكثفة ذات مغزى اقناعي في خطب الرئيس الامريكي (بوش)(كمسوغات الحرب ضد العراق عام 2003) والتي القاها في الفترة (20 كانون اول 2001 الى 26 شباط 2003)، حيث يمكن وصفها بانها نموذجاً استخدمت فيها الوسائل اللغوية المختلفة للإقناع في شتى المستويات اللغوية .

ان تلك الأساليب اللغوية تكون موجوده وبصوره منتظمه في هذه الخطابات موضوع 1- البحث بحيث تشكل ستراتيجه ثابتة في الخطب السياسية ذات المغزى الأقناعي .

ان هذه الأستراتيجيه يتم تحقيقها من خلال توظيف وسائل لغويه تقع ضمن اربع 2- مستويات: اقناعي , دلالي , تداولي , وبلاغي .

يتطرق الجانب النظري من دراسته الى العلاقة المتبادله بين اللغه والسياسه و اساليب الاقناع . كما ويتناول هذا الجانب مفهوم الخطاب السياسي بصوره عامه وعلاته بالاقناع كمفهومين متداخلين , ولغرض انجاز الجانب التحليلي فان دراسته تطبق نموذجاً " تحليلياً " انتقائياً لأجل تطبيقه على اربع مستويات : اقناعي , دلالي , تداولي , و

وبلاغي بحيث يكون الاطار العام يتناول البحث والتحليل العملي عشرون خطاباً تم اختيارها بصوره انتقائية من بين مجموعة خطابات القيت من قبل نفس الشخص. اثبت تحليل النصوص الخطابيه العشرون ان المتحدث يستخدم اساليب لغويه متنوعه ولدرجه عاليه ويوظفها لأقناع المستمع. حيث يعد الإقناع من أهم الوسائل الحضارية للتعبير في العالم ويؤدي الى تغيير موقف متلقي الإقناع . وتعد مناحي الإقناع اللغوية في الخطاب السياسي اداة تواصل سياسية ، يمكن استخدامها على نحو بارز وفعال لتحقيق اهداف معينة ذات تأثيرات خاصة . اذ يمكن ملاحظة هذا الدور في مجال الخطاب السياسي الذي يعد من المواضيع الاكثر شيوعاً وحضوراً في اية محادثة تجري بين شخصين او اكثر . تركز غالبية الدراسات مؤخراً على العلاقة المتداخلة ما بين وسائل الاقناع والسياسة ، وعلى كيفية استخدام السياسي لهذه الاساليب اللغوية و الأقناعية في الخطاب السياسي على نحو يمكنه من اقناع المستمع بما يتحدث عنه، وبالتالي ادراك اهدافه . عالج هذا الجانب من الانماط اللغوية الاقناع المستخدمة في خطب الرئيس الامريكي (جورج دبليو بوش) كمسوغات الحرب ضد العراق للفترة ما بين (20 كانون اول 2001 الى 26 شباط 2003)، حيث لوحظ في اغلب خطب الرئيس (بوش) استخدام اساليب الإقناع على نحو حاذق – ومؤثر لتحقيق ما يتحدث عنه على نحو مقنع .

كما ان الخواص اللغويه الدلاليه تشير الى استخدام مفردات معينه بصوره مكرره اكثر من غيرها. يركز المتحدث على الأساليب الأقناعية بدرجات عالية وبما يخدم الهدف الذي يبيغه. اما ضمن المستوى البلاغي فإن المتحدث ركز في خطباته على استخدام الاستعاره وتراكيب الجمل المتشابهه والسؤال البلاغي . بناء على ما استخلص نتائج التحليل، فقد ادرجت مجموعة من الاقتراحات التي يمكن ان تمهد لدراسات مستقبلية.

نظمت الرسالة في خمسة فصول ، يقدم الفصل الأول منها مشكلة البحث واهدافه وفضياته وحدوده واجراءاته واهميته . اما الفصل الثاني فيلقي الضوء على موضوع الاقناع تعريفه واساليبه واجزاءه واهميته في علم النفس العام وعلم النفس اللغوي ، والاساليب الاقناعية ، وكذلك يلقي الضوء على الاقناع في علم المعاني وعلم التداول ، واهم النظريات في الاقناع اللغوي . اما الفصل الثالث فيقدم الخطاب السياسي مفهومه ، الخطاب السياسي وعلم التداول، الخطاب

السياسي وسياق الكلام ، وظائف الخطاب السياسي والخطب الرئيسية وكيفية اعداد هذه الخطب .
اما الفصل الرابع فيقدم تحليل عينة البحث المختارة وتشخيص الخصائص ، واساليب اللغوية في
الاقناع المستخدمة في خطب الرئيس الامريكي للفترة المذكورة . واخيرا يقدم الفصل الخامس
الاستنتاجات التي استخلصت من الدراسة والتوصيات ، وكذلك اقتراح دراسات اخرى ذات الصلة
بالموضوع والفهرست والخلاصة العربية .

الأساليب اللغوية التي استخدمها سياسيو امريكا لتبرير غزو العراق

أطروحة مقدمة الى جامعة سانت كليمينتس وهي جزء من متطلبات نيل
شهادة الدكتوراه في فلسفة علم اللغة الانكليزية

اعدتها

خاتم حامد سعيد المزوري

بإشراف

الاستاذ الدكتور رياض خليل ابراهيم

صفر

2011 شباط 1432

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. The problem

Political actors realize that language is an essential tool which is used in order to describe the political and social consequences of linguistic differences between people on occasion, the political consequences of the way a language is spoken. Thus, spoken and written forms of language are carefully manipulated to achieve an extra-linguistic purpose mainly that of impressing the public opinion and shaping it in a way that serves the aim of the speaker.

Political discourse are characterized by their ability to attract people and ultimately persuade receivers of the messages. Political discourse aim at persuading receivers by the use of words which have the ability of suggesting more than they denote. Consequently, political discourse have to be familiar with language in order to be able to use it successfully, and they should know how a desired effect can be brought about through language. Throughout the political discourse political speeches have gained undeniable capability of changing public opinion and altering human attitudes, values and behavior. Various influential language factors are employed by political speeches in order to direct audience's reaction towards a certain course of action, and win their support.

A specific language features must characterize this type of political discourse, and set them apart from other types of speeches. This study is an attempt to investigate these features that are able to turn political speeches into a highly persuasive discourse. The features that have not been investigated before, at least in this country.

The fact to be stated in this study is that the characteristic of persuasion can be regarded as one of the major and interesting characteristic in the political discourse where the linguistic methods and strategies of persuasion can be employed in a very high way that makes it different from other varieties of discourse. Among the political discourses is the one which is used by President G.W Bush as

justification for a war against Iraq. The political discourse is planned, formulated, and then presented to the hearer in public, where certain effective aspects of language are presented in a way that should draw attention of the addressees so that the speaker can gain the support he needs in explaining or justifying the cause he discusses.

In dealing with linguistic methods and persuasion in a political discourse used in President Bush's speeches, one should bear in mind that such speeches are planned in a highly persuasive way that suits the audience. The strategies of persuasion remain the significant factor in making the addressee pay his overall attention to the speaker convinced that what the speaker is talking about is for the good of the listener. In other words, the speaker is committed to exerting efforts to persuade the listeners.

However, the problem of discussing the linguistic methods and persuasion in a political discourse in these speeches is involved in the formulation of these speeches. The analysis of the speeches combine the binary values with the unitary values of the speeches thus it is twofolds: the first one gives the different types of clause relation and linguistic methods . The second part of the analysis gives the different acts of persuasive that penetrate in the clause relations. In this regard the persuasion strategies are the key elements that the speaker can rely upon in persuading the hearer.

The discussion of what is aforementioned can be observed in the speeches of G.W Bush delivered during the period from January 20th 2001 to February 26th 2003 as justifications for a war against Iraq. These speeches are supposed to be highly persuasive discourse that they are required to be effective enough to induce the addressees to abide by their force to the best of the researcher's knowledge, no such a study has been offered yet and this work is hoped to fill this gap.

Hence, it becomes obvious that persuasion is not always achieved by logical argument, but by employing creative linguistic methods and means.

The most famous linguistics who propose the concept of clause relation are (1) Winter (1968) was the first scholar to propose the concept of "clause – relation. The theory of rhetorical relations is based upon the assumption that any two communicative sentences when put together can only function as unified message by virtue of their compatibility in meaning with our consensus of the expected meanings between sentences (winter, 1992 : 141). (2) Crombie (1985a : 17 – 31) suggests nine categories of general semantic relations which have at their basis the "*proposition* " as the abstract semantic unit of analysis (idea unit) , not the clause which realize them structurally .(3) Hoey (1979 : 33) identifies two ways to find out the presence of a rhetorical pattern , whatever is the pattern used in a discourse : namely by "*projecting* " the discourse in question into a dialogue in the form of questions and answers.

The discussion of what is aforementioned can be observed in the speeches of G.W Bush delivered during the period from January 20th 2001 to February 26th 2003 as justifications for a war against Iraq. These speeches are supposed to be highly persuasive discourse that they are required to be effective enough to induce the addressees to abide by their force to the best of the researcher's knowledge, no such a study has been offered yet and this work is hoped to fill this gap.

The present study tries to answer the following questions :

- 1 . What are the linguistic methods that lead to persuasion ?
- 2 . What is the relation among , politics ,linguistic methods and persuasion strategies ?
- 3 . What linguistic methods, persuasion strategies , techniques and tactics are used by W. Bush in these selected speeches ?
- 4 . What is the relation between persuasion and political Rhetoric ?

5 . What rhetorical structures are used in these selected speeches ?

2. Aims of the Study

The study aim at:

1. Analyzing the linguistic methods and strategies of persuasion that can be used in political speeches .
2. Analyzing the linguistic(exemplified by Clause Relations) and pragmatic (exemplified by persuasion) relations including the study of discourse value that exists in selected speeches.
3. Explaining the role of certain linguistic features that affected the form and function involved the text of such speeches, clause relations, the strategies of persuasion and the feature whose pragmatic and linguistic implications vary in degrees in speeches they are used.
4. Finding out how these strategies of linguistic methods motivate the audience to be persuaded by these means of persuasion .
5. Showing how these strategies adds deep meaning to these speeches .
6. Showing how the audience are effected by the linguistic methods and persuasive strategies .
- 7..Showing the rhetorical patterns that used in these speeches .
8. Investigating Bush's use of linguistic methods and strategies of persuasion identifying its use nature , density and extent of use .

3. Hypotheses

It is hypothesized that:

1. G.W Bush makes use a great deal of linguistic methods and persuasion strategies in his speeches as justification for a war against Iraq during the period from January 20th 2001 to February 26th 2003.
2. The use of linguistic methods and persuasion strategies as embedded in a series of clause relations is very noticeable and heavily used in delivering the main intended messages President G.W Bush wanted to convey to his audience.
3. linguistic methods and persuasion strategies can be used as a motivative device in political speeches
- 4 Persuasion strategies used by politicians make use of pragmatic implicatures and certain rhetorical patterns.

4. Procedures of the Study

The following are the main steps that have been in conducting this study :

- 1 .Presenting theoretical background of the most basic and significant aspects of persuasion strategies and theories.
- 2 . Showing nature of linguistic methods and persuasion strategies as handled by linguistic who hold different theoretical orientation .
- 3 . Surveying the concept of persuasion ,its technique ,strategies and tactics .
- 4 . Exploring the motivation for persuasive strategies in selected speeches

- 5 . Surveying many linguistic and pragmatic analyses in order to approach one eclectic model that will be adopted in conducting the investigation carried out in this study.
- 6 . Collecting data from the American presidential addresses of G.W Bush for investigating and analyzing.
- 7 . Analyzing selected 20 speeches, using the analytic frame work , the first ten speeches from the period January 2^{0th} 2001 to August 7th 2001 to remind the listener from the beginning, and then the last ten speeches from the period September 2^{7th} 2002 to February 2^{6th} 2003 to outline the main types of clause relation and the strategies of persuasion that may exist in these speeches.
- 8 . The results of this analysis will be out lined a long with the data on which these results are based
- 9 . Drawing conclusions from the study conducted about investigating and analyzing the given data at both linguistic and pragmatic levels.
- 10 . Giving some suggestions and recommendations .

5. The Scope of the Study

The study is limited only to investigating and analyzing the linguistic methods , types of clause relations and the strategies of persuasion involved in the American presidential speeches of G.W Bush from January 20th 2001 to February 26th 2003. Most of the discussion centres around the types of clause relation and strategies of persuasion surveying the speeches Bush used in addressing his audience. In fact, many various types of clause relation and strategies of persuasion are included which Bush expresses

either overtly or covertly to persuade his audience in a war against Iraq 2003.

6. Data

The collected data in this study consist of 20 speeches that have been collected selectively on the basis of the first ten speeches from January 20th 2001 to August 7th 2001 and the last ten speeches from September 27th 2002 to February 26th 2003, all these speeches are being made by the same speaker in different places and different events.

The first ten speeches made at different times and locations by president Bush:

1. Inaugural Address: delivered on January 20th 2001.
2. Press conference with Vicente: delivered on February 16th 2001.
3. Press conference: delivered on February 22nd 2001.
4. Press conference with Tony Blair: delivered on February 23rd 2001.
5. Press of the union: delivered on February 27th 2001.
6. Speech at National Defense University: delivered on May 1st 2001.
7. Speech at Naval Academy: delivered on May 25th 2001.
8. Press conference with Spanish president Aznar: delivered on June 12th 2001.

9. Interview with Foreign Press: delivered on July 17th 2001.

10. Press conference: delivered on August 7th 2001.

The last ten speeches also made by the same speaker at different times and in different locations.

1. Speech in Colorado: delivered on September 27th 2002.

2. Speech in Arizona: delivered on September 28th 2002.

3. Radio Address: delivered on October 5th 2002.

4. Cincinnati Ohio: delivered on October 7th 2002.

5. Press statement: delivered on October 10th 2002.

6. Press Conference, Washington, Dc: delivered on October 21st 2002.

7. Press Conference with President Jai Zemin: delivered on October 25th 2002.

8. Press conference with President Havel: delivered on November 20th 2002.

9. State of the union Address: delivered on January 28th 2003.

10. Speech on the future of Iraq, AE1: delivered on February 26th 2003.

7.Value of the Study

1. This study is intended to confirm the view that Bush depends on persuasive strategies to win the support of the world to achieve his goals which is a war upon Iraq .
2. This study will shed some light on the nature of political discourse , technique , structure and its tactics and illuminate the reason behind his using of this kind of discourse .
3. It explains the use Clause Relation ,and the Rhetorical structure .
4. The study helps the reader to focus on persuasion strategies as a civil way in their everyday interaction.
- 5 . persuasion is an area which has received little research and it is hoped that such research could be basis for further studies in this area in the future.
- 6 . The investigation under taken here is hoped to be theoretically significant since it may be useful to those working in the field of linguistic and political discourse .

In linguistic , what seems to have been almost totally ignored in the studies of Clause Relation and Rhetorical Structure so far is study like the present one which attempts to show how the use of Clause Relation and Rhetorical Structure can be looked at from different perspective .

In fact , little research has been done on the processing of persuasion strategies in political discourse elliptical , because the dramatic discourse and literal discourse are usually taken as the obligator language experiments .

The present study is a first attempts to prove that the strategies of persuasions are the main devices in persuading there audience to achieve there goals .

The value of the study lies in the fact that it explains the basic role function that strategies of persuasion perform in unveiling and interpreting the deep covert meaning of the political discourse characterizing the speeches of G.W Bush at the time mentioned previously.

The study also provides the public addressee or those interested in the field of persuasion in political discourse clear picture about the nature of the discourse features characterizing G.W. Bush. The results of the study will be beneficial in the exploration of universal tendencies in the use of persuasive means in such speeches.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Preliminaries

This chapter examines the theory of persuasion, how it works, and what makes it effective or ineffective. After defining the concept, and exploring its functions. The chapter surveys and outlines the strategies of persuasion, its symbols, various theories and applications.

2.1.1 The Identity of Persuasion

The theory of persuasion dates back to Aristotal (384-322 B.C) who links rhetoric with persuasion as when he says: "Let rhetoric be defined as ability, in each particular case, to see the available means of persuasion." In other words, rhetoric is the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever. Those means are classified into:

1. Argument
2. The character of the speaker.
3. The disposition created in the hearer.

(Cited in Christopher; 1994:32)

The later two items have been sub-classified into: pathos (Emotions) and Ethos (Moral and Character). Pathos means "the creating of a certain

disposition in the audience” (Rhetoric 1356a, 1377b). An emotional appeal that secures the good will of the hearer, which can be achieved by the following ways:

- a. Lay claim to qualities that the audience will respect.
- b. Stress disadvantages of the speaker’s situation as a claim to pity.
- c. Arouse hostility against an opponent.
- d. Generate prejudice against the opponent through irrelevant information.
- e. Incite fear.
- f. Plea for pity.

Ethos, on the other hand, makes use of claims about the speaker’s moral character to gain the trust of the audience. The province of ethos is wisdom, virtue, and good will achieved by:

- g. Appeal to age and experience.
- h. Reverence for civic virtue
- i. Patriotism and public-spiritedness
- j. Display of piety
- k. Follow rules of decorum (e.g. avoid delicate subjects)
- l. Model restraint

In the intellectual scene of the twentieth century, Charles L. Stevenson (1938, 1944) proposed his theory of persuasive definitions. It is concerned with how people often engage in ethical disputes because of disagreeable beliefs (cited in Walton 2005: 161). The theory is based on a distinction between emotional and descriptive meaning used in natural language. On the one hand, descriptive meaning is the disposition to affect cognition due to a “process of conditioning” fixed by linguistic rules (ibid). Emotive meaning on the other hand, is the “disposition of a term to evoke attitude and feelings (positive or negative)”.

In other words, the selection of specific terms with emotive meaning can be a persuasive argumentation tactic that manipulates in an audience’s mind and puts it in an allusion (ibid).

Pragmatics has forced itself upon the attention of the twentieth century man, though it is far from being a new technique of social control. Persuasion is considered as a powerful instrument in political process in order to comprehend the political language. The political language is characterized by the arts and techniques of persuasion by politicians.

Persuasion is a cost- effective way of approaching many conflicts. It does not require weapons or high -tech (and high- cost). When it works, it is a great boon. The protagonist has gotten this counterpart to change her or his behaviour in a desired direction at little cost. But, persuasion is not likely to be effective in getting others to do one's will in all conflicts (<http://www.beyondictionaryctability.com/>).

With reference to the factors of persuasion, Renkema (1993: 128-129) points that there are four main factors that are highly crucial in persuasion process:

1. The source: The demands on the source have to do with credibility and the feeling (sympathy/ antipathy, like/ dislike) the source evokes. A listener's attitude relative to the source of communication has an

influence on the likelihood of a shift in attitude. The attitude towards the source is called 'ethos' (Ibid: 128-29).ones: first, in the middle, or last? And which style would be most effective? (Ibid: 129).

2. The message is an important major source in communication. Which arguments one should choose, should one refute the arguments or leave them out? In which order one present the arguments? The strong influence on the likelihood of a shift in attitude. The attitude towards the source is called 'ethos' (Ibid: 128-29).ones: first, in the middle, or last? And which style would be most effective? (Ibid: 129).
3. The channel is the third factor, through which the opponents of abortion will be convinced when they read the persuasive message at their own pace when they watch a television message with non- verbal cues (Ibid).
4. The receiver: This factor depends on how much background knowledge does the receiver have, and what is his initial or her initial attitudes? How involved is the reader or listener with the topic? Is the receiver male or female, old or young, educated or uneducated? The same message can have an entirely different effect on young educated women that it does on older less educated men (Ibid).

2.1.2 Definition of Persuasion

During the past three decades, the term persuasion was defined by so many linguists and scholars' corresponding to their interests and purposes. However, there is a general agreement as to the main characteristic of persuasive speeches which can be detected from the

following which offers a roughly chronological survey of the uses of the term persuasion in the works of a number of linguists in this field:

Roloff and Miller (1980: 15) argue that the phrase “being persuaded” applies to situations where behavior has been modified by symbolic transactions (messages) which are sometimes, but not always, linked with coercive force (indirectly coercive), and which appeal to the reason and emotions of the person (s) being persuaded. Accordingly, this definition stipulates that a certain modification in behavior has to be affected so that one can assume that the act of persuasion has actually taken place. In other words, persuasion seeks change, not mere information gain.

Petty, R.E, & Cacioppo, J.T. (1981:4) state that “ we use the term persuasion to refer to any instance in which an active attempt is made to change a person’s mind.”

Some scholars see in persuasion as both the attempt and the changing of beliefs, attitudes and behavior. In this respect, Reardon (1982:25) believes that persuasion is, in all cases, the activity of demonstrating and attempting to change the behavior of at least one person through symbolic interaction. In contrast with persuasion, coercion involves a conscious activity that occurs (a) when a threat to at least one person’s goals is observed, and (b) when the source and degree of this threat are both sufficiently important to warrant the expenditure of effort involved in persuasion.

On the same basis O’Donnell, V., & Kable, J. (1982:9) see:

“Persuasion is a complex, continuing, interactive process in which a sender and receiver are linked by symbols, verbal and nonverbal, through which the persuader attempts to influence the persuaded to a change in a given attitude or behavior

because the persuasion has had his perceptions enlarged or changed.”

Bostrum, R.N (1983:8) says that “persuasion is the name we give to the type of communication that brings about change in people.”

Other scholars of persuasion do not require a change in behavior to take place so that one can consider that an act of persuasion has been affected. These scholars relate persuasion to that kind of verbal activity geared to bring about some change of belief or attitude. As for the realization of such required change, this is another matter. Thus, Petty and Cacioppo (1987:4) hold that the term “persuasion” refers to any instance in which an active attempt is made to change some persons mind. Similarly, Cooper and Nothstine (1992:2) define persuasion as the process by which language and symbolic actions influence choice- making by others.

In similar vein, Cegalal (1987: 6), and Burgoon et al. (1994: 177) see in Persuasion that transmitted symbolic act is intended to form, modify, or strengthen the beliefs, opinions, values, attitude, and /or behaviours of one person or more. Likewise, Johnstone (1994:7) agrees to regarding persuasion a transactional process among two or more persons whereby the management of symbolic meaning reconstructs reality, resulting in a voluntary change in beliefs, attitudes, and /or behaviours.

Hazel, H. (1998:2) says that “persuasion takes place when a motivator is able to either change or confirm an existing attitude in the minds of listeners.”

Larson, C.U. (2001: 10) states that “persuasion is the co- creation of a state identification or alignment between a source and a receiver that results from the use of symbols.”

Borchers, T, A. (2002: 15) shows that “persuasion is the Co. production of meaning that results when an individual or group of individuals use language strategies and/ or visual images to make audience identify with that individual or group.”

Gass, R.H., & Seiter J.S. (2003:34) Point out that:

“Persuasion involves one or more Persons who are engaged in the activity of creating, reinforcing, modifying, or extinguishing beliefs, attitudes, intentions, motivations, and/or behaviors within the constraints of a given communication context.”

2 .1. 3 . The concept of Persuasion

In an absolute or totalitarian regime, those in power rule by using the twin weapons of coercion and the manipulation of information. In a democracy, the basic use of language in politics is for persuasion. Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992: 3) point out that rhetoric right from the beginning has a "mixed reputation" it can be defined, following Aristotle, as the 'arts of persuasive discourse'. In other words, it is the use of words to change attitudes of the public. In this sense, Cook (1989: 26) believes that persuasion implies the activation of the “directive “function of language in order to affect the behavior of the addressee. Hence, according to speech act theory, studying rhetoric means studying the perlocutionary force of persuasion conveyed by utterances, that is, the effect of utterances on the receivers.

Many scholars consider persuasion as both the attempt and the changing of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Reardon (1982: 25) believes that persuasion is the activity of showing and attempting to alter the behavior of at least one person through symbolic interaction. Burgoon et al (1994: 177) view persuasion as that transmitted symbolic act which intends to modify, form, or strengthen the opinions, beliefs, values, attitudes, and/or behaviour of oneself or others. Accordingly, such view assumes that

certain modification in behaviour should occur before one could argue that the act of persuasion has taken place.

In fact, persuasion aims at making some sort of change, not just by giving information, but persuasion should imply a “successful” action. O’Keefe (1990: 14-16) points that "when we say that one person has persuaded another, we ordinarily identify a successful attempt to influence". It seems to be true that success as a notion is embedded in the concept of persuasion. Simons (2002: 7) maintains that persuasion is a human communication designed to influence the autonomous judgments and actions of others.

Price (1997: 71) states that persuasion involves change in the mental state of the persuadee. This suggests that change in the mental state takes place before behavior changes. However, this may not be true all the time. According to O’Keefe (1990: 17). Type of mental state in this context has been identified as attitude. The definition offered by O’Keefe is " a successful intentional effort at influencing another's mental state through communication in a circumstance in which the persuadee has some measure of freedom". Thus persuasion, will affect attitudes, values, and beliefs of receivers , i.e., to target the audience's mental state.

One may ask what is there in human beings that needs to be communicated. To answer such a question we need to know about three elements of human personality: attitudes, values and beliefs.

Someone's attitude is best described as a person's general evaluation of an 'object' a 'person' or 'people', an 'event', an 'incident', a 'commodity', and 'institution'. Evaluation means 'judgment about' or 'reaction to' something. Attitudes are supposed to be learned. In addition, to be relatively enduring , and are not the same as temporary states such as moods. Attitudes are also supposed to affect the way we behave (Price, 1997: 72). In other words, attitudes are mentally based elements that affect human behaviour, if someone takes a negative attitude towards another, then he would act accordingly. Thus, negative attitudes one may

hold towards someone else would impede persuasive efforts aiming at changing people's decisions.

As for persuasion, the art of rhetoric, which in the researcher's point of view should be based on two notions. On the one hand, the credibility of the persuader. On the other hand, the persuadee must be fully free to respond positively or not. When it comes to persuasion, both authors adopt "a classical notion" based on the teacher-student speech event during which a 'course of interaction' takes place. The classical rhetorical techniques of the ancient Greek and Romans were aimed at creating discourses that could illuminate the issue at hand. Such persuasion could take the form of an argument, a debate, and a discussion. The ultimate result was to educate and the benefit goes for both the audience and the speaker. Therefore we find Simons (2001:4) confirms that Aristotle believes in rhetoric as an instrument for giving effectiveness to truth, but truth is not always easy to come by. Only philosophers such as Plato and Socrates have the luxury of suspending judgment until they have arrived at universal principles. . Hence, we may say that persuasion deals with matters of judgment rather than certainty, which makes us wonder about the persuader ability to guarantee mutual needs. Thus we can confidently suggest that persuasion of all profits intended to lead unbelievers to the right path is actually the one Jowett talk.

2 . 1 . 3 . 1 . Attributes of Human Personality

One may ask what is there in human beings that needs to be communicated. To answer such a question we need to know about three elements of human personality: attitudes, values and beliefs.

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moods. Attitudes are also supposed to affect the way we behave (Price, 1997: 72). In other words, attitudes are mentally based elements that affect human behaviour, if someone takes a negative attitude towards another, then he would act accordingly. Thus, negative attitudes one may hold towards someone else would impede persuasive efforts aiming at changing people's decisions.

Values are ideas about the relative worth of things and the nature of good and bad. Myers and Myers (1983: 93) point that values often cluster together to form systems of behaviour. It is the individuals who apply values to things, rather than being in the nature of things. Hence, values would influence our judgment on how we should behave. For instance, values of the Europeans differ to great extent from those of Muslims concerning sex matters, veils, and alcoholic drinks, and any disruption of them can cause us serious . Beliefs operate as thoughts about the relative truth or falsehood of a thing. Some beliefs are central to a person, whilst other are less important. Central beliefs are those if positively or negatively activated, consequences would occur on other beliefs related to the central one. such beliefs are 'fundamental' (ibid.: 94). We all believe in the existence of God, on which other dependant beliefs rotates. Such as those related to prophets, the holy books and the like. Hence, we may conclude that fundamental beliefs would include things taught to us since childhood distress.

2 . 1 . 4 . Language of Persuasion

Persuasion uses language and symbolic action. Symbolic action includes all the behaviours that are meaningful. In politics, politicians use language in order to persuade people to vote for or support them by using various means such as: using advertisements, speeches, news , websites and other means.

"Persuaders" use variety of techniques to grasp our attention to establish credibility and trust, to stimulate desire for the product, or policy, and to motivate us to act (buy, vote, give, money). These techniques are

called "Language of Persuasion". They are not new, Aristotle wrote about persuasion principles more than 2000 years ago and they have been used by speakers, writers and media markers (www.nmm/p.org, 2007).

Aristotle classified the means of persuasion into three main categories:

1. Persuasion through personality and stance (that the speaker is honest, interesting and worthy of attention and respect).
2. Persuasion through the arousal of emotion (the audience is lacking some quality product or service- worth, power, safety, health that the speaker may be able to 'provide').
3. Persuasion through reasoning (about the veracity, logic or usefulness of the speaker's ideas) (Beard, 2000:1).

Persuasion is a process of verbal and nonverbal communication that attempts to influence people in their attitudes, opinions and behaviours. Pardo (2001) views persuasion as coercive, authoritarian, manipulative and this can be clearly seen in the argument of verbal behaviour.

Some scholar's opinions figure the tools of persuasion as signs and symbols, specifically the words of verbal communication as well as the symbols, images and other elements of non-verbal communication.

The study of persuasion involves a cooperation between the persuaders and persuadees. Van Dijk (1998, cited in Pardo, 2001) states that the study of persuasion should be based on a theory of cognition and on text processing. According to Van Dijk, the argument between the persuader and persuadee is based on an implicit threat rather than on arguments or other forms of persuasion. But, the required choice for action is made because the alternative (not acting or acting indifferently) is less attractive to the actor (Ibid).

It is very important to employ arguments, in order to persuade, through political discourse to be 'catching', thus enabling a high degree of re-production chiefly at the media level (Ibid).

As a result, it can be concluded that politics is persuasion and persuasion is conducted predominantly through language. Thus, language is defined as the linguistic methods of persuading use of what is good or bad in a democracy and one can presume, good or bad for others.

2 . 1 . 5 . Pre- Persuasion

Pre-persuasion has so much to do with the structure of issues and frame of decisions. It is successful only when it makes every one takes its course for granted, and to cleverly define and discuss its matters(Ibid, 116).

2 . 1 . 5 . 1 . Words of Influence

Words have power, and great influence to persuade. The description of an object, and the manner in which a course of action is presented, both will direct our thoughts and module our cognitive response concerning communication In fact the pre-persuading Words are the target through the labels he uses. Hence, the recipient would accept the presented definition of the situation even before the argument begins Lutz, (1989: 35). Glittering Generalities refers to purr or virtue words that have positive connotations but are usually ambiguous in the context in which they are used. They might mean different things to different people, and they can be used in different ways. Glittering Generality device seeks to make us approve and accept the message without verifying evidence Lee & Lee, (1939: 45). For excerpt, when presidential candidate speaks of democracy, civilization, Christianity, good, democracy, motherhood, fatherhood, science, health. we immediately think of our own notion of democracy. Thus, we may assume that the speaker is using the word in our sense, and we may turn to be less skeptic or suspicious than we were first before the speaker starts giving his message.

In our recent days we so frequently hear Iraqi politicians speak of "National Reconciliation", it is an attractive phrase, and has a promising

connotative meaning, but it also implicates many interpretations for the involved political parties. So does "Honorable Peace" Which has different meanings to both the Palestinians and Israelis, and "Patriotic Partnership Government" in Iraq.

2 . 1 . 5 . 2 . Pictures in our Heads

It is a fact that in so many times, our inherited fiction guides our thoughts and actions. It seems that many people construct a complete fiction belief based on a simple external fact supported by many of our parents' beliefs, which so much we embrace. A broken glass, someone sneezes while another intends to leave the house. All these are superstitions rooted in the minds of many people, and have their diverse interpretations. A Broken window means bad omen, sneezing means intentions will not be accomplished, people usually tend to follow what others believe to be facts.

Thus, when it comes to Mass media we can find it capable of painting an imagined world, and that the pictures in our heads derived from the media would influence what men and women do and say at particular moment. Political actors do make benefit of this fact, they focus their media tools to make them ready to accept what is coming next. . Political actors usually and repeatedly talk about certain issues of wide range concerns. Hence, can create a political picture of the society that is (Pratkanis & Aronson, 2002: 29).

2 . 1 . 5 . 3 . The Factoids

A factoid is a term that was first coined by the novelist Norman Mailer, the factoid is an assertion of fact that is not backed up by evidence, usually because the fact is false or because evidence in support of the assertion cannot be obtained (Pratkanis and Aronson, 2002: 33).

For excerpt, we recently heard through media that Obama is still a Muslim and he hides this fact, obviously, this is a factoid launched by the republicans to prime or pre-persuade voters re-thing their decisions, before congress mid elections, also accusing Iraq of having WMD and terrorist

cooperation with al Qaeda are factoids intended to prepare the world agree and accept the pre-decided invasion of Iraq, the Iranian president Nejad publicly accused the USA government of arranging the 9/11 attacks as one attempt to mobilize the world against Taliban, Al Qaeda, and Saddam's regime .

Both authors suggest some reasons for which a factoid is so persuasive, we seldom attempt to verify the authenticity of a factoid, especially when it comes directly from a trusted source, a friend, a newspaper, a favorable TV channel and the like. Even when we seek to verify a factoid, it is often difficult, because factoids allege secret information resources. We accept factoids because they often meet one or more psychological needs. Factoids help us rationalize and justify our most fundamental worries and concerns, for except a Scandalous factoid would satisfy our indignation, hatred, envy, and make us feel better about ourselves by showing us that even the great " X" has his faults too. Factoids are also used to create social reality, and to construct certain beliefs of the world. We may render our problems to what is already heard by people.(Ibid, 34)

2 . 1 . 5 . 4 . Source Credibility

Character and prestige have their persuasive effects. It is a fact that Aristotle more than 300 years BC wrote:

We believe good men more fully and more readily than others: this is true generally whatever the question is, and absolutely true where exact certainty is impossible and opinions are divided.... Character may almost be called the most effective means of persuasion.

(cited in Roberts, 1954: 25)

Profit Muhammad (may peace be upon him) was believed for his credibility that was known and agreed upon since his youth. Pratkanis (1993: 295) points out that we often use credibility of a communicator to guide us either to accept or reject the

2 . 1 . 5 . 5 . Emotional Appeals

Leventhal, (1970:119) shows that the more frightened people are most eager to change their behavior if compared with those exposed to low or moderate fear. Moreover, it is proved that the people who had a reasonably good opinion of themselves, that is high self-esteem, are most likely to be influenced by high degrees of fear. Thus, we may suggest that an immediate action is least likely to be taken by those of low self-esteem when put under pressure.

Pratkanis and Aronson (2002: 50) postulate four points for effective fear appeal that enhance persuading individuals: first, the exertion of maximum level of fear on people. Second, the propagandist must offer a specific recommendations for overcoming the fear-arousing threat on their turn people must perceive the recommended action as effective for reducing the threat. Third, the message recipient should believe that the speaker can perform the recommended action:

One more emotional appeal is the 'granfallon technique', which forms the basis for an emotionally powerful persuasive technique. According to Jameson (1988: 87), Henri Tajfel finds that complete strangers are formed into groups using the most trivial, inconsequential criteria imaginable. Individuals, who are total strangers and never interact with one another before, act as if those who shared their meaningless label are their good friends or close kin. It creates sense of unity, and emphasizes similarities within the group, whereas exaggerate differences with other groups. Shared emotions and feelings can also create a sense of oneness with One persuasive skill of Barack Obama is his ability to express emotions people feel or would like to feel. In other words, speakers attempt to persuade their audience that they and their ideas are from the people and for people.

2 . 1 . 6 . Persuasion Tactics

The successful persuader may use any number of influential tactics capable of moving the target to think positively about an issue or course of action. However, maximum influence has great chance to occur when four

tactics of influence are achieved. Hart (1987: 115) points out that the four stratagems: Pre-persuasion, source credibility, message delivery, and emotional appeals, are a simulation to Aristotle's three facets of persuasion, the source (ethos), the message (logos), and the emotions (pathos). Moreover scholars find that pre-persuasion is basically based on Cicero's development of Aristotle's concept of *antechnoi* into a theory of *statis* (status of issue). It seems that contemporary scholars have modified these terms in order to make them suit our modern usage. Due to developments in our recent life style, modern scholars find that each tactic inclusively is a group of sub-ones.

2.1.7. Strategies of Persuasion

Johnstone (2008: 246-247) recognizes the strategies of persuasion and points that:

1. The first strategy is 'quasilogical' as stated by Perelman, et al., (1969,cited in Johnstone: Ibid). They use this term in order to focus on the structure and wording of argumentation whether in formal logic or mathematics but are not logical in strict sense, i.e (2.16).*"Let's invite Kathy to the party. She and Chris would probably get along, since, they're both friends of Ann's"*.

Here in this example, the speaker constructs an argument that is based on the logical principles of "transitivity", as follows: if A implies B and B implies C, then A implies C. This explanation can not be denoted that the friendship ... the fact is that if A likes person B and person B likes C, this does not mean that person A will like person C. So, in this case, this argument is called "quasilogical "(Ibid).

2. Another persuasive strategy is called 'presentational' in contrast with "quasilogical" persuasion. Presentational is a process of a rational convincing based on the assumption that being persuaded is being

moved, swept along by a rhythmic flow of words and sound, in the way that swept along with poetry (Ibid).

The aim of presentational persuasion is to make one argues maximally present in the audience's consciousness by repeating and paraphrasing it, calling aesthetic attention to it. The language of presentational is characterized by its rhythmic and paratactic flow. The procedure that claimed to be present is metaphors.

3. Another strategy is the use of other ways of creating analogies between prior situations and current ones. Such stories, e.g. that are taken from Bible and the stories that are taken from religious texts, as parent's stories.

In addition, Richardson (2007: 186) views that Aristotle process three strategies:

1. **Logos**, the structure of an argument and the way a good argument draws to support a conclusion.
2. **Ethos**, the character of the arguer or the way that is inclined to people believe who perceive in order to be trustworthy or are acknowledgeable about the matter under discussion.
3. **Pathos**, to make the audience more receptive to conclusion by using the emotional themes or emotional language.

Louis Kriesberg (1982: 5-9)suggests five ways in which one party might influence another in moving towards a resolution of a dispute:

1. The Strategy of being Defensive

It involves establishing an argument through suggestion better known to the reader. Party A may ask Party B to look at the situation from Party A's point of view, to take on the role of Party A. This may serve to help Party B understand that Party A's intentions are, for example, defensive rather than aggressive.

2. The Strategy of Getting Benefit

Party B may benefit in a different way from the right or privilege that party A seeks. One argument in place of the oppressed is that oppression hurts the oppressor as well as the oppressed.

3. The Face- Saving Strategies

The third kind of persuasive argument tries to turn a divisive issue into a problem that is shared and needs a mutually satisfactory solution. This is also called reframing. Reframing allows the adversary to see the issue differently and retreats from a previously stated singular position to a new one shared ; it may also serve as a "face-saving" mechanism. The more publicly I have committed myself to a position, the more/ embarrassing it is for me to back away from it. If, however, the issue is reframed, it is the situation rather than my stance that has changed.

4. The Superordinate Goal Strategy (Shared Antagonist)

While parties A and B may be locked in a conflict over one set of issue, they may also share an antagonist against whom they can work together. This antagonist needs not to be another party; it may be a shared issue. If the concern is shared and its importance is higher than those issues which separate the parties, it becomes a 'superordinate' goal.

5. Ethical Appeal Strategy

Persuasion may also occur through appeals to common values and norms... . The appeal is made to abstract principles, shared identifications or previously neglected values.

There are three types of appeals: (a) 'conscience' the speaker is relying on shared values; it is crucial that she or he is seen as acting in accordance with these values, 'Appeals to data and logic typically rely on new information or on the reorganization of existing information. It is also called the strategy of induction for it involves Aristotle identifies an effective 'emotional appeal' as "excit(ing)" the required state of emotion in your hearer." A strong argument needs facts at its base, and even the strongest may not "move" one person to change behavior without an appropriate emotional appeal.

2.1.8 The Three Legs of Persuasion

One of the most notable concepts developed by Aristotle was the notion of "pisties" or the proofs that were necessary to convince the audience of one's argument. He believed that there were three means whereby persuasion could be accomplished in a public address. 'pisties' is divided into three sections: ethos, pathos, and logos (Kennedy, 1985:24).

2.1.8.1 The Appeal to Ethos (character)

Ethos is the term used by Aristotle for what modern students of communication refer to as credibility. The ability to persuade is directly affected by the credibility of the document. Credibility is the degree to which a statement, a person, and/ or a company is perceived to be ethical, trustworthy, and sincerer. Credibility is strongly related to the audience's perception of how believable a speaker is. It is an attitude that exists not in the speaker, but in the mind of the audience. The two major factors influencing a speaker's credibility are competence and character. A speaker's credibility can vary from audience and from topic to topic. Three

types of credibility influence the success or failure of messages (Boon and Kurtz, 1994: 271). Initial credibility is the credibility of the speaker before she or he starts to speak. Derived credibility is the credibility of the speaker himself as produced during the speech itself. Finally, terminal credibility is the credibility of the speaker at the end of the speech (ibid: 40).

2.1.8.2. The Appeal to Pathos (Emotion)

Aristotle used the term Pathos for what modern students of communication refer to as emotional appeal. Emotional appeals are intended to make listeners feel afraid, compassionate, proud, angry, shameful and reverent, etc. So, the appeal to pathos is directed towards the emotions of the audience. Although people are rational creatures who appreciate a reasonable argument, they are also emotional creatures. In many situations emotion remains the most powerful persuasive factor. Where logical arguments sometimes fail, emotions often have the power to motivate people to respond and act (Boone and Kurt 1994:42).

There are three methods a speaker can use to generate emotional appeal when speaking to persuade. One way is to use emotion-laden words. Yet, one should avoid packing too many emotionally charged words into one part of the speech. This can call too much attention to the language itself and undermine its desired impact.

Another way to generate an emotional appeal is to develop vivid, richly textured examples that personalize one's ideas and help pull listeners into the speech emotionally. Yet another way to generate emotional appeal is to speak with sincerity and conviction. This is because the strongest source of emotional power is the conviction and sincerity of the speaker (ibid. 42).

2.1.8.3 The Appeal to Logos (Reason)

The appeals to reason that an orator might use do not violate the principles of strict logic; they are merely adaptations of logic. So, where as “the syllogism and induction” are the forms that reasoning takes in logic “the enthymeme” and the example are the forms that reasoning takes in rhetoric (Corbette, 1990:39).

Aristotle, who was the first to analyze an argument in a logical order, first introduced the theory of syllogism. He did this by using enthymemes and syllogism. His description of syllogism was that it is a ‘deductive argument consisting of a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion (Ivan 1989:319).

2.1.9 Parts of persuasion

New rhetoric has to interest for different language varieties since persuasion is only one among the aims of discourse (Richard, 1936: 24). In particular, the two main features of persuasive discourse are the use of examples to prove a point, and the use of enthymemes (Van Dijk, 1985: 120): Kane and Peters (1966:22-26) state that a persuasive discourse attempts to change the convictions and frequently the activities of the receivers.

Persuasion is a form of speaking or writing that aims to induce the audience to take action. There are five parts to a persuasive discourse. These are the introduction, the statement of fact or circumstance, the proof or confirmation, the refutation of counter argument (s), and the conclusion. These elements of the persuasive discourse are discussed in the following subsections:

2.1.9.1 The Introduction

The introduction is the most important part of a persuasive discourse. The introduction must do two things simultaneously: establish a relationship between the audience and the addresser, and a relationship

between the audience and the subject, In other words, to find a topic that one feels strongly about it.

However, if the writer feels that the audience will be indifferent or hostile, it may be necessary to create sympathy or dispel a negative prejudice with the help of one of the following techniques:

- 1- The creation of a relationship by showing that the subject is relevant to the audience in a compelling, immediate, and personal way.
- 2- Educating the reader by supplying background information, and giving definitions of key terms.
- 3- Narration, by telling some interesting, relevant story that entertains the reader.
- 4- Indirect introduction of the topic at hand. (ibid).

2.1.9.2. The Statement of Fact

The statement of fact must establish the addresser's opinion and position on an issue. It means a call to some action or attitude through the presentation of a certain proposition that requires such an action or attitude. The concept 'proposition' is taken from the fields of philosophy and logic and is used in a general sense in discourse studies, namely, to denote the minimal unit of meaning. A proposition has a verb- the predicate- as its nucleus, and one or more arguments, which are related to the nucleus (Renkema, 1992:54).

2.1.9.3 The Proof

An argument starts from a proposition or a statement about a topic that the addresser intends to prove. In order to prove a proposition, the addresser must adduce either facts or the opinion of authorities (Connolly, 1959: 445). Unless they are common knowledge to the addressees, facts must be verified. Thus, an accurate factual base is one proposition of persuasion. However, many propositions are supported by opinions rather than by facts.

By authority is not meant any person, but that trustful person or text which represents the collective wisdom of the human race or the people as embodied in the traditions of prophets, philosophers, scientists, free and objective thinkers, or in proverbs, epigrams, and quotations (ibid: 446).

2.1.9 4 The Refutation

The refutation will come before the proof if the audience is hostile to the case that the speaker is establishing. The refutation must contain the following elements:

- a. a clear transitional expression,
- b. a clear statement of antithesis,
- c. an explanation or defense of the antitheses,
- d. a refutation of the antithesis.

(Kane and Peter (1966:22-26)

2.1.9 5 The Conclusion

The conclusion is required to be drawn from the previous arguments, clarifications, examples, etc. In other words, it should be

organically related to the previous discourse. Being the result of the message, it is frequently marked by an explicit summary. It has to be short and must not present new information or raise new questions. (ibid: 22-26).

2.1.10 The Psychological Bases of Persuasion

Brembek and Howell (1976: 17) argue that the process of persuasion involves five basic psychological steps or stages. These psychological steps are summarized hereunder.

- Attention gain and attention maintenance: without attention persuasion cannot take place. Attention must be maintained until the communication situation ceases.
- Compression: provides visual and/ or auditory symbols to facilitate the predictable perception of the materials within a message.
- Acceptance: creates useful desires indicating motivations that are helpful to your purposes. The persuasive motivations must arouse those desires, which propel and persuade the addressees towards the goal being sought.
- Retention: gets people to remember. Demonstrates how these desires can best be satisfied by the addressees' acceptance of the persuader's desires. If the desires are required to supply the impelling power to persuasion, the persuader must be able to demonstrate that what he proposes can satisfy those desires.
- Action: urges people to do what you want (ibid).

2.1.11. Psychological Techniques of Persuasion

After establishing the target and the appropriate strategy, persuaders can resort to a variety of techniques in conveying their messages. The most prominent of these techniques are offered by Brown (1963: 1974), which can be summarized in the following points:

2.1.11.1 Common Ground

This technique requires appealing to certain individual aspects that we all share.

2.1.11. 2 Repetition

This technique requires the persuader to repeat the same idea over and over. The persuader is confident that, if he repeats a statement often enough, it will in time come to be accepted by his audience.

2.1.11.3 The Scapegoat Technique

This technique involves blaming others for the irreconcilable problems in which they had no involvement, usually to escape one's own fault.

2.1.11.4 Strategy of Terror

Terror or fear can be used to get a certain desirable response or an action.

2.1.11.5 Transfer

Transfer makes use of the concept that uses a certain product or adopting a certain position endorsed by desirable spokesman; will transfer to the persuade some qualities of the spokesman- ostensibly gained by him through the use of the same product. (ibid)

2.1.12 The Semantic Marker of Persuasive Style

The semanticist tries to answer the question: “What do the words mean in this message”? This axis focuses attention on why certain words are used instead of others. Osgood, et al. (1955:62) suggest that semantic meaning for any word concept can be located by charting it in semantic space using the semantical differential, a total whereby receivers respond to a word, phrase, or concept along with several polar scales. Each end of a scale represents an adjectival description, for example, “good-bad” or “heavy- light.” As far as persuasive style is concerned, the major components of the semantic axis are the following: Semantic ambiguity and semantic repetition.

2.1.12.1 Semantic Ambiguity

There are several ways by which persuaders can create persuasive ambiguity. One way is related to semantics in which the persuader carefully “chooses words that can be interpreted in many ways, often in contradictory ways depending on the receivers” (Larson, 1979: 43). The term “black power” which emerged in the late 1960s, as part of the civil rights movement, relied on semantic ambiguity. The key word there was “power”, but what kind of power? Economic? Political? Social? Many interpretations of what power means here are possible (ibid). The term was also striking in its time in the use of the word “black” a term that the national association for the Advancement of Colored People had been fighting for years.

2.1.12.2 Semantic Repetition

As generally known to stylisticians, (e.g., Jakobson, 1960), the constructive principles of all poetic texts is patterned repetition or parallelism. Such a repetition on the expression level of phonological, lexical, and morpho-syntactic features can create format equivalence between the corresponding text segments. The repetition and the recurrence of semantically parallel forms produce a special type of balance

which occurs either through contrast of idea or by carrying semantic equivalence (Goodon and Kreiswirth, 1997:9). One of these semantic relations is that of repetition.

2 . 1 . 13. Persuasion and Political Rhetoric

In a democratic society, the major use of language in politics is for persuasion. The art of political persuasion was first established by the first democracy in Ancient Greece. The use of rhetorical devices is one of the most striking features in electoral speeches. The creative linguistic features are not, merely used to decorate electoral speeches and make them more appealing to the audience, but more important is to criticize and delegitimize the opponent while positively highlight certain personal aspects.

As a result of the influence of classical rhetoric on contemporary politics, political actors have been associated with superior eloquence, mastery of discourse, and the use of rhetorical tools such as metaphor, repetition, stock phrases, and the like (Flowerdew, 2002:149). Hence, it becomes obvious that persuasion is not always achieved by logical argument, but by employing creative linguistic means.

Johnstone (2008: 245) sheds light on the 'quasilogical strategy' which is based on logical syllogism argument constructed on the model of a proof and formal logic. For excerpt, to exemplify such persuasive strategy, Martin Luther King sent a letter from jail, the argument is this: Laws that degrade human personality are unjust. Segregation laws degrade human personality. Therefore, segregation laws are unjust.

However, we may assume that a persuasive strategy that is effective and acceptable in one context may fail in another. In electoral propaganda campaign, a candidate's interest is not to provide arguments on the issues, instead they address a wider audience using a familiar mode in order to attract the attention of the public and persuade them that their policy is right, that their criticisms are justified, and that they have something better to offer. Hence, various issues are not actually discussed in detail. Goals are

vaguely described and not thoroughly presented and accounted for in argumentative terms.

Accordingly, (ibid.:247) presents us to a 'presentational strategy' for persuasion, which is based on the assumption that "being persuaded is being moved, being swept along by a rhythmic flow of words and sounds the way we are sometimes swept along by poetry". The ultimate goal of presentational persuasion is to make the message present in the audience's consciousness, this can be done by using number of rhetorical devices. Moreover, the language of presentational persuasion is characterized by its rhythmic, paratactic flow, and it creates interpersonal involvement. Repetition, metaphor, analogy, parallelism, rhetorical question, and alliteration are the hypothesized devices, this section will investigate:

2.1.13.1 Repetition

This device requires the politician to repeat the same idea recurrently. The political actor believes that if he repeats a word, a phrase, or a clause many times, his propositions would be more highlighted, acceptable and memorable. The rhythm of repetition would rolls like a drum through the speech. Such strategy will create a noise or a regular rhythm that authentically sounds like politics.

Price (2000:159) signifies the importance of repetition in electoral speeches. It emphasizes key elements and ideas while avoiding monotony. Repetition is a means by which the speaker gives structure to his speech, and even allow him make time while he regards the development of his next point. Hawkes (1977:136) points to another important function, it is the link between icons and symbols. When we combine words, which are symbolic into sentences and phrases, we create complex forms of iconicity. This point is clarified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 127-8) as they contrast: 'He ran and ran and ran and ran' with 'He ran'. They points out that the repetition in the first sentence changes its meaning without changing its semantic content. They realize that repeating the same word would

lengthen the sentence and makes it mimics the 'behavior' described by the sentence.

There are traditional names for many forms of repetition, for instance, alliteration for the use of a series of words beginning with the same sounds, parallelism for repeated grammatical structure, the repetition of certain words or phrases for their central role in the message. Woods (2006: 57) focuses on linguistic features that are used repeatedly:

(i). **Catch Phrases:** catch phrases are appealing phrases which people find it interesting to recurrently repeat them over and over.

Catch phrases are usually repeated in one speech or in a group of speeches that fit the same occasion.

(ii). **The Three Parts List:** It is presented as three key qualities that together define the values of the audience the campaign is aiming at. A list of three suggests unity and completeness; it also creates the familiar rhythm that the audiences recognize as both persuasive and political. It may contain the same words. . The following excerpt is from Blair's speech to the Labour Party conference 2000:

Excerpt (2.1)

Today I make further commitment... to increase the share ...on education in the next parliament. **Education, education, education.**

(Cited in Woods, 2006: 70)

Or it may include different words. The following excerpts are taken from David Cameron's in 2006:

Excerpt(2. 2)

With **growth, jobs** and **low mortgages** in place, we can Ensure rising living standards for all.
(ibid)

It also may comprise clauses or phrases that according to Leanne (2009: 107-110) can be put into four categories: anaphora, epistrophe, and Mesodiplosis.

(iii) Anaphora

Is the recurrence of the same word, words, or phrases at the beginning of successive sentences, phrases, and clauses. The function is for focusing attention on key words, ideas, and help enhance the communicative power of electoral speech. The following excerpt is extracted from Churchill's speech to the House of Commons, 4 June 1940, will illustrate:

Excerpt(.2. 3)

we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds (ibid)

(iv) Epistrophe: Is the recurrence of the same word, words, or phrases at the end of successive sentences, phrases, or clauses:

(2. 4) The idea **was flawed**. The planning **was flawed**.,

The execution **was flawed**. (Cited in Leanne, 2009:110)

(v) Mesodiplosis: the recurrence of a word or phrase near the midpoint of successive clauses or sentences. Here is an excerpt:

(2.5) We faced great obstacles yet we did not give up; we felt

Great resistance, yet we did not give in; we grew weary from

The long fight, yet we did not lie down.

(ibid)

2 . 1 .13 .2. Metaphor

A metaphor is not very different from a simile. It is defined as making compatibility between unrelated things without using the words "as" and "like." Or making conformity by transferring a name from one thing to another. The employment of metaphors is common in all human communication (Bloor & Bloor, 2007: 69). Many scholars consider metaphor as one of the most important characteristics of political communication used not only to persuade but also to create coherence in political texts. It contribute to the creation of common ground by appealing to a shared cultural frame, by allowing for new and easy to comprehend conceptualizations in the political field.

(Beard,2000:19;Chilton and Chaffner,2000: 28).

Since metaphors are important in our every day communication in general and in political interaction in particular, Lakoff and Johnsen (1980) introduced their metaphor theory. It belongs to the field of cognitive linguistics, which aims at explaining conceptual systems and language within the general study of the brain and mind. It draws on cognitive psychology, cognitive neuroscience, and developmental psychology. It attempts to unify those disciplines to explain many aspects of language as possible, including syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Both authors stress that the locus of metaphor is thought, not language, and that a metaphor is one major part of our ordinary way of conceptualizing the world (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 204- 70). According to this theory, every metaphor is based on a single idea called a conceptual metaphor that links a bodily with non- bodily experience.

(2.6) The democratic process in America will give birth to legitimate governments. (ibid:205)

These are words people frequently hear nowadays, the conceptual metaphor is "Democracy is a Women", here the conceptual metaphor has two domains: the source domain (human female) which is the bodily domain. And the target domain (the government) which is the non-bodily

domain. The connection or the correspondence between the source and the target is called mapping (ibid.:206).

Moreover a distinction can be made between Conv metaphors that are common and conceptualize our ordinary experience, and creative or imaginative metaphors that provide a new conceptualization for our experience. For instance, in the Conv metaphor:

(2 . 7) America is the birthplace of all the Americans.

the conceptual metaphor is "America is a Mother"

(2 . 8) Our life is a silly play

(ibid).

is an example of imaginative metaphor based on "Life is Theatre" conceptualization.

The conceptualizing of a nation through family metaphor is common. (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003) describe the worldview of Republicans and Democrats in the United States of America, in terms of two models: the strict father model for the Republicans, and nurturant parent model for the Democrat. Though are fundamentally different models, still share the same conceptual metaphor (THE NATION IS A FAMILY). Lakoff (2003) claims that in the United States people's beliefs about what a family should be have a strong influence on their conception of society. For instance, the author says that, those who see the world in terms of a nurturing model favor more cooperative approaches, such as social policies in health care or education.

In the conceptual metaphor THE NATION IS A FAMILY produces inferences called entailments such as: America deserves sacrifice, America wants us to love each other as brothers and sisters, etc (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 139).

It is worth mentioning that Charteris-Black (2005:21) explains that metaphors occur when there is semantic tension between the source domain and the target domain. The tension can be caused by reification, personification or depersonification. Reification occurs, whenever we refer to something abstract using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something concrete.

(.2 . 9) We are constantly bombarded (**concrete**) with warnings (**abstract**) about bird flu.

(Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 140)

In the case of personification, the source domain is always a person. Personification occurs when we refer to some thing inanimate using a word or phrase that in other context refers to something animate.

(2 . 10) Life has cheated me

This fact argues against the standard theories.

(ibid)

Depersonification occurs when we refer to something animate using a word or phrase that in other contexts is inanimate.

(2 .11) The enemy is crawling towards our borders.

It is worth mentioning that there are common source domains for metaphors common in political rhetoric: military domain, theatre domain, sport domain, medicine domain, human body domain, animal domain, building and construction domain.

2 . 1 .13.3. Analogy

Analogies occur whenever contemporary situations are compared with historical events or myths. Ideas and concepts are intended to be clarified in an analogy by comparing them with supposedly well known phenomena (Beard 2000: 27). Analogies may be used to support a proposition if for instance real excerpts are close in time or if it is an extremely sensitive

issue (Charteris-Black,2005: 4). It is claimed that during the civil Rights movement, Martin Luther King, the American preacher, drew analogies between the situation of the African American and the oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt (Ibid: 68). In his analogies, king managed to merge biblical story with present time and creates a moral vision comprising all Americans in a new American national identity free from ethnic segregation. This illustrate how powerful the use of analogies can be. Another excerpt from recent history is the analogy made by the Americans during first Arabic Gulf crises, between Saddam Hussein as abominable and insane fascist along with Hitler. Though there was no evidence that Kuwait was an innocent victim.

2 . 1 . 13. 4 . Parallelism

Trask (1993:198) defines parallelism as "coordinate construction with all parts stand in the same syntactic relation to the rest of the sentence, is a parallel construction". Hence, parallelism would be successive sentences of the same construction to convey parallel or concord ideas for a rhetorical persuasive effect.

Parallelism helps make speeches more concise, clarifies the meanings and relations of compound sentences, and paragraphs, and satisfy audience' expectations concerning speeches. The persuasive strategy based on 'presentational performance', is characterized by its parallel clauses connected in coordinate series (Johnstone, 2008:247).

(Woods, 2006:71) points out that parallelism can be made across sentences, within sentence, or even inside clauses and phrases. And distinguishes two types of parallel structures, the synonymous parallelism. The following excerpt from King's speech (I have a dream) will illustrate:

(2 . 12) Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy.

Now is the time to make justice a reality for all God's children.

(Cited in Johnstone, 2008:248)

And the antithetic parallelism where a contrast is drawn between the elements that are paralleled. Zheng (2000:13) political addressors place opposing ideas side by side to retrieve information from memories of the audience for the benefit of the speaker

(2 . 13 We believe in personal responsibility. But not in selfish individualism

(Cited in Woods, 2006:71)

Here is an excerpt taken from John F Kennedy's inaugural address in 1961:

(2 . 14) Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country

(ibid)

2 . 1 .13. 5. Rhetorical Question:

Rhetorical questions are questions whose answers are considered obvious and therefore are not answered by a speaker explicitly. They help emphasize points, crystallize attention around important issues, laying the groundwork for delving into key themes and to persuade the audience to accept the argument more readily. (Leanne, 2010: 106).

(2.15) Who does not love this country ?

(ibid)

2 . 1 . 13. 6. Alliteration

Alliteration is the recurrence of initial consonant sounds or letters in two or more successive words (Weissman, 2009: 170).

2.1.14. Pragmatics of Persuasion

Pragmatics is a new subfield of linguistics which developed in the late 1970s. It studies how people comprehend and produce a communicative act or speech act in a concrete speech situation, which is usually a conversation. Pragmatics distinguishes two intents or means in each utterance or a communicative act of verbal communication. One is the informative intent or the sentence meaning, and the other communicative

intent or speaking meaning (Leech, 1981; Sperber and Wilson, 1986) The ability to comprehend and produce a communicative act is referred to as pragmatic competence which often includes one's knowledge about the social distance, social status between the speakers involved, the cultural knowledge such as politeness, and the linguistic knowledge explicit and implicit (Kasper, 1997) Therefore, the acquisition of pragmatic competence is a prerequisite for the generation of persuasive messages.

The pragmatic principles people abide by in one language are often different in another. Thus what can be considered a persuasive message in one culture may fail to be so in some other culture. Likewise, Cross-linguistic and Cross-cultural studies reported what is considered polite in one language is sometimes not polite in another. Contrastive pragmatics, however, is not confined to the study of a certain pragmatic principles, cultural breakdowns, pragmatic failure, among many other things, are also components of cross-cultural pragmatics (Liu, 2002: 2).

2.1.15 Persuasion and Attitude

In many ways, persuasion is the most natural and civilized way of changing the world since all people are consumers of persuasive attempts to change their attitudes (Hatim, 1999:1) This shows that attitudes and persuasion are always related processes since persuasion is primarily concerned with producing attitudinal change. Such a change is brought about either by influencing, altering, strengthening, or destroying existing opinions and values (Brembeck and Hawell, 1979: 127)- In other words, given that persuasion is concerned with the modification of the existing attitudes, thus the nature of attitudes and their relations to opinion and values require to be considered first.

2.1.16 The Theories of Persuasion

Theories of persuasion are based on what is known to work in attempts to persuade others. Like other theories, they make use of research- work aiming at providing persuaders with some ideas about what they should do in order to be successful under certain circumstances. While briefly, this introduced to the theories of persuasion is designed to provide evidence of some of the major theories that underlie the persuasive messages that are encountered every day.

Persuasion is strategic, and it should be approached with at least some understanding of what motivates people to act or not to act, as well as some basic knowledge of the researchers theories of persuasion. Accordingly, the following selection discusses some of the theories of persuasion.

2.1.16.1 Balance Theory

Haider (1946, 1958) is credited with a pioneering research in the area in the area of consisting theory with his balance theory and model. He contends that people strive attitudes and their behavior, and that they sense frustration or become psychologically upset when such a balance is not present. His theory makes use of essential types of relations between people and between people and the event (i) sentiment relations such as admiration approbation, or love; and (ii) unit relations which result in a unity of persons and related events such as proximity, similarity, causality, or ownership. (ibid, 1958: 107-12).

Balance theory states that when tensions arise inside or between people, these people attempt to reduce these relations through self-persuasion or trying to persuade others.

The interpretation of balance theory is that individuals have certain attitudes which can be represented by a plus sign (like) or a minus sign (dislike) (Griffin, 2000:107). Every individual has his own opinion, and

people do not always agree on the same things. This state of affairs creates a feeling of discomfort or imbalance; but when people feel the same about an idea, they have a feeling of comfort or balance (ibid: 2000: 107).

2.1.16.2 Congruity Theory

The congruity theory of attitude- change developed by Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955: 42) grew out their work on the measurement of meaning using their semantic differential scales. This theory predicts that if there are two contracting people, sets of information, or concepts on which a judgment must be made by single observer, the observer will experience pressure to change his or her judgment on one of the sides however, if the two sets of information are similar or congruent, “then there will be no problem, and the observer will not experience pressure of any form” (Griffin, 2000: 62).

2.1.16.3 Social Judgment Theory

This theory has been proposed by Sherif, Sherif, and Hovland (1961:445), who state that one’s acceptance or regret over one’s statement or message is based upon one’s cognitive map (Anderson & Ross, 1998:12) one accepts or rejects a message based on one’s own ego-involvement, and whether or not this message falls within one’s attitude of acceptance (ibid).

The interpretation of this theory is that when people receive a message(verbal or nonverbal), they immediately judge ‘where the message should be placed on a scale in their mind through comparing this message with their currently held views (Gragan and Shields, 1998: 4).

Social judgment theory proposes the idea that persuasion is a two-step process. The first step involves the individual’s hearing or reading a message and immediately, “evaluating where the message falls within their

own position.” The second step involves individuals as they adjust their particular attitude either towards or away from the message they heard.

Individuals have three zones in which they accept or reject specific messages or attitudes. The latitude of acceptance zone is where the individuals place the attitude they consider acceptable. The latitude of rejection zone is where the individuals place attitudes which they consider unacceptable or objectionable. The latitude of non-commitment is where people place the attitude that they find neither acceptable nor rejectable (Griffin,2000:9).

2.1.16.4 Tension Reduction Theories

In recent years there has been considerable concern with the theory that man desires to have logically consistent attitudes in reference to various life situations. An approach that has commanded the efforts of a number of social psychologists for over a decade is known as consistency theory. This is the theory that "a person strives to have consistent beliefs and behavior, and that when he is aware of some discrepancy he strives to rectify the inconsistency by making some change in his beliefs, his behavior, or perhaps both" (Brembeck and Howell 1976:68).

2.1.16.5 Elaboration likelihood Model

This theory was advanced by Boxter (1988). Elaboration Likelihood Model is a theory of persuasion which proposes that the influence exerted by various communication elements will depend upon the elaboration that occurs during processing. The word elaboration means the amount of integration between new information and existing knowledge stored in memory (ibid.257).

There are two routes to persuasion- the central route and the peripheral route. The central route uses message- elaboration and can produce a major positive, attentive change. It focuses on strong arguments

and information, involves making cognitive effort and requires high elaboration (Gragan & Shield, 1998:13).

The peripheral route uses irrelevant cues derived from some other different messages to illicit a quick response with a minor shift in attitude (Boxter, 1988:258). Peripheral route focuses on background cues, and involves little cognitive effort and low elaboration (Gragan & Shield, 1995:13).

2 . 2 . Approaches to Clause Relations

2 . 2 .1. Winter's Model

Winter (1968) was the first scholar to propose the concept of “ clause – relation “ to denote a limited set of “ *predetermined semantic relatios* “ . In a later supplementary work Winter (1971) presents his first definition of clause relations : “ a clause relation is the way which the information of one clause is understood in the light of the other clause “ (ibid : 42) . In this work he also differentiates , in both scientific and non – scientific material , between outer clause relations (the connection between sentences) and inner clause relation (connection by subordination) .

Subsequently , Winter (1977 : 192) has modified the definition of the clause relation to read :

A clause relation is how we understand a sentence or a group of sentence in an adjoining context of another sentence or group of sentences .

Winter (ibid : 35) states that one properly of these clause relations is that they reveal a system of “ *predictability* “ of context in that given one sentence within its preceding contexts , the lexical selection of the next sentence is frequently predictable .

Later on , Winter has developed the concept of clause relation by widening in scope . Thus , according to Winter (1982 : 178) the term is defined as :

The shared cognitive process whereby we interpret

Meaning of one clause or group of clause in the light of

Their adjoining clause or group of clause .

These semantic relations concern the way that the interpretation of one member is based on the lexical selection of the other . Winter (ibid : 87) is completed by the semantics of the next one .

Example (2 . 17) :

*(1) They stay in their cells for most of the day as well as the
night .*

*(2) There is nowhere else for them to go , and still be under
Supervision .*

In (2 . 17) above , by illustrating the “ *reason* ” why the situation in the first member (1) of the relation takes place , the second member (2) is understood to linked to the first one in a relation of” *reason*”. Such widening of the scope of clause relations is achieved to make it applicable not only to clause level , but also to whole discourses as well .

The definition of clause relations has been further broadened by Hoey and Winter (1986) by considering them as the cognitive “ process ” and “ product ” from the point of view of the reader’s interpretation and the Winter choice of lexis , grammar , and intonation . This broader definition rests upon the reader – writer communicative interaction .

Winter (1992 , 1994) believes that the two dominant ways of relating clauses are those of matching and logical sequence . matching is “ characterized by a high degree of systematic repetition between its clause , and by the semantics of compatibility or incompatibility “ (Winter , 1994 : 50) . Logical sequence , on the other hand , is “ concerned with representing selective change in a time / space continuum from simple time / space change to deductive or causal sequence “ (ibid “ 52) . Aspects

of logical sequencing according to Winter (ibid : 53 -55) , including instrument / achievement relation , condition / consequence relation , denial / correction relation , basis connection relation , connection and cause . Examples follow :

1 . Instrument / Achievement

Example (2 . 18)

Once on this page I announced I am no warped spinster waving the feminist flag , and thereby gravely offended some spinster reader .

(Winter , 2001 : 53)

2. Condition / Consequence :

Example (2 . 19) :

If the Russian were not to blame ; then the Americans must (ibid : 54)

3 . Denial / correction :

Example (2 . 20) :

The Russian *were* not to *blame* ; the Americans were [*to blame*] . (ibid)

4. Basis / connection :

Example (2 . 21) :

Perspiration offends others *It* should *offend* you , too .(ibid)

5 . Concession :

Example (2 . 22) :

I'm not rich and yet I am happy . (ibid : 55)

6 . Cause :

Example (2 . 23) :

I'm rich and therefore I am happy . (ibid : 55)

2 . 2 . 2. Hoey's Model

Hoey (1979, 1983 ,1986 , 1993 and 1994a) develops a model for discourse analysis in terms of rhetorical relation by using Winter's model of clause relations as starting point . His model concentrates upon showing how certain lexical items can signal not only clause relations but also the rhetorical pattern of whole texts .

Hoey (1979 : 33) identifies two ways to find out the presence of a rhetorical pattern , whatever is the pattern used in a discourse : namely by " *projecting* " the discourse in question into a dialogue in the form of questions and answers . This method can be explained in the following authentic text borrowed from Lado (1964 : 69) serves as one example :

Example (2 . 24):

Cultural Notes

1. It is difficult to present much of dialogue without getting into matter of culture content . 2. If these matter are not Clarified at the time , the student will assume that they are The same as in his own culture and may , as a result , Misunderstand what is said and done . 3 . Matters of cultural Content can be handled by brief cultural notes in the simple st Of terms , preferably , in the target language . 4a. When Clarification is not possible in the target language 4b . a Written note in the students' language might be read Silently by him without using the language aloud in class . 5 . these notes would be prepared ad hoc to fit the dialogues

As Hoey (1994a : 30) shows , the example above can be developed into a dialogue representative of questions and answers , constituting the sub-elements of the problem / solution structure .

Example (2 . 25) :

A : What is the situation?

B : It is difficult to present much of a dialogue without
Getting into matter of cultural content

A : What is the problem ?

B: If these matters are not clarified at the time , the
Student will assume that are the same as in his own
Culture and may , as a result , misunderstand what
Is said and done .

A : What is its solution ?

B : Matters of cultural content can be handled by brief cultur
Cultural notes in the simplest of terms , preferably , in the
Target language .

A : What is other problem ?

B : When clarification is possible in the target language .

A : How is it solvable ?

B : A written note in the students' language might be silently by him
without using the language aloud in class .

A : How would this solution be effectual ?

B : These notes would be prepared ad hoc to fit the dialogues .

The questioning procedure helps to form the relationships between sentences in the text . In the example above , the situation is presented by sentence (1) , sentence (2) and (4 a) present two problems , each followed by its specific solution in (3) and (4b) , then the effect or the evaluation is given in sentence (5) . However, not every text is required to follow such a pattern . Some texts can show just one problem plus its solution , other may offer the problem without its solution , as the case might be in contextual terms . In other words , while the pattern above can describe the organization of a lot of different texts , the ordering and sequencing of each of the problem / solution pairs are largely text – specific .

The underlying rhetorical structure of this text could be illustrated graphically as in figure (1) below :

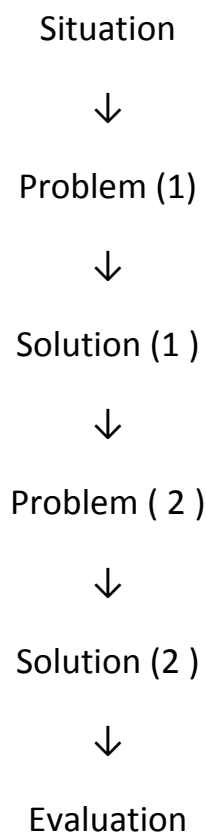


Figure (2) The Rhetorical pattern of (2 . 1)

In addition to projecting the discourse into a dialogue involving questions and answers , Hoeu (ibid : 37) presents a second way of reflecting how the pattern is signaled through “ *lexical items* ” . To illustrate this method , Hoey (ibid : 28) offers the following artificial text :

Example (2 . 26) :

I was on sentry duty .

I was the enemy approaching .

I opened fire .

I beat off the enemy attack .

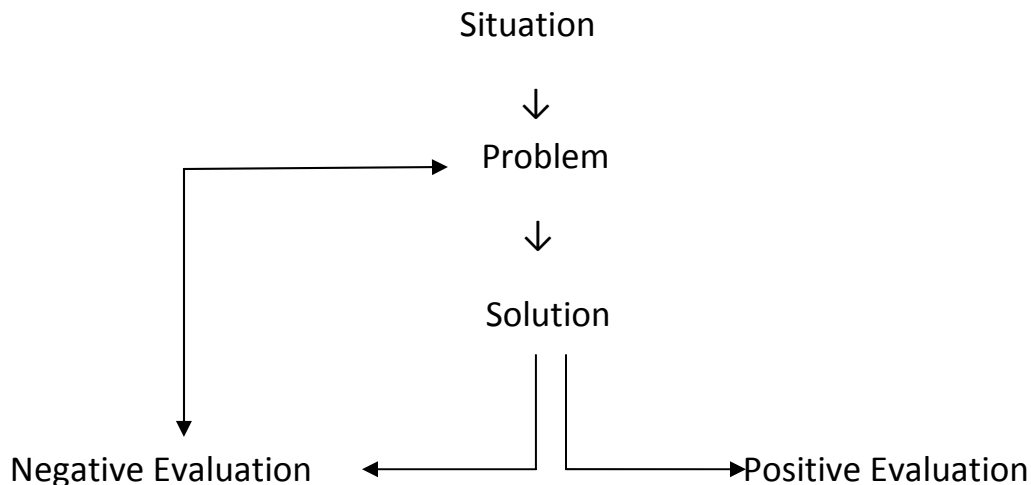


Figure (2) Multi – Layerind in Discourse .

2. 2 .3. Jordan (1984)

Jordan’s (1984) book “ *Rhetoric of Everyday English Texts* ” centers around the four basic metastructures of “ *Situation – Problem – Solution – Evaluation* ” . Possible combinations of the items of metastructure have been demonstrated depending on the writer’s purpose and the reader’s knowledge . Jordan (ibid : 137) maintains that actual examples of language present a nonfinite variety of information organization which does not necessarily correspond to this basic metastructure . He shows that readers’ background is a crucial factor in determining the writers’ choice of the basic

structure .The selection of material for text reveals the intention of the writer and his estimate of the needs of the readers . It is often appropriate for writers to omit certain types of information when she / he is sure that readers already know it or can deduce it from other information .

Discourse values can be divided into two different types : unitary and binary . One concern in the present study will be with the binary values that include relations such as : reason – result , condition – consequence , etc .

Crombie (1985a : 17 – 31) suggests nine categories of general semantic relations which have at their basis the “ *proposition* ” as the abstract semantic unit of analysis (idea unit) , not the clause which realize them structurally .

2 . 2 . 3 . 1. Temporal Relation

These are concerned with the temporal connection between events.
One .*Chronological sequence* . This relation provides the semantic link between propositions one , which follows the other in time .

Example (2 . 27) :

He will seize Helen and leave Greece . (Crombie , 1985a ;18)

Two . Temporal overlap relation links two events which overlap either wholly or partly , in time .

Example (2 . 28) :

While fleeing Paris looked over his shoulder (ibid)

2 . 2 . 3 . 2 . Matching Relations

These relations involve the comparison of two things , events or abstractions in terms of either similarity or difference .

One . Simple contrast relation involves the comparison of two things , events or abstraction in terms of some particular in respect of which they are different.

Example (2 .29):

Everyone , except Achilles , fought .(ibid :19)

Two . Simple comparison relation involves the comparison of two things , events or abstractions in terms of some particular in respect of which they are similar .

Example (2 . 30) :

The princes fought and their followers did too . (ibid)

2 . 2 .3.3. Cause Effect

These relations are of three types :

One . General Causative Which in turn is of three types according to whether the causative number is presented as :

1 . Reason for particular result (Reason –Result)

Example (2 . 31)

Agamemnon was pleased because the pieces fought (ibid : 20)

2 . Means of achieving a particular result (Means –Result)

Example (2 . 32) :

Agamemnon antagonized the priest by refusing the Ransom .
(ibid)

3 . Basis for a particular conclusion (Grounds – Conclusion)

Example (2 . 33) :

That man is leading the Greek forces so / therefore /.I conclude that he must be Achilles (ibid)

Two . Condition – Consequence this indicates that the causative member is hypothetical .

Example (2 . 34):

Had Achilles fought , the Greeks would have won . (ibid)

Three . Means – Purpose ; this relation indicates that the causative member has an intended effect .

Example (2 . 35) :

Agamemnon surrendered the girl in order to propitiate Apollo . (ibid)

2 . 2 .3.4.Truth and Validity

These relations are of four types , each of them is concerned in a direct or indirect way , with the truth or validity .

One . Statement – Affirmation in which the truth of a statement

Example (2 . 36) :

He said that Achilles should resume the fight and I agreed (ibid : 21)

Two . Statement – Denial in which the truth of a statement is denied either directly or indirectly .

Example(2 . 37) :

A : The Greeks won .

B : they lost . (ibid)

Three. Denial – Correction where the denial member involving a negated word or expression followed or replaced by correction .

Example (2 . 38) :

He wasn't a soldier , he was a priest .(ibid)

Four . Concession – Contraexpectation relation ; the validity of an inference is directly or indirectly denied .

Example (2 . 39) :

They intended to attack , but they defended (ibid : 22)

2 . 2 .3.5. Alternation Relations

These are of two types , both of which involved a choice :

One . Contrastive Alternation ; involves a choice between antitheses.

Example (2 . 40) :

Either Achilles fought , or he didn't (ibid : 23)

Two . Supplementary Alternation ; involves a choice between two or more than two things , events or abstractions which are not treated as opposites

Example (2 . 41) :

Kill him or maim him or bring him to justice (ibid)

2 . 2 .3.6. The Bonding Relations

These relations are additive . They are of four types :

One . Coupling ' the second member adds at least one new proposition to the first .

Example (2 . 42) :

Achilles , who was a savage fighter , joined the fray . (ibid)

Two . Contrastive Coupling two propositions have the same first terms , one member has a positive predication , and the other has a negative prediction .

Example (2 . 43) :

He tried to remember the details but he failed (ibid : 24)

Three . Statement – Exemplification ; the first member provides a general statement and the second adds a proposition , which is presented as an exemplification of the general statement in the first member .

Example (2 . 44) :

Battle always leads to unnecessary savagery . Witness Achilles' treatment of the body of Hector (ibid) .

Four . Statement – Exception; the first member provides a general statement and the second adds a proposition which is presented as an exception to the general statement in the first member .

Example (2. 45) :

Generally the effects of our actions have few
repercussions beyond our immediate environment .

An exception to this was the way in which one

Misdemeanor by Paris resulted in the Trojan War . (ibid)

2 . 2.3. 7. The Paraphrase Relation

This relation involves restatement without amplification .
Paraphrase means that the same propositional content is expressed in different ways in

One . Event / State – Location involves a locative adverbial .

Example (2 . 46) :

Patroclus was killed under the walls of Troy . (ibid : 27)

Two . Event –direction involves a directional adverbial .

Example (2 . 47) :

Achilles buried the Trojans into their Town . (ibid)

Three . Event – Manner involves a manner adverbial .

Example (2 . 48) :

Achilles maltreated the body of Hector savagely . (ibid : 28)

2 . 2 . 4. Clause Relation Patterns and Coherence

Rhetorical patterns can account for the microstructural level of the relations between the individual sentences or propositions (i. e ,idea units) of the discourse . At this level , the pattern contributes to the local semantic and logical coherence of the discourse (Van Dijk , 1985 : 108) . In addition , these patterns can govern the semantic and logical organization of the whole discourse by accounting for its global them , or macrostructure (ibid . 155) . A macrostructure is a theoretical reconstruction of the higher – level meaning of discourse derived from the propositional sequences of text. This superstructure gives the discourse its overall unity. For example the whole of Elliot’s longest poem “The Waste Land” is reducible to the following global Problem / Solution macrostructure (Hussain , 1999 : 61) :

*The Waste Land is doomed by cyclic trade warse ,
acts of greed , physical and spiritual bankruptcy , which
bring sterility and decay (Problem). Slvation rests in
giving sympathizing and self–control (Solution)*

It is worth noting that the terms local structures and global structures are used to refer to microstructure and macrostructures respectively.
(see Van Dijk , 1985)

2 . 2 . 4. 1. Local Structure

Some text have been developed bottom – up approaches to discourse structure , to enhance our understanding of how arguments built up from the local structure . The last thirty years have witnessed parallel approaches in discourse analysis which are largely “ intuited analysis of relations ... according to a limited set of predetermined proposition “ (Winter ,

1994 : 139) One of these approaches is the Clause Relation Theory , which provide a foundation for understanding local structures . Winter believes that the “ clause “ is basis of discourse structure . Yet his use of the term is not simply that of traditional grammar . His “ clause relations “ are away of the information of one clause in the light of other clause , (Witer, 1974 : 59) . Jordan (1992 : 179) makes a similar point “ A clause relation is the meaning between two coherent stretches of text “ . Earlier , in 1983 , Hoey ,another proponent of the Clause Relation Theory , related the concept of “ clause relation “ to the hierarchical structure of discourse : “a discourse may be made up of clause relation which are themselves members of larger clause relations “ (ibid : 32) This is echoed by Albrechtsen et al . (1991 : 91) , when they expound the concept of coherence and global coherence :

Local coherence applies to formal semantic and pragmatics. Relations between neighboring clauses or functional units , and global . Coherence relate to higher order units dominating such interclausal Relationship .

Albrechtsen et al.’s definition for “ local coherence “ as “ formal , semantic and pragmatic relation between neighboring clauses or functional units “ elaborates what Hoey referred to as “ clause relation “ . What is more enlightening is that saying that there are higher order units dominating the interclausal relationships , “ Albrechtsen et al are providing an explanation here of how clause relations can be “ members of larger clause relations which are in turn members of an overall relation “ . The “ higher order units “ refer to the global structure of discourse , which discussed below .

2 . 2. 4. 2. Global Structures

Grabe and Kaplan (1996 : 42) suggest that “ understanding and producing text will not only require knowledge of the surface structuring of texts but also of the underlying textual structuring . The underlying structure of a text was earlier defined by Grabe (1985 : 110) in terms of

coherence as “ the underlying relations that hold between assertions (or prepositions) ... [which] contribute to the overall discourse theme “ .

Cooper and Matsuhashi (1983 : 12) state that “ Any discourse of more than a sentence or two requires a global plan ... about the purpose for the writing and about the readers ...for the writing “ . This view is supported by several other , who have chosen to use alternative terms for the “ global plan “ . Such as schema (Callow and Callow , 1992) , “ frame “ (Frederiksen , 1986) and “ discourse structure “ (Meyer , 1992) . The main argument of these researchers regarding the global structure is that it is useful for the writer to write and the reader to understand the message .

Some researchers emphasis that the global structure also contributes to the coherence of the text . McCutchen and Perfetti (1982) maintain that the global structure , or what they call “ text form constraint (genre) “ , is important in that it actually constitutes one of the major sources of discourse coherence . Lautmatti (1990 : 35) on the other hand , believes that the global structure creates a special type of coherence , called Propositional Coherence . Meyer (1992 : 80) also considers discourse structure of dominate importance , as it is “ the organization that binds [the text] together , and delivers its overall organization “ , by specifying the logical connections among ideas , as well as the subordination of some ideas to others .

Jordan (1981 , 1984 and 1989) on the other hand sought to apply this same pattern on texts which do not exactly conform with this four – element pattern in that the show many “ problems “ or many “ solutions , or “ omissions .

Though this pattern is established as typical of expository prose , Al-Kattan (1991) and Al – T aei (1993) indicate that pattern also underlies the structure of argumentitve texts .

2.2 .5 The Clause Relation in Discourse

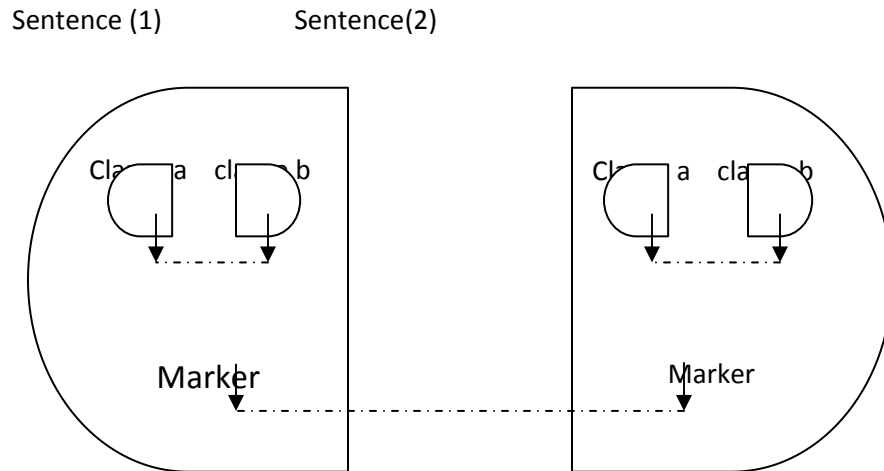
The term 'Clause Relations' was first initiated by Winter (1968) to denote a limited set of predetermined logical relations holding between coherent clause and sentences. He (ibid: 178, 1986:19) defines clause Relation as follows:

A Clause Relation is the shared whereby interpret the meaning of a clause or a group of clauses in the light of their adjoining clause or group of clauses where the clauses are independent, we can speak of "sentence relations."

One of the characteristic of these semantic relations is that they reveal a system of predictability of context in that given one sentence within its preceding contexts, the lexical selection of the next sentence is frequently predictable (Winter, 1977:35). In other words, any two sentences are put together for the purpose of identifying clausal relations is one of a twofold purpose: First, establishing what the current clause is related to– the previous clause or some larger segment in which it is embedded. Second, establishing what relation(s) holds between them (Welliver, 2004: 789).

Winter also introduced the term 'member' to denote "the unit of clause or group of clauses that is in a binary relation with another member" (Winter, 1982:87). Typically, the 'interpretation' of one member depends on the lexical selection of the other. In essence, a clause relation can be indicated in the following diagram adapted from Jordan (1992:180).

Diagram (1) Clause Relations Jordan (1992)



The Lexico- Grammatical marker is encircled with a dotted line to indicate that a clause relation is formed alone without the help of any marker. As shown in the following two sentences given by Hoey (1996: 72):

- 1- The reason why she is in such trouble now is that she does to ignore Mr. Heseltine's advice. (Reason- Result)
- 2- She chose to ignore Mr. Heseltine's advice. Now she is in trouble. (Reason- Result).

Where the second sentence has no connector, furthermore, the sequential order of each binary set can be inverted or interpolated. And each member of the set can form certain additional logical relations by functioning as an element in a larger relational structure underlying the whole text.

Crombie (1985:2) adds that the study of semantic relations includes the study of discourse values which can be defined as:

The significance or the communicative function of an utterance which is distinct from the sentence meaning or the conceptual content of an utterance.

In other words, discourse value deals with language in use in relation to its linguistic context as well as its situational context in which they occur. So a distinction is made between sentence meaning and discourse value. The sentence meaning of an utterance depends on the interaction between sentence meaning and context. Furthermore, discourse value can be sub-classified into two different types: unitary values and binary values. The unitary values includes all types of speech acts that are proposed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1976) such as warn, persuade, insult, etc. The binary values are concerned with the binary relations between clauses. Both values are shown in the following example.

- (a) If you are late, (b) I will miss the bus (implicit speech act of order) condition.....consequence.

The binary value of the above clause relation is condition consequence. Whereas; the discourse value is implicit speech act of order, which holds the assumption (I order you not to be late).

2 . 3 . Rhetoric

2 . 3 .1. Definition of Rhetoric

Rhetoric is not only considered as a stylistic ornamentation, but also as a persuasive discourse. It is not considered as a matter of how thoughts are presented but how an influence of thinking deserves serious attention. Rhetorical forms involve shaping and realities.

Rhetoric has a crucial role in political speeches for manipulating and shaping public opinion. The categories of rhetoric are varied from one speaker to another. In political speeches, the speaker employs all the possible linguistic and discoursed strategies to make speeches more suitable and acceptable, the political speeches are loaded with rhetorical tropes.

Rhetoric is also defined by Leech (1983: 15-16) as a term concerned with the study of the effective use of language in communication. Rhetoric is considered with the act either for using language skillfully for persuasion, or for literary expression, or for public speaking. The term rhetoric focuses on the speech situation in which the speaker uses language to affect the mind of the hearer.

He uses the term "*rhetoric*" as a countable noun for a set of conversational principles which are related by their functions. He distinguishes between two kinds of rhetoric: the interpersonal, and the textual rhetoric. Both of them consist of set of principles, such as,

cooperative principles and the principles of politeness which consist of maxims with Grice's terminology(Ibid).

Socially speaking, the rhetorical principles constrain the communicative behaviour in various ways and those principles do not provide the motivation for talking.

2 . 3 . 2. Rhetoric and History

Rhetoric (from , Greek , *rhetor*," orator ") is one of the three (the other members are dialectic and grammar) liberal arts or *trivium* in Western culture (Conner , 1996 : 62) .In ancient and medieval time , both rhetoric and dialectic were understood to aim at being persuasive . The concept of rhetoric has shifted from time to time during its 2500 – year history . Today rhetoric is generally described as the art of persuasion through language ; Rhetoric can be described as a persuasive way in which one relates a theme or idea in an effort to convince .

Western thinking about rhetoric grew out the public and political life of Ancient Greece , much of which revolved around the use of oratory as the medium through which philosophical ideas were developed and disseminated . Rhetoric thus evolved as an important art, one that provided the orator with the forms, means , and strategies of persuading an audience of the correctness of the orator's arguments . Today the term "*rhetoric* " can be used at times to refer only to the form of argumentation , often with the connotation that rhetoric is a means of occurring the truth (Kennedy , 1990 : 106) . Classical philosophers believed quite the contrary : the skilled use of rhetoric was essential to the discovery of truths , because it provided the means of ordering and clarifying arguments .

2.3.3. The Sophists , Plato and Aristotle

Rhetoric was popularized in the 5th century BC by teachers known as sophists , the best known of whom were *Protagoras* (c. 481 – 420 BC) , *Gorgias* (c . 488 – 370 BC) , and *Isocrates* (436 – 338 BC) (Sloane , 2001 : 148) .

However , it was Plato (427 – 347 BC) who famously outlined the differences between true and false rhetoric . His student Aristotle (384 – 322 BC) even more famously set forth an extended treatise on rhetoric (Lee , 1968 : 11) .

In the first sentence of *The Art of Rhetoric* , Aristotle says that " rhetoric is the counterpart [literally , the antistrophe] of dialectic " . By this , he means that while dialectical methods are necessary to find truth in theoretical matters , rhetorical methods are required in practical matters , The domain of rhetoric is civic affairs and practical decision – making in civic affairs , not *theoretical* considerations of operational definitions of terms and clarification of thought ...these , for him , are in the domain of dialectic

(retrieved from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/rhetoric> – 12 / 26 / 2005) .

Aristotle's treatise (1984 : 2153) on rhetoric is an attempt to systematically describe civic rhetoric as a human art or skill (*techno*) . He identifies three different types of rhetorical proof :

1. *Ethos* : how the character and credibility of a speaker influence an audience to consider him to be believable . This could be any position in which the speaker knows about the topic , from being college professor to being an acquaintance of a person who experienced the matter in question .

2. *Pathos* : the use of emotional appeals . This can be done through metaphor , storytelling , or presenting the topic in a way that evokes strong emotions in the audience .

3. *Logos* : the use of facts , numbers , and figures to construct an argument . The term *logic* evolved from *logos* .

He also identifies three different types of civic rhetoric : *forensic* (concerned with determining truth or falsity of events that took place in the past) , *deliberative* (concerned with determining whether or not particular actions *should* or should not be taken in the future) , and *epideictic* (concerned with praise and blame , demonstrating beauty and skill in the present) (*ibid* : 2155) .

2 . 3 . 4. Division of Rhetoric

Richardson (2007: 157) mentions three kinds of rhetorical discourse that are identified by Aristotle:

1. **Forensic of legal rhetoric:** this kind of rhetoric covers any form of argumentative discourse in which any arguer or rhetor condemns or defines someone's past actions. Forensic rhetoric concerns itself with the past, its means are accusation and defence and its special topics are the justice and injustice of actions committed by the defendant.
2. The second kind is **epideictic or ceremonial rhetoric**, through which a rhetor is concerned with proving someone's or something worthy of admiration or disapproval. Epideictic rhetoric is concerned with the present (in contrasting with forensic rhetoric which is concerned with past) are praise and censure, and its special topics are honour and dishonour. Epideictic rhetoric is associated with the character and those referred: the rhetor attempts to make the audience admire those referred to because of their goodness or dislike because of their badness. This kind of rhetoric may be classified as a eulogy (if it comes as a positive) and it is labelled on invective (if it comes as a negative).
3. **Deliberative or political rhetoric:** which a rhetor adopts when deliberating on the desirability or otherwise a political decision. Deliberative rhetoric is concerned with the future, its means are inducement and dissuasion and its special topics are the advantageous and disadvantage.

Richardson points out that rhetoric is not just talk but it can be seen as a political language that is designed with the capacity to shape public belief, decisions and the behaviour of audience. Rhetoric aims to incite action in an audience or the disposition to act(Ibid).

Robson and Stockwell (2005: 23) criticize rhetoric. They point out that rhetoric is criticized because its purpose is to persuade and therefore the

rhetoricians are concerned with what is effective. But which is most persuasive is not true.

Rhetoric is divided into parts:

First of all: **inventio** (those rules that are used for finding the subject matter).

Second: **dispositio**: those rules that are used for arguing material.

Third: **elocution** (the rules that governed the presentational or the performance of discourse) (Ibid).

Rhetoric from the beginning has a '*mixed reputation*'. Aristotle defines it as '*arts of persuasive discourse*' (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 1992: 3, cited in Cook, 1989: 26), that is, the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human agents. Aristotle argues that the art of persuasion in everyday can be employed in our normal and natural relations with other people. In this sense, it implies the activation of the directive function of language seeking to affect the behaviour of the addressees (Ibid).

In terms of Speech Act Theory, there is one important approach to study language through studying rhetoric which means studying the perlocutionary force of utterances, that is, the effect speakers intend them

2.3.5. Rhetorical Modes and Methods

Sometimes text can use one pattern of organization to support a large purpose. While the *mode* of a text is dependent on the writer's controlling purpose, writers may use a variety of "methods" to achieve their purpose. An essay which has as its purpose to compare two vice-presidents could include stories about the two men (narration) and personal descriptions of each (description), results of their actions as each served his post (cause and effect), or examples of their leadership style (example). However, the essay would be a Comparison / Contrast essay because its purpose remains to compare and contrast the two men. The same essay could be re

– written as a Persuasive essay . In this case , its purpose would be to lead us to vote one man over the other .The writer might favorably contrast one candidate to the other in order to secure the addressee’s vote or tell humorous stories about the opposing candidate in order to suggest that candidate is unqualified for the responsibilities of office . Despite the fact that the second essay might well use much of same supporting material as first , its controlling purpose – persuasion –would change the way that support was delivered . Therefore (rhetorical mode) is the organizing principle for expressing the writer’s purpose (or thesis) while “rhetorical methods “ are considered strategies or techniques used within an essay for supporting that purpose . It is useful to distinguish between modes i . e. , the overall purpose of an essay and methods i. e. , techniques used within an essay .

2 . 3 . 6 . Rhetorical Relations

The theory of rhetorical relations is based upon the assumption that any two communicative sentences when put together can only function as unified message by virtue of their compatibility in meaning with our consensus of the expected meanings between sentences (winter , 1992 : 141) . These expected meanings between contiguous sentences comprise a relatively small set of recurrent binary relations that are functionally defined and crucial for the coherent production and interpretation of texts.

Generally speaking , a rhetorical relation consist of two parts (or members) connected with an optional relation indicator . Each one of the two relational parts can be a sentence , paragraph , etc. as indicated in the following diagram adapted from Jordan (1992 : 180)

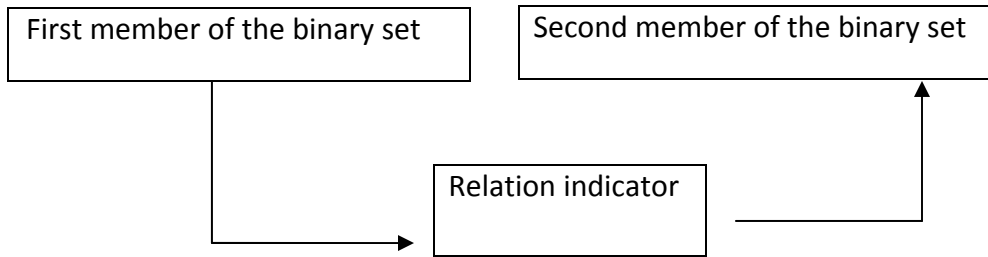


Figure (3) Elements of a Rhetorical Relation

The Relation Indicator is encircled with a dotted line to indicate that a rhetorical relation can be realized without any lexico – grammatical signaling , as illustrated in the following two sentences indicating the same relation (Hoey , 196 : 72) .

Example (2 . 49) :

- *The reason why she is in trouble now is that she chose to ignore Mr. Heseltine's advice (Reason /Result)*
- *She chose to ignore Mr. Heseltine's advice . Now she is in trouble (Reason / Result)*

Where the second sentence has no relational indicator .

Several terms have been used to specify these relations :

1. Clause Relation Theory : Winter (1968 ,1971 , 1976 , 1977 , 1992) ,Hoey (1979 ,1983 ,1991b) and Jordan (1984 ,1992) ,
 - 2 . Relational Propositions : (Beekman and Callow : 1974 ,Mann and Thompson : 1986a) ,
 - 3 . General Semantic Relations : (Crombie : 1985a , b) and
 - 4 . Rhetorical Structure Theory : Mann and Thmpson (1986b , 1987 , 1988)
 - 5 . Functional Role Theory : Lieber (1979)
- and Albrechtsen et . al. (1991) ; and

6 . communicative Function Analysis : Wong (1993)

Despite these differences in terminology , there is a general consensus terminology , there is a general consensus that the essence or rhetorical relations rests in the way the addresses understanding a sentence or group of sentences in an adjoining context of another sentence or group of sentences (Winter , 1974 : 172) .

The number of these relations is relatively “ stable “ . This is typically implied by the fact that since one is speaking of “ a shared “ cognitive process for the meaning of a clause relation , it follows , then , that there must be a limit to the relations one can share (Winter , 1992 : 141) Thompson and Mann (1987 : 87f) offer a set of fifteen relations , Grimes (1975 , 78)offers eighteen , Winter , 1992 : 141) here as Meyer (1992 : 87) works with only five basic groups .

Many rhetorical relations , especially these related to sequencing , causation , problem – solution , and comparison seem to be universal (ibid : 84) . However , certain rhetoric relations can also be culture – specific . Hinklel (1994 : 364) has found that native English students prefer specific points in their explanation of ideas in writing , whereas , the Chinese , Korean , and Japanese students prefer a broader , more general approach .

2 . 3 . 7 . Rhetorical Structure

Rhetorical Structure Theory is a descriptive theory or text organization developed by William Mann and Thompson (Mann and Thompson , 1986a , 1987 ; Mann et al. , 1989) . It is an analytic framework designed to account for text structure in running text above the clause level . It takes clauses as its atoms , and relates them hierarchically , using a number of predefined rhetorical relations . These relations are rhetorical because they represent the choices made by the writer in respect to how he /she presented and organized the text .These relations are functional , and as such their basis can be expressed in many ways . For instance , relations can express the “purposes of the writer “ , the writer’s assumptions about the reader’s as

well as the propositional content of the text (Mann et al. , 1989 : 8) . They hold between two adjacent parts of a text , Where , typically one part is nuclear and one a satellite . An analysis of a text consists in indentifying the relations holding between successively – larger parts of the text , yielding a natural hierarchical description of the rhetorical organization of the text .

Relations are defined in terms of what their intended effect on the reader is . Examples of each relations are “ Justify , Elaboration , Purpose , “Antithesis “ , and “Condition”. The full definition of these relations consists of constraints on the text spans related constraints on the combined span ; and a description of the relation’s expected effect . For example , the relation “ Justify , between a nucleus span and a satellite span , is described as having the effect” r[eader] ‘s readiness to accept w [riter] ‘s right to present nucleus is increased “ (Mann and Tmompson , 1987 : 11) . In other words , if a “ Justify “ relation is posited , then the span is understood to provide justification for the writer’s claim in nucleus . The following example illustrates how this definition is applied:

Example (2 . 50)

- 1 . The next music day is scheduled for July 21 (Saturday) noon –midnight
2. I ‘ll post more details later ,
- 3 . but this is a good time to reserve the place on your calendar .

In this text , units , 2 – 3 are in a “ Justify relation with unit 1 . They tell readers why the writer believes he has the right to say unit 1 without giving “ more details “ , in particular without giving the location of the music day event (ibid : 10) .

Rhetorical Structure Theory provides a set of around 23 rhetorical relations . The number varies slightly from paper to paper , but the central core of relations as presented in Mann et al. (1989) is given in figure (4).

Multi – nuclear Relations		
Sequence	Contrast	Joint
Nucleus – satellite Relations		
Evidence	Circumstance	Restatement
Concession	Background	Antithesis
Elaboration	Volitional Cause	Solutionhood
Motivation	Non – Volitional Cause	Enablement
Condition	Non – Result	Purpose
Evaluation	Non – Volitional Result	Interpretation
Justify	Otherwise	Summary

Figure (4) The Relations of Rhetorical Structure Theory

Multi – nuclear relations are relations that do not carry a definite selection of one nucleus , whereas Nucleus – satellite relations are binary relations where one node , the nucleus , is of greater significance than the other , the satellite . Nucleus – satellite relations form the greater portion of the Rhetorical Structure Theory relations . An example of a nucleus – satellite relation is given in Figure (4) . Typically , the nucleus of a nucleus – satellite relation cannot be removed from a presentation without making

the rhetorical flow of the presentation incoherent . Deleting the satellite , however ,does not interrupt the rhetorical flow :

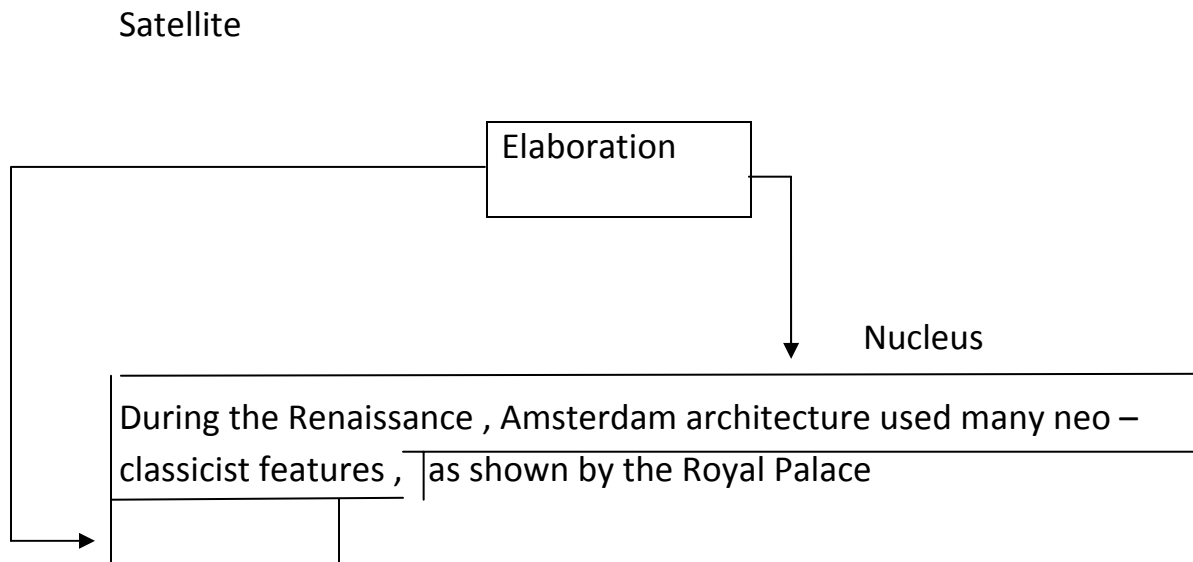


Figure (5) An Elaboration Nucleus – Satellite Relation

According to their effect , rhetorical relations are subdivided by Mann.

And Thompson (1987) into two groups , “ Subject Matter or Information” (semantic) relations are intended to make the reader “ recognize “ that there is an ideational (real – word – describing) meaning relation between the two text spans . Although such relations may have other perlocutionary effects in context , this recognition is the only perlocution they are “ defined” as covering . Because their perlocutionary effect is so straight forward , these relations are pragmatically uncomplicated , and can be readily represented by a truth – conditional

semantics , example of such relations are “ Elaboration ,Circumstances , Purpose , Condition and Summary “ .

“ Presentational “ (Pragmatic) relations , on the other hand intended “ to increase some “ inclination” in the reader “(ibid : 18). This means that they have a non – trivial perlocutionary effect , not limited to mere reader recognition . For example , “ Justify “ has the effect of increasing the reader’s inclination to accept that the writer is entitled to her assertion . An informational relation like “ Circumstance “ has no such interpersonal effect , it does not attempt to make the reader do anything but accept the model of the world the text is describing . Example of presentational relations are “ Antithesis , Justify , Concession and Evidence .

Here are definitions of some common Rhetorical Structure Theory relations :

Elaboration –the satellite presents some additional detail concerning the content of the nuclear . This detail may be of many forms :

- A member of a given set .
- An instance of a given abstract class .
- A part of a given whole .
- A step of a given process.
- An attribute of a given object ‘
- A specific instance of a given generalization .

Contrast – The nuclei presents things that , while similar in some respects , are different in some relevant way . This relation is multi –nuclear in it doesn’t distinguish between a nucleus and a satellite .

Purpose – The satellite presents the goal of performing the activity presented in the nucleus .

Condition – The satellite presents something that must occur before the situation presented in the nucleus can occur.

Sequence – This relation is multi – nuclear . The set of nuclei are realized in succession .

Result – The situation presented in the nucleus results from the one presented in the satellite .

2 . 3 . 8 . Rhetorical Patterns

Patterns are “combinations of relations organizing (part of) a discourse “ (Hoey , 1983 : 31) . A rhetorical pattern is a higher level clause relation whose binary member consists of further membership of clause relations (Winter , 1962 : 190 , 1986 : 14) . Rhetorical patterns are one of the resources for chunking and linking text . Such patterns demonstrate the way in which speakers and listeners perceive parts of a discourse as fitting together(Thompson and Thompson , 2001 : 57) . Among the corresponding terms indicating rhetorical patterns are “ Top level Structure “ (Meyer et al. , 1980 :72) , “ Rhetorical Routines “ (Widdowson , 1983 : 58) , “ Rhetorical Ordering “ (Urquhart , 1984 : 160) , and “ Discourse Macro – Patterns “ (Crombie , 1985b : 58) .

Linguists seem to have general agreement among them that some Understanding patterns of rhetorical organization are language – and culture – specific , others are text type – specific (Van Dijk , 1977 : 155 ; Crombie , 1985b :62 , and Hoey and Winter , 1986 : 130) .

2. 3 . 9 .Rhetoric and the Art of Public Speaking:

Rhetoric is usually referred to as the art of persuasion where language is used delicately and skillfully. Language users always tend to equip their discourse with some kind of rhetorical devices where it becomes more impressive and touching. As a matter of fact, rhetoric dates back to the times of the Greek philosophers such as Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. In his

book "*Rhetoric*" Aristotle states that we all use rhetorical devices in our discourse and this use is completely justifiable when we attempt to bring about the rightness as well as truthfulness of our argumentation by appealing to the receiver's mind rather than his/her emotions (Joseph, 2006, p.110). Strikingly, those rhetorical devices are unarguably persuasive devices which help in persuading receivers of the fruitfulness or fruitlessness of issues argued for by the speaker as an orator.

Theoretically, rhetoric as an art of persuasion is not taken only on the part of the speaker/writer as to encode his/her messages but also to decode those of others. That is to say, studying rhetoric is not only functioning on helping us mold our discourse but additionally understand and analyze others' strategic use of some linguistic aspects (or devices) through the make-up of their discourses. In his work on rhetoric, Aristotle was aware of two important points: the first is his preoccupation with rhetoric as a general oratory skill, and the other is its being an integral part of the communication process. This means that communication is to depend at least partly on rhetoric as being part of it, and this latter one gives rise to the unconsciousness of its employment by users. Its use is for most of the time is deliberate to achieve certain ends and maintain specific goals (Bloor and Bloor, 2007, pp.68-70). Aside from the unselfconsciousness of the use of rhetoric, the conscious or purposeful use is paramount in communication and study as well. Eisenhart and Johnstone (2008, p.6) state that rhetorical discourse is a "discourse that is intended to change, and capable of changing, the situation for which it was designed". Thus, the importance of rhetoric is beyond debate since we all appeal to it in our speech and taste it in that of the others directly or indirectly.

The use of rhetorical devices is important in the process of discoursing. For example, the use of metaphor is very vital and influencing with a penetrating effect in discourse. Originally, the literal meaning of the word *metaphor* is "to carry over"; where it symbolically interconnects the aspects of one thing with another one which does not originally have them. Through this interconnection between the two things or objects, not only do speakers play on the denotative meaning of words but also on the

connotative meaning or shades of meaning so that they may achieve their goals. Metaphors are not only decorative devices in everyday language but thorough studies have proved them to be integral part of human cognition (Steuter and Wills, 2008, p.4). Thus, metaphor is directed towards the interplay of the language's denotative value with that connotative one where the attributes of one thing or object transfer to be cognitively accredited with that of another; as when calling someone an animal where s/he is cognitively taken as an animal at least indirectly. This magic power of metaphor has pushed itself into the fore in our everyday discourse where we, as language users, unselfconsciously use and hear them ongoingly (Bloor and Bloor, 2007, p.70).

Many rhetorical strategies are in an overwhelming circulation in political discourse where they were originally directed towards political winning. In his book *The Rhetoric of Rhetoric*, Booth(2004, pp.3-4) quotes the following:

Rhetoric, that powerful instrument of error and deceit.

John Locke, Essay Concerning Human Understanding.

*The new rhetoric covers the whole range of discourse that aims at persuasion and conviction, whatever the audience addressed and whatever the subject matter. **Chaim***

Perelman (Bold is mine)

Rhetoric is mainly geared towards persuasion and conviction in public speaking so that certain aims are achieved as well as acti It creates sense of unity, and emphasizes similarities within the group, whereas exaggerate differences with other groups. ones orated for. If politics is to be taken as anything other than confrontation, it is justifiable to say that public discoursing and speaking is the richest and most fertile land for spreading ideologies through eloquent and vigorous use of the sources of language especially those of rhetoric. Due to its importance in communication, van Dijk (cited in Bloor and Bloor, 2007, p.67; see also Beard, 2000, p.18) argues that it is "no surprising that rhetorical structures play such an important role in ideological manipulation". Thus, as being always exposed to the

public or exposing themselves to audiences, politicians keep on developing their oral craftsmanship to persuade or dissuade people from doing something or some course of action. Away from the supposed morality of rhetoric set forth by Aristotle, politicians improve upon their styles through the use or exploitation of language sources to appeal to the emotions of their audiences rather than minds. Vividly or not, "all politicians, whether hoping to be sincere or not, find it necessary to hedge, waffle, dodge, mask, as they practice" their public discoursing (Booth, 2004, p.120).

From autocracy up to democracy, politicians in political systems have been aware of the power of the spoken word and its magic dictates upon the ears of audiences through stirring their emotions and penetrating their hearts where they can legitimize their actions and support their leaderships (Charteris-Black, 2005, p.1). This conformation by the spells of language and public speaking is not an easy task as it appeals to be. One of the most important points to be emphasized in public speaking is the speaker's awareness of the socio-psychological nature of his/her audience since they have different experiences, lifestyles, attitudes, necessities, desires,... etc. (Gregory, 2002, p.82-3). Thus, the public rhetor or speaker has to find mutual grounding under which s/he can safely penetrate into their within, entice them and cope with their sensitivities and envision their inner worlds. To be a good rhetor, one has to answer his/her audience's questions and fears before being aroused or openly uttered. S/he has to be tactful enough to cope with those unstated quests and question marks of the audience (Booth, 2004, p.54).

Of the strongest and most influential strategies in public speaking is the appeal to the emotions of listeners in order to stir them towards the desired action through the use of many rhetorical devices such as vivid metaphors. Another point is meeting the motivations of them and keeping them in balance with the possibility of achieving them (Gregory, 2002, pp.417-8). Again, we are not to forget the role of fear in evoking the audience's feelings and pushing them into following the orator's dictates as

well as abiding by his/her spells. Psychologically speaking, depicting an image that might frighten audience or people even if being fictitious has very strong influence on their response so that creating such an image help speakers (especially politicians) drag listeners into the target action (Ibid. p.418).

In the field of politics, it can be noticed that enemy-image creating plays a high role in attaining legitimization and justifying actions especially if they are taken as precautionary ones. These aforementioned aspects are strongly utilized in political language especially if it is to admit that "politics is discourse and discourse is politics" where controlling discourse means controlling society and vice versa (Feldman and De Landtsheer, 1998, p.4).

Finally, it is through linguistic behavior that charismatic leadership and persona are communicated and that a critical analysis of the language used enables us to better understand and identify the ideologies of discourse producers and the value system upon which they are based. Consequently, being aware of the linguistic choices means awareness towards the political choices and the ethical standings of their very existence and essence (Charteris-Black, 2005, p.198).

2 . 3 .10 . Types of Rhetorical Pattern

The objective of finding patterns in text is not to create restrictive rules ,but to apply descriptive patterns to texts in an effort to better understanding and explain their organization and structure .

According to (McCarthy 1991 , and Johnson 1994 , Winter1977 Hoey1983, Jordan 1984) the prominent patterns in English discourse are outlined in the following subsections .

2 . 3 . 10 . 1 . Problem / Solution

One common pattern is the problem – solution type (Hutchins 1977, Hoey , 2001 : 123 and ff.) “ situation “ (within which there is a

complication or problem) , “ problem “ (within the situation , requiring a response) , “ response “ or “ solutions “ (to the problem) , and “ evaluation “ or “ result “ (of the requires / solution) . All these features can be seen in Hoey’s fabricated example (2 . 51) below .

This pattern allows writers “ to organize what they have to say as solution to problems in terms of the four part structure Situation – Problem – Solution – Evaluation “ (Coulthard , 1994 : 8) . The function of this pattern in textual organization was first investigated by Winter (1976) who noted that the categories of information in many technical texts were organized according to this metastructure . In amore developed area of analysis , Winter (1981 , 1984 , and 1989) concentrate on fairly short texts .

Jordan (1981 , 1984 and 1989) on the other hand sought to apply this same pattern on texts which do not exactly conform with this four – element pattern in that the show many “ problems “ or many “ solutions , or “ omissions .

Though this pattern is established as typical of expository prose , Al-Kattan (1991) and Al – T aei (1993) indicate that pattern also underlies the structure of argumentitve text.

Example (2 . 51) :

I was once teacher of English Language.

One day some students came to me unable to write theirNames .

I taught them text analysis .

Now they all write novel .

(Hoey , 2001, : 123)

Example (2 . 51) (. 2 . 3) above involves presentation of a “ situation “ , I , was a teacher of English Language “ ; “ a problem “ “ One day some students came to me unable to write their names “ , and “ a solution to the problem , “ I

taught them text analysis “. There is also a positive “*result*” or “*evaluation*”, “*Now they all write novels*”.

2.3.10.2. Claim / Counterclaim

McCarthy (1991 : 161) was the first to offer the details of the claim – counterclaim pattern . However , its origin goes back to Aristotle’s Argument / Counter – argument pattern (Aristotle , 1984 (ed) : 2268). This type of relation is one where a series of claims and contrasting counterclaims is presented in relation to given issue (Holland and Alewis , 1994 : 23) . Claim and counterclaim pattern are often used to refute opposition in political , ideological , theological and scientific literature . Similar to the “ Hypothetical – Real / pattern “ , it is related to the Problem – Solution pattern in that “ instead of presenting the ‘facts’ of a situation , it presents a ‘ hypothesis ‘ about the likely facts or situation “ (Winter , 1994 : 62) . Hereunder is one example of this pattern :

Example (2 . 52))

- (1) Historians are generally agreed that British society is founded on a possessive individualism ,(2) but they bare disputed the origins of that philosophy . Some trace it back to the middle ages , others link, it to the rise of capitalism . But the consensus is that the cornerstone of this society has the nuclear family.

(McCarthy, 1991 : 80)

The underlined vocabulary items in the above example are indicated of the Claim / Counterclaim pattern (*ibid*) . The text proceeds by making a claim in (1)(*historians are agreed*) then makes a counterclaim in (2) (*they do in fact disagree*)

2.3.10.3. General / Specific

The General – Specific pattern – also called General / Particular (Coulthard , 1994 : 7) – refers to the evolution of a text from general statements to more specific one in order to further clarify or elucidate the

original general statements , then concludes with another general statement (McCarthy , 1991 : 158) . This pattern resembles “Preview – Detail relation “ mentioned by Jordan (1992 : 223) and the “ Listing “ pattern of Mikulecky and Jeffries (1996 : 103 – 131) . An example of this patten is shown in (2 . 53)below :

Example (2 . 53)

(a)THOUSANDS of acres of our country – side

Are buried for ever under ribbons of concrete

And tarmac every year .

(b) Every few months a statement from an

Authoritative body claims that our motorway

Network is inadequate and must be extended

(c) . Week by week the amount of car traffic on our

Roads grows , 13 percent in the last year alone

(d) Each day as I walk to work , I see the ludicrous

*Spectacle of hundreds of commuters sitting alone In four or
five – seater cars and barely moving as fast As I can walk .*

(McCarthy , 1991 : 159)

In (2 . 54) above, (a) is a general statement , followed by specific statements in (b), (c) , and (that serve to support and prove (a) .

2 . 3 . 10 . 4 . Hypothetical / Real

Hypothetical – Real pattern ‘ is mentioned in Winter (1982 , 1994) and Hory (1983) . It functions as the evaluation of others’ arguments , (i. e. hypothetical) in terms of the truth value in the “ real “ category . Winter describes this pattern as “ the basic text structure which we to report our

response to the perceived truth of somebody else's or our own statements (1994 : 63) This pattern is illustrated in the following example (Thompson and Zhou , 2000 : 133) :

Example(2 . 55) :

Compatible micros , there should be a healthy UK Market for used models .

There seem to be only one big second – band , Morgan Computer , in London .

In (2 . 55) above , the first sentence is hypothetical and the second is real .

2 . 3 . 10 . 5 . Question / Answer

. The question – answer pattern asks questions and then answers them , as evident in the example below :

Example (2 . 56)

London Too – expensive

It's no surprise that London is the most expensive city stay in , Britain : we 've all heard the horror stories . But just how

Expensive is it ? According to International hotel consultant

Horwath and Horwath's recent report , there are now five

London hotels changing over \$90 a night for single room .

(McCarthy , 1991 : 80)

While the structure of the question / answer pattern above may be obvious , it is also worth noting that it also shows a general – specific pattern at stating the general idea that London is expensive then giving an example of how this expensiveness is realized in actual terms .

2.3.11 Rhetorical Clause Relations and Persuasion

In discourse analysis approaches, the term rhetorical clause relation acquires a slightly different, more specific meaning. The textual persuasion can be realized in the use of a small set of highly recurrent logic-semantic relations, potentially holding between any two parts of a text, whether paragraphs, sentences, clauses, or even nominal groups or single words (Jordan, 1992: 180) The number of these relations is finite and culturally-specific, but is open to modification and addition (Mann et al., 1992: 46). These relations include: Cause- Effect, Condition- Consequence, Problem- Solution, Argument- Evidence, Error- Correction, Generalization- Exception, and Assessment- Basis. Any of the latter logical relations can either be explicit to be signaled by certain lexical items or implicitly indicated.

These rhetorical relations may connect elements of texts at all levels by definable persuasive meaning (Beekman and Callow, 1974:317).

2.3.12 Taxonomy of Clause Relation

Many taxonomies (Beekman and callow, (1974; Hoey, (1983); Jordan (1983) (1992); Crombie, (1985); winter, (1974), (1977), (1982) have been proposed for clause relation, each characterized by its own terminological distinction, but they all share the view that the number of clause relations is relatively stable. This is implied by the fact that since we are speaking of a shared cognitive process for the meaning of a clause relation, it follows, then there must be a limit to the number of relations we can share (winter;1992: 141) The general classification has been done by winter (1974) and broadened by Crombie (1985).

Winter (1974) classifies clause relations into two broad categories: “matching” and “Logical sequence” relations. The first category of relations imposes “comparison” or “contrast” among people, things, actions, or

events. They answer the question: How does X compare with Y in respect of Z? The second category imposes the semantics of “reasoning” as well as the “Logical sequence” by answering the question: How does X event connect with Y event in time.”? Logical sequence relations are of three types: “condition-consequence”, “instrument-achievement” and “cause-consequence.”

Crombie (1985: 16) gives an outline of the general semantic relations. She has grouped them into categories under the following headings:

1. Temporal
2. Matching
3. Cause-Effect
4. Truth and Validity
5. Alternation
6. Bonding
7. Paraphrase
8. Amplification
9. Setting/ Conduct

Each one of those clause relations has its own meaning, classifications, and marker clarified in the following outline table of general Semantic Relations:

Table (1)Toxonomy of known of Clause Relations

N o.	Type of clause Relations	Meaning	Classification	Grammatical Relation Marker
1	Temporal	Concerned with the temporal connection between events	i.Chronological sequence ii. Temporal overlap	Before, after,once , since , till, until, when, now, that,as soon as, sooner..than , firsly,secondly, then , today, nowadays, after dinner...etc.
2	Matching	Involve the comparison of two things, events or abstractions in term of some particular in respect of which they are similar	i.Simple contrast ii. Simple compariso n	Whereas,while/whilst , Contrastingly, conversely, in / by contrast, on the other hand, antonymic lexical items, negation of repeated lexical item or perform, negated synonyms, or comparative or superlative , and by number of lexical items,

				ex. different, difference.
3	Cause-Effect	Three different semantic relations, each of which is concerned with cause and effect relation	i. General causative has three types: a. Reason-result b. Means- result c. Ground . conclusion ii. means-purpose iii.condition-consequence	Because (of), as, since, now(that), due to, from, in that, as a result, consequently, hence, therefore, bring about, cause, give rise to , lead to, effect, reason.
4	Truth and validity	Four relations concerned in a direct or indirect with truth or validity	i.Statement-affirmation ii.Statement-denial correction iii.concession contraexpectation	(a1)though..nevertheless/ yet ,despite,even though, if...at least/ nevertheless , in spite of much as/ though, while , whereas, despite, for/ with all,inspite of, not with standing, all/ just the same, anyhow , any way, at any rate, after all, even so, for/with all that, however, in any causal event, only, still, yet.
5	Alternation	Involve choice, It is elective (i.e.involve)	i. Contrastive alternation ii. Supplementar y alternation	Exclusive disjunction, implicit or explicit, positively/ negative opposition, choice between two or more than two things, events or abstraction not

				opposites, Either...or, nobody...or, or.
6	Bonding	It is additive relation	i. Bonding a. coupling b. contrastive coupling c. Statement-exemplification d. Statement-exception.	Non –elective, non-sequential relation between conjoined or juxtaposed propositions. Conjoined by (and), but, or non conjunction .
7	Paraphrase	Involves statement without amplification	i. paraphrase	The same proposition is expressed in different ways. It may involve a negated antonym.
8	Amplification	Involves the substitution of a specific word or expression for a general one. It involve explicit or implicit relation of one member in the other member.	i. Term specification ii. predicate specification iii. Term exemplification	One member amplifies, the information in the other by providing a specific term, or by specifying the content predicate, or a general term is illustrated with reference to a particular.
9	Setting /		i. Event/state-	Adverbials give location of the event, give the

	conduct		location ii.Event- direction iii.Event-manner	direction of an event, and give the manner in which an event was conducted.
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2.3.13. Defining Rhetoric

The term rhetoric is used to mean many different concepts, among which are : (1)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 ; (2)eloquent speech or writing , speech or writing expressed in terms calculated to persuade; (3)skill in or faculty of using eloquent and persuasive language (The Oxford English Dictionary, 1989: rhetoric)

2. 3 . 14. Rhetoric and Discourse Analysis

The term “discourse” refers to any communicative stretch of language either spoken or written. As for discourse analysis, it is that linguistic discipline concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used (McCarthy, 1991:5). It also refers to attempts to study the organization of language at the supra-sentential level ,(i.e. above the sentence level). This level requires considering aspects of sentence connection as well as the study of rhetoric functions(Brown and Yule,1983: 2).

In the classical sense, rhetoric is simply the precursor of modern discourse studies focusing on how text actually work, their shaping , arrangement, composition, information design , and style. It is concerned with the rules of discourse that serve speaking appropriately in a given situation in order to enhance persuasion (Van Dijk,1985:125). Incidentally, the term “rhetoric” must not be used as a substitute for or a synonym to

the term “discourse” since it refers to only one part of the concept of discourse, which is concerned with the organization of information in a discourse (Trimble,1985:10).

2. 3 . 15. **Rhetoric Structures**

Rhetoric structures imply that coherent stretches of a text are connected to other coherent . Stretches of it by means of complex combinations of rhetoric relations (Jordan,1992:179). A text consists of functionally significant parts. These parts are elements of patterns in which the parts are integrated into wholes . These elements are defined in terms of the categories of information they communicate. The sequential organization of the logical elements underlying the stretches of a text is called metastructure or a pattern. The relation between the smaller binary clause relations and larger clause relation is that of composition.

According to winter(1971)(cited in Widdowson,1983:58), there is a basic rhetorical structure underlying the discourse structure which consists of two related parts, problem and solution, together with a situation, and which provides the setting for the problem , and an evaluation, which provides an assessment of the effects of the solution. In his book entitled *Towards a contextual Grammar of English*, Winter(1982:190-2) further investigates two of the basic rhetorical structures which he has identified since 1974 and termed “Larger Clause Relation”. These are Situation-Evaluation, and Hypothetical- Real. In Situation- Evaluation, the 'Situation' is what we 'know', and it can predict Basis/Reason ; while the ' Evaluation' is what we 'think' about what we know, and can predict Basis (Reason or Justification). 'Hypothetical' is a Hypothetical Situation and 'Real' is an evaluation of a likely reality. Here a statement is modified by the True relation (hypothetical)is followed by another True relation of Denial, followed by Assessment(Reason)for the Denial and Basis for that. Assessment (ibid).

Hoey(1983)has been able to develop a model for discourse analysis based on Winter's clause relation approach.

Hoey (1983:55) maintains that the fundamental units of discourse analysis are Situation and Evaluation corresponding to the questions "what are the facts?", "What do you think of these facts?" , and the other elements of the pattern, problem, solution, are 'molecular' forms built out of these two 'atomic' types of information. Situation and Evaluation are operating at a number of levels, first as element in the overall discourse pattern and secondly as elements at lower levels, including sentence level .

Evaluation, according to Hoey (1983:78) and Jordan (1984:102) , may take one of the following three forms :

- a. Evaluation accompanied by basis, or
- b. Result accompanied by Evaluation , and
- c. Combined Result/ Evaluation optionally accompanied by basis(Hoeg, 1983: 98).

2 . 4. Argument and Argumentative

The language of politicians , especially they are speaking in public , is an interesting mixture of old and new : it displays much of the ritual phraseology and consciousness of precedent we associate religion and law , and it makes use of many of the rhetorical and dramatic techniques which associate with advertising or media (Crystal , 2003 :378). Chateris – Black (2005 : 10) argues that successful speakers , especially in political context , need to appeal to attitudes and emotions that are already within the listeners . when the listeners perceive that their beliefs are understood and supported , the speaker has created connections to the policy that they wish to communicate . When putting forward arguments a speaker has to

communicate at an emotional level and take standpoints that seem morally correct . Furthermore , the listener must perceive that the arguments are relevant to the issue . This cannot be done solely by lexical means although linguistic performance is the most important factor .

The characteristics of political language vary for doing its purposes . Politicians' purposes , Persuade voters influence , or make us adopt general political or social attitudes . when politicians engage in language interactions with other participants , they use the other forms , either loosely or under the rule of arbitrator . The close association between politics and language is not new . In this respect , Aristotle saw that human beings are naturally political animals who acquire and use language to pursue political ends (Woods , 2006 :51) .

O' Bar and O' Bar (1976 :353) confirm that the relationship between the language and politics is taken in the sense that language , as an effective and multipurpose tool , is presented as a mean or an issue to bring about social and political goals .

2 . 4.1. Text argumetative

Although according to some writers , every text is an argument essay in that the writer is providing evidence in support of a thesis (Aston , 1977 : 478) , they generally see argument essays that seek either a change in behavior or a re – orientation in thinking . Whereas some argument essays offer reasons or evidence in favor of one option among several . Other argument essays debate options , offering pros and cons for each in an effort to show that one option is superior to the others . On the other hand , other argument essays marshal evidence to persuade the reader to adopt a point of view or pattern of behavior contrary to the reader's normal thinking or behavior . At the same time some argument essays present and evaluate evidence in order to reach what appears to be the best or most reasonable conclusion , while still other attempt to persuade

by consensus , acknowledging the strengthen of one point of view or pattern of behavior and then providing evidence to suggest that another point of view or pattern of behavior more successfully addresses the situation (Brooks and Warren , 1970 : 255 -6)

2 . 4.2 .Appeals in Argumentative Texts

The Greek philosopher Aristotle (d. 322 BC) has generally popularized three types of appeals in arguments . He divided the artistic proofs into “ logos ” (related to the characteristic of the discourse itself) , “ pathos (related to the characteristics of the audience) , and “ ethos ” (related to the character of the speaker) (Kirszner and Mandell , 2001 : 494) .

2 . 4.2.1. Appeals to Reason

“ Logos ” , from which we get the English word “ logic ” expresses appeals of reason ,common sense , general knowledge , and scientific research . It is agreed upon that any of the expository modes (definition , cause / effect , comparison / contrast , and so on) can be used for rational appeals . Appeals to reason are considered the most important of all the means of persuasion . However ,by themselves , appeals to reason often fail to be effective . For example , all people quit sure of the fact that smoking is unhealthy , and yet , despite that knowledge – and cigarette warning labls – many people not only continue to smoke , but also new people continue to join the ranks of smokers (ibid)

2 . 4 . 2.2.Appeals to Emotion

The Greek word “ Pathos” refers to various emotional appeals , and from it is derived the English word “ pathos ” , which means a feeling of pity or compassion . Emotional appeals can be very powerful , though they work best in concert with rational appeals ; and can be especially effective in a conclusion . Because narration and description are expressive modes ,

these are often used to develop emotional appeals . The person who may not be convinced by a listing of the medical consequences of smoking may be convinced by a first person account from a victim suffering from lung or throat cancer as a consequence of smoking (ibid) .

2 . 4 . 2.3. Appeals of Character

The English word “ ethos “ is derived from the Greek word Ethos . It refers to appeals of character . Ethical appeals are also often abused . Among the useful ways of understanding ethical appeals is to view them , not as arguments a writer makes , but as arguments showing what a writer is . In other words , arguing that a particular approach to a problem is the “ right “ or “ ethical “ thing to do , or is the “ religious “ thing to do (which is both an appeal to ethical and an appeal to authority) is often ineffective . Writers have high ethical , particularly when they show evidence of character : a sense of fairness , willingness to hear both sides of the topic , command of language , and honesty . Bias , closed – mindedness , superficial understanding , poor grammar and spelling , lying , and plagiarism all indicate low or weak character , and detract the addressees from the arguments being presented (ibid) .

2.4.4. Argument

The term ‘argument’ is derived from the Latin “argumentum” which, according to Czernecka (hot mail document issued on the bases of some confidential references written in different languages), has different senses. In a colloquial sense, an argument is an assertion or fact which is used to support or refute some one's position – a justification , a motivation, a means of pressure, or a means of fighting.

According to Brook and Warren(1970:255-6), an argument is the essays guide evidence to persuade the reader to adopt a certain point of view or certain behavior which is contrary of the reader’s that some

argumentative essays present and evaluative evidence in order to arrive at what appears to be best or most reasonable conclusion.

Aston,(1977:478)says that every text is an argument essay in that the writer is providing in support of a thesis which seeks either changing in behavior or a re-orientation in thinking of some of them to be often reasons or evidence. Others offers prose to show that one opinion is superior to others.

Angles, (1981:18)defines arguments as :

(1)argument in language(‘argue’ “to make clear”). The reason (proof, evidence)offered in support or denial of something . (2)In logic, a series of statements called premise logically related to a further statement called conclusion .

Kirszner and Mandell(2001:494)point out that the Greek philosopher Aristotle (d. 322 B.C)has generally simplified three kinds of appeals in arguments: They are :

Logos which is related to the characteristic of the discourse itself which expresses appeals of reason. It is any of the expository modes such as (definition)cause/effect, comparison / contrast,etc. which can be used for relation appeals and from logs the English words is derived; pathos , which is related to characteristic of appeals. The English word pathos gets from it , which means a feeling of pity or compassion; and ethos , which is related to the characteristic of the addresser , from which the English word ethic is derived which refers to appeals of character.

2.4.4.1. Argumentation

Both (Van) Eemeren and Grootendvost (1995:55) define argumentation as a communicative process based on “a verbal activity

aimed at obtaining a reasonable...argument with a standpoint by presenting ... a set of proposition to support that “argument ” via the different argumentation devices used for the purpose of communication.

2.4.5. Types of Argument

Watton, (2001,141-2)points out that many logic textbook talk two basis types of argumentation : deductive and inductive . He continues that they either do not recognize the third category at all, or show uncertainty about what to call it. But recent work in argumentation theory has studied forms of argument fitting into neither the deductive nor the inductive. Such forms are called ‘argumentation’ Schemes’. The arguments that fit these schemes appear to have various names, they represented a third category that could be adductive ‘presumptive’, ‘plausibilistic’, or some other names of argumentation.

The difference between the three types of arguments consists in the inference . Accordingly, the elements of these three fold classification can be distinguished as follows :

A. Abductive Arguments

Harman(1965:88-9)points out that the abductive inference has often been equated with inference to the best explanation.

Rescher(1976:28)believes that abductive inferences are sometimes called plausibilistic. The notion of plausibility is the criterion of evaluating a proposition, it evaluates propositions, in relation to “the standing and solidity of their cognitive basis”. Rescher (ibid.)says that plausibility is said to be a plausible presumption until some other alternative is shown to be more plausible.

A plausible presumption does not always depend on empirical evidence describing what actually occurs; it sometimes has something to do with appearances, how the situation appeared to the jury and how the participants would likely to react in that kind of situation .

Woods(1999a: 118)voices that the abduction is often described as a kind of ‘back word’ reasoning , because it starts from the know fact , and probes backwards into the reason or explanations for these facts. Therefore, it has also been called “retroductive”.

Walton(2001a:144)states that abductive inferences have three stages , first , it begins from a set of premises that report observed finding or facts about the well know evidence in a given case. Second it searches around among various explanations that can be given for these . Third , it selects out the so-called “best” explanation and is acceptable as a hypothesis.

Walton(ibid:146)sees that from the positive and negative data, a conclusion can be drawn by a process of negative reasoning that is sometimes called argumentum in logic. More significantly , abductive inferences are derived from the way things are expected to go in the normal course of events in a familiar kind of situation, i.e. from a “general rule” .

Walton(2002:33)points out that abductive reasoning is some kind of result to the best explanation where several explanations of a phenomenon could be possible “The abductive inference narrows down the search to more plausible ones....highly plausible . But it does not rule out all the other possibilities except the chosen ones.”

B. Presumptive Argument

Walton(2001:156)shows that presumption, plausibility and abduction inferences tend to show common characteristics : all are concerned with the practical need to take action, all provisionally accept a hypothesis , even though the evidence is not sufficient to prove the hypothesis; and all are provisional and hypothetical in nature.

C. Argumentation Schemes

Reed and Walton (2001:1) mention three basic reasons for argumentation scheme's contribution "fallacy theory". This type of argumentation is to be compatible acceptable , and persuasive. Argumentation scheme's provide the identification of such categories. Secondly, argumentation schemes might have some pedagogical application since such schemes can provide students with additional structure analytic tools for both analysis and evaluating natural arguments critically. Thirdly, argumentation schemes present a great potential for tackling and solving a variety of problems in artificial intelligence .

Reed and Walton (2005:20)believe that the argumentation schemes are forms of arguments or structure of inference, representing common types of argumentation. They provide structures of arguments whether they are in everyday discourse or in special context like legal argumentation or scientific argumentation.

2.4.6. Argument and Explanation

Walton(2004:72) shows that both arguments and explanation can be based on chains of reasoning. In some cases, there is not enough 'textual' or 'contextual information' given to enable one to determine clearly whether the given passage expresses an argument or an explanation. He precedes to say that we can evaluate a text of discourse by applying certain criteria if it is an argument , while, if it is an explanation we are applying another type of criteria-when dealing with real cases of natural

language discourse a pragmatic and dialectical are a clear distinction between argument and explanation. The difference “is not just in their statements, their–truth–values or their deductive implications; it resides in how the statements are being used for some conversational purpose a context of dialogue” (ibid.: 73).

2 . 5 . What is pragmatics ?

2 . 5 . 1 Definition

Defining pragmatics as has been realized by scholars, is not an easy task. Some researchers have dismissed pragmatics by labeling it as the wastebasket of linguistics. However, the study of this branch of linguistics is very crucial in doing linguistic analysis because it emphasizes the relationship between language and its users under the influence of the contextual situation.

Yule (1996: 3) signifies four areas that make the general frame of pragmatic: the speaker's meaning, the contextual meaning, what is more communicated than what is said, and expressions of relative distance.

Hence, Levinson (1983:21) sees that pragmatics studies the relations between language and context that are basic to account for language understanding. In other words, Pragmatists is not after what is there in the speaker's mind, rather it aims at understanding the possible interpretations of particular utterances in certain context.

This is what Katz (1977:19) highlights as he suggests that "grammars are theories about the structure of sentence types... pragmatic theories, in contrast explicate the reasoning of speakers and hearers". This study will be basically concerned with investigating types of speech acts assumed to be involved in making electoral speeches; also implicature is the second point of interest, as it is expected to play an important role in conveying the propagandists implied meanings. But first of all, we need to know about context of situation and the part it plays in interpreting speeches in their contexts.

Wales (1989 : 368)states that pragmatics is a term taken from the Greek word “ pragma “ to mean “ deed “ . It was used in questioning of meaning .

According to Morris (1938 : 6) pragmatics is “ study of the relation of signs to interpreters” . In this definition , he limits the study of pragmatics to the relation of signs only to interpreters which would make it vague . But soon , he gave this definition a generalization by changing the word “interpreters ” “ to users” to become “the relation of signs to their users “ (ibid) . *The latter seems to be more logical than the former definition , since the word “ interpreters “ may refer only to hearers or addressees and not to speakers or addressees while the word “users” may refer to both .*

Crystal (2003 : 364) views pragmatics from different angles Traditionally speaking , he sees as a term used to refer to one of three divisions of semiotic : pragmatics , syntax , semantics . While in modern linguistics pragmatics has to be applied “ to the study of language from the point of view of the users , especially of the choices they make , the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on the other participants in an act of communication “ (ibid) . He further explains that “ the field of pragmatics focuses on an ‘area ‘ between semantics , sociolinguistics and extralinguistic context ; but the boundaries with these other domains are yet incapable of precise definition “ (ibid) .

Because of the wide scope of the subject many conflicting definitions have arisen . In a narrow linguistic view , it deals “ only with those aspects of context which are formally encoded in the structure of a language ; they would be parts of the user’s pragmatic competence (ibid). In contrast with this definition , it has been defined as “ the study of those aspects of meaning not covered by a semantic theory “ (ibid) . Moreover, it has been characterized as “ the study of the principles and practice of all aspects of language usage , understanding and appropriateness . Especial attention has been paid to the range of pragmatic particles which are found in speech (e . g . you know , I mean , sort of , tag questions) which play an important

role in controlling the pragmatic nature of an attention “ , (ibid) . For the purpose of classifying the wide range of the subject matter ,many derivative terms have been proposed such as:

2 . 5 . 1 . 1. Pragmalinguistic which refers to the study of language use from the viewpoint of a language’s structural resources . In contrast with the other pragmatic studies , it does not examine the conditions on language use which derive from the social situation or “ sociopragmatics “ . It might being with the pronoun system of a language , and examine the way in which people choose different forms to express a range of attitudes and relationships (such as deference and intimacy) (ibid)

2 . 5 . 1 . 2 . Sociopragmatics which refers to the study of language in society or in relation to society .

2 . 5 . 1 . 3. General Pragmatics which is “ the study of the principles governing the communicative use of language , especially as encountered in conversations – principles which may be as putative , or restricted to the study of specific language .

2 . 5 . 1 . 4. Literary Pragmatics which “ applies pragmatic notions (especially to do with narrative) to production and reception of literary texts“ .

2 . 5 . 1 . 5 . Applied Pragmatics which “focuses on problems of interaction that arise in contexts where successful communication is critical , such as medical interviews , judicial setting , counseling and foreign language teaching “ (ibid : 364 – 65) .

Generally , the pragmatic aspect of language presents the functional side , which refers to the manipulation of the linguistic form of the speaker makes in communication .

According to Allerton (1979 : 280) the pragmatic view of performatives and of illocutionary force in general , tries to interpret the value of the sentences in their *actual situational context* . The linguist should take into account not only the lexical element and the grammatical structure but he should explore how the elements and structures express the propositional content (I e . , the locutionary force) . In addition , the pragmatic analysis does not harm the abstract entities in syntax while it explains the nature of facts (Downes , 1977 : 83) .

Crytsal (1997 : 120) adds that pragmatic studies often involve “the factors that govern our choice of language in social interaction and the effects of our choice on others.

One must also have the ability to use language effectively in order to achieve a specific purpose Thomas , (1983: 92) . .

Thus , the main aim of pragmatic is to specify the conditions , the so called appropriate conditions . Appropriateness : when producing an utterance , a speaker needs to know that it is grammatical , and also that it is suitable for the particular situation . For example , “Give me a glass of water “ is grammatical , but not be appropriate if the speaker wanted to be polite . But we say , “may I have a glass of water please ? “(cited in Tehrani & shahbazi , 1997 : 9) ,under which an utterance functions as , or counts as , an appropriate speech act in contexts.

2 . 5 . 2. Pragmatics and Linguistic Fields

Pragmatics is a sub- field of linguistics. In the field of pragmatics, one can understand utterance depending on the interference of a context between speaker and hearer. Pragmatics is "the relation between language and context that are basic to account for language understanding" (Levinson, 1983: 21). This definition indicates the language which is used in the process of communication.

There is a close link between language usage and human life as demonstrated by Van Dijk (1977: 189), Thomas (1995: 22) and Verchueren

(1993: 1), they emphasize that pragmatics is a bridge between linguistic field and other social sciences, e.g: *Sociolinguistics* has its contribution to understand the social aspect.

Blommaert (2005: 5) is concerned with studying language in society ;his contribution to this field synthetic as attempt to bring number of insights and approaches that are placed and sub-disciplinary audiences. Bringing them together may result in something new and more useful or more applicable to a wide variety of social interactions. Scientific disciplines could be benefited from structured, and sciences, e.g: *Sociolinguistics* has its contribution to understand the social aspect.

At the psychological field, there is a mutual relation with pragmatics. Levinson (1983: 375) states that pragmatics "is likely to be provider, the tester, refiner or rejecter" because pragmatic theories can rely on testing by psycholinguistics.

2 . 5 . 3 . Pragmatics and Politics

As language is an innate process within human's minds and through it, the pragmatic field is related to social aspects of life. Language represents ways of speaking, reading, and writing which become ideological issues.

quantitative analysis with some qualitative elements. Language represents a site of cultural politics, ways of speaking, reading and writing become ideological issues. People invest in their words and thoughts and whether consciously or not, subjects choose certain ways of languaging the world over others(Leonardo, 2003: 68). They have a repertoire through which the communication can be made within society. Blommaraet (2005: 13) clarifies that "language" can be seen as collection of varieties which depends on people's repertoire which is different from one person to another.

As language is a social practice, there is an intersection between language and social structure, and the manifestation of its work can be recognized in the selection of topics and domains of analysis.

Critical discourse analysis focuses on the intersection between language, discourse and speech, and social structure. Furthermore, the ways of the purpose of critical discourse analysis is that as well "to analyse opaque as transparent structural relationship of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak, 1995: 204; cited in Blommaraet , 2005: 25). This explains the major role of critical discourse analysis and how it can manifest the opaque language that is used in various fields. Critical discourse analysis practitioners work in applied topics and social domains such as:

1. Political discourse: i.e the discourse of politicians.
2. Ideology means the ideologies that are being reproduced. Ideology in critical discourse analysis is considered as a topic of considerable importance.
3. Racism can be given a great attention within the study of ideology.
4. The discourse of economics and its relation to the issue of globalization which has been formulated as a preoccupation for critical discourse analysis
5. Advertisement and promotional culture.
6. Media language.
7. Gender: especially the women's representative in the media.
8. Institutional discourse: the role of language in institutional practices, such as: doctor- patient communication.
9. Education can be considered as a major area of the production of social relations including representation and identity (Ibid: 26).

The relationship between pragmatics and politics is very crucial. Politicians, through language, can express their own views, while

pragmatists are often concerned with meaning behind the language use and expose what underlies the literal use of language.

2 . 6 . Speech Acts

The notion of speech act is central to political speeches analysis, because it exclude the notion that language and motion are separate. Austin is considered the founder of the speech act theory in which he states that language has kind of sentences he calls 'performative'. In these sentences, the saying of the words constitutes the performing of an action (Austin, 1962: 4):

(2 . 57) (I do (take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife).

as uttered in the course of a married ceremony. In this excerpt, the speaker is neither describing what he is doing, nor stating that he is doing it, but performing the action of 'marrying'.

Austin classifies utterances into three components: locutionary act (the act of saying), illocutionary act (the act that has certain force) which has the illocutionary force, and perlocutionary act (the effect produced in the hearer such as persuading, intimidating, deceiving) (Ibid: 108). Actually, it is the illocutionary force (of the illocutionary act) is most discussed, because we may infer different potential illocutionary forces of the same utterance depending on context of interaction. Yule (1996:49) explains that the following utterance may suggest two different illocutionary forces:

(2 . 58) I'll see you latter.

[I promise you that]

[I warn you that]

Hence, each interpretation is governed by specific context of interaction. However, more clear utterances would state the considerations should be regarded: Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (performative verbs) such as (promise, warn, announce)(Force Indicating Device),and felicity conditions which are certain convenient circumstances necessary for

speech act to be valid, otherwise the performance is infelicitous. Thus, there must be the appropriate actor in an appropriate situation. For two reasons speech acts classification is not an easy task, first due to the huge number of performative verbs. Second, the difficulty of recognizing speakers intended meaning which is not always explicit. Searle (1969: 24-5) lists five basic types of speech acts: These acts are also referred at as assertives.

(i) Representatives:

Here the speaker adhere to the truth expressed in the proposition in varying degrees. Theses acts indicate what the speaker believes to be the case or not. The words are expected to fit the world. Verbs such as: affirm, claim, state, class, deny, complain, conclude, describe, predict, classify.. etc. are recurrent in this category.

(2 . 5 9) I affirm that he is innocent.

(ii) Directives:

These are all attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. The speaker in this class is wanting to achieve a future situation in which the world will match his words and thus this class includes not simply ' order' and 'request' but also invite, dare, challenge, suggest, insist, advice, beg,...etc.

(2 . 60) I advice you to study hard.

(iii) Commissives:

They belong to a category taken over intact from Austin in which they resemble directives and are concerned with altering the world to match the words. It is prominent that in this category the point is to commit the speaker himself to acting and it necessarily involves the will to act. Such verbs are: promise, commit, vow, threaten, intend, mean to, swear,...etc.

(2 . 6 1) I swear to tell the truth.

(iv) Expressive:

The illocutionary force of this category is to express the psychological state. In this category there is no direction of fit between the world and the words. Common verbs are : thank, sympathize, apologize, welcome, complain, congratulate...etc.

(2 . 6 2) I apologize for not coming yesterday

(v) Declaratives:

This class of speech acts change the state or condition of an object, they change the world by words. The verbs denote this class: name, nominate, quit, appoint, veto, find, give,.. etc.

Nevertheless, to spot the previous performative verbs and their illocutionary forces in certain English sentences, would be an easy thing due to the directness they have, that is, the direct relationship between structure and function. However, the task will be more difficult whenever there is no such relation.

According to Leech (1974 : 350) an analysis of speech act requires taking into account the following devices :

- the utterance itself .
- the speaker of the utterance .
- The listener (addressee) of the utterance .
- The time and place of the utterance itself .

The pragmatic function of an utterance is often expressed in the grammatical structure of the sentence . The same may hold for the expression of macro – speech acts “ Macro – speech acts or global speech acts “ performed by the sequence of speech acts . The sequence of speech acts requires global planning and interpretation . Certain sequences of various speech may be intended and understood to express function

society (Van dijk , 1977 : 245) through the discourse as a whole . Given a command context , the person may expect typical uses of pronoun (yule , 1977 : 245).

Thus , the main aim of pragmatic is to specify the conditions , the so called appropriate conditions . Appropriateness : when producing an utterance , a speaker needs to know that it is grammatical , and also that it is suitable for the particular situation . For example , “Give me a glass of water “ is grammatical , but not be appropriate if the speaker wanted to be polite . But we say , “may I have a glass of water please ? “(cited in Tehrani & shahbazi , 1997 : 9) ,under which an utterance functions as , or counts as , an appropriate speech act in contexts.

Pragmatics deals with the study of the use of language in social interaction, particularly the relationship between sentences and the contexts of situations in which they are used .In other words , pragmatics includes the study of how the interpretation and use of utterances depend on the shared knowledge of the real world . As one of the basic tenets and phenomena of pragmatics , Speech Act Theory has been examined in many fields , including philosophy (Austin ,1962,and Searle ,1969) , anthropology, sociolinguistics and linguistics (Sadock , 1974 ,Bach & Harnish , 1979). While researchers differ on how speech act are examined , the underlying theory loosely remains the same when used in appropriate situations , speech acts are performed through words.

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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3 . Preliminaries

Discourse has a very crucial role in communication, Parker (1992: xi-xii) defines discourse as " system of statements which constructs an object". This definition illustrates that through discourse the world can be shaped and through it one can cover the intentions of the speaker.

Furthermore, discourse can be treated as a mode of semiotics, as stated by Blommaert (2005: 2), i.e meaningful semiotic behaviour because semiotics in human communication clarifies number of activities that may not appear within language. He adds that discourse is language in action and, therefore, it requires to pay attention to both terms: language and action.

The traditional view treats discourse as a linguistic term which is described as a complex linguistic form (larger than a single sentence (text) or as 'language- in- use i.e linguistic structures that are used by people- 'real language) (De Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981,Brown and Yule, 1983). So, in this way, there is an attribution to develop a pragmatic field as a sub-field within linguistics. As a result, discourse can be considered as a pillar within society (Ibid).

Rogers (2004: 173) states that political discourse provides a clear illustration of the constitutive power of discourse. It has its effect to reproduce or change the social world by reproducing and rechanging people's representation of it and the principles of classification that underlie them.

Moreover, the members of discourse have their roles and through their participation, one can recognize their identities as Boyed (2005: 80) states that in order to analyze the political discourse, the identity and ideology are crucial to understand the political actors and therefore, their performances are defined according to social identity (Fairclough, 2000: 95 and Van Dijk (1998) cited in Boyed, 2005).

The political discourse is constructed for specific directions. In the mass of communication, the news media put a premium on language, that is brief, topical, and easy to express.

Political speech- writers keep their requirement at the front of their minds when they write speeches. The discourse- writers are concerned with the form of message that they want to convey, with its substance, and to provide in a format that the media will find easy to pick up, cover and communicate to audience (Woods,2006:67).

He argues that political discourse has been affected by the rapid media and mass communication system. People always restrict themselves to listen to speeches by politicians. The building of political systems requires an employment of unelected policy making pieces of advice and consultants(Ibid:46).

The markings of a political system is highly secretive about its communication. The political discourse is either delivered spontaneously or prearranged. The persuasive linguistic techniques are commonplace in the language of politics. The important aspects of political languages are slogans. Slogans are tiny fractions of political discourse such as: those that are found in journalistic headlines and advertisements.

Political discourse has multifunctional uses, therefore, it performs variety of Speech Acts, such as: protesting, legitimizing, intimidating and persuading, i.e, the language of politicians that is designed to lead us to a particular view of reality (Ibid: 45-50).

Another important aspect of political discourse is 'power' as Van Dijk (1985: 61) points that Fowler defines 'power' not as a satisfactory adequate technical term but as according to everyday use. Power is the ability of people and institutions to control the behaviour and the material lives of others. The power relationships are not natural and objective but they are artificial and socially constructed inter-subjective realities. Berger and Luckman (1976, cited in Van Dijk (1985:61) state that language is a major mechanism in the process of social construction. It can be considered as an instrument for consolidating and manipulating concepts and relationships in the area of power (Ibid).

The study of political discourse) has been around for as long as politics itself. We're interested in the language of politics and its different possibilities. They considered the language of politics as an instrument to reach the truth, express art, or achieve persuasion (Lasswell, 1968: 3-4). The Greco- Roman tradition of rhetoric, which is basically the art of verbal persuasion, was a means of codifying the way public orators used language. In both the Greek polis and the Roman Empire, the rhetorical tradition played a central part in the training of political orators. This provided a framework for the observation of political verbal behavior that continued for many centuries (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997: 206- 07).

Aristotle's book 'On Rhetoric' is considered a classic in the study of rhetoric. In this book, Aristotle states that there is nothing wrong with rhetoric, the study of the persuasive function of language, as long as it is used rationally to demonstrate the truth. The interest in rhetorical devices continued into the Roman era. Cicero's 'On the public Speaker' is one of the most important books of the period. As the title suggests, it aims at both depicting and prescribing effective strategies to influence audiences. The application of the theory and practice of rhetoric were viewed as part of the political life of the community (Chilton, 2001: 584- 58).

During the Roman period, rhetoric was a focal point of strict education. Orators gained much attention and they had high positions in

the Roman Empire, and so was rhetoric. Indeed, rhetoric was for the Romans a powerful and practical linguistic skill, a skill that carried with it a strong sense of moral responsibility and ethics (Herrick, 2005: 11).

During the Medieval period, sermons were good excerpt of the growth of rhetoric. Saint Augustine was among Christian scholars who used rhetoric to defend faith and religion. Bearing in mind that sermons addressed profane as well as religious issues, it can be assumed that the study of medieval ecclesiastical oratory gives us an insight into medieval political language (Lasswell, 1968: 3). During the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries, Humanism was very much influenced by rhetoric. Prominent intellectuals such as Perarch and Villa paid much attention to rhetoric. With the invention of the printing press during the mid fifteenth, an enormous number of rhetoric books were printed. The second important step towards the study of political discourse came during the Renaissance. Many Renaissance scholars and figures, like Machiavelli put their hands in the art of rhetoric. Machiavelli's well known book, 'The Prince' is political and was widely read at that time (ibid: 168).

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Enlightenment thinkers who were influenced by the empiricism of science, began to put their arguments and big questions on the power of language. Although the Enlightenment proved a decline in the study of rhetoric, orators, politicians and preaches continued to apply their rhetorical knowledge in their professions (Chilton, 2001: IX).

The twentieth century witnessed an explosion in language studies. It is the gradual accumulation of evidence, assumptions, theories, and studies which had contributed to the emergence of linguistics, the giant and expandable field whose ultimate branches have not been decided on yet.

Linguistic analysis is one of those branches; it is concerned with the linguistic phenomenon whether spoken or written, in conversation or speech, or wherever interaction occurs. Linguistic analysis has penetrated other fields directly and not; literary criticism, psychology, history,

medicine, sociology, and politics political discourse. political discourse has a space as well; the analysis of political discourse in purely linguistic terms has emerged only since the early 1980s and 1990s (Wilson, 2001: 399). Indeed, it should be thought that whenever there is a form of language in use, hence there is some kind of linguistic analysis under careful consideration occurs.

Persuasion uses language and symbolic action. Symbolic action includes all the behaviours that are meaningful. In politics, politicians use language in order to persuade people to vote for or support them by using various means such as: using advertisements, speeches, news , websites and other means.

3.1 A political Discourse Defined

The first observation that needs to be made about political discourse is that it is not a genre, but a class of genres defined by a social domain, namely that of politics, in the same way scientific discourse, educational discourse and legal discourse represent the classes of discourse genres of the domain of science, education and law. Thus government deliberations, parliamentary debates, party programs, and speeches by politicians are among the many genres that belong to the domain of politics (Van Dijk, 1998: 57). On the one hand, it is generally agreed that what is meant by politics is mainly in terms of struggle for power in order to secure specific ideas and interests and put them into practice. Power is the basis for argument. Language generates, reflects, maintains, enforces and exercises power. On the other hand, politics can also be realized as cooperation of the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving conflicts of interests over money, influence, liberty and the like (Chilton, 2004: 3).

Thus, politics is usually seen as being either an unpredictable exercise of power or confined to certain rules.

As matter of fact political science offers many definitions to the language dominates political arena, ranging form very general

characteristics of politics in the light of power or collective decision making, to the more specific definition of politics, which means all the activities politicians indulged in. Van Dijk (1998: 58) assumes that political discourse is the discourse of politicians; this rules out even those discourse genres at the boundaries of the domain of politics with other domains, such as the discourse of a student demonstration, the messages of an anti-abortion campaign, or an every day conversation about politics

These discourses belong to other social domains, even if their intention is to influence political decision making.

The scope of political discourse covers a broad range of subject matters: "bilateral and multilateral treatise, speeches made during electioneering campaign or at a congress of a parliamentary debate, editorial or commentaries in newspaper, a press conference with the politician or a politicians memoirs" (Schaffner, 1996: 202). Specifying the range of political discourse to the "professional" realm of the activities of politicians means that such discourse is a form of institutional discourse related to institutional setting, such as governments, parliaments or political parties. Conversations of politicians out of the political setting will not be considered as political discourse (Van Dijk, 1998: 60). There should be three factors: a political actor, political act and political institution'

The nature of the linguistic analysis of political discourse is descriptive: "one of the core goals of studying political discourse is to seek out the ways in political discourse which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect" (Feldman and De Landtsheer, 1998: 410). Moreover, the term is also suggestive for at least two possibilities. First, a discourse which is itself political; secondly, a linguistic analysis of political discourse as overtly an excerpt of discourse type (Tannen, et al. 2001: 398).

As for the analysis of political texts is usually termed as content analysis (Slembrauck, 2004: 61). Whether such analysis should be quantitative or qualitative is often debated in the literature. The quantitative requirement has often been considered as essential: " there is

clearly no reason for content analysis unless the question one wants answered is quantitative" (Lasswell 1968: 45). However, qualitative and quantitative methods should enhance each other, and it is by using both these approaches, the investigation would gain insight into the meaning of the data. There for, for a linguistic approach it would be more useful to basically relay

There is a problem in deciding whether a political discourse constitutes a domain , a field , or a genre. In other words , this kind of discourse is regarded highly questionable . Neither a politics entity nor a political discourse can be defined as a close entity; a political discourse is ubiquitous. Political discourse is, in fact, a site of struggle, a terrain , a dynamic linguistic, and above all, semantic space in which social meanings are produced or challenged. This is because the concerned with power . Therefore, we have a conflict and a language model of use which is basically observed as part of a social action, and has mainly to do with the connection between action and structure (Siedle,1985:44-5) .

Most of the effective and influential forms, concepts, and thoughts marking a political discourse are plainly shown in titles, headlines, articles, speeches, etc, which form part of the difficulty of defining political discourse accurately (Crystal,1987:378;New Mark, 1986:44). It is important to point out that political discourse is rarely personal despite the fact that the reverse is true. It is not only social or political but it is also an individual text or talk that embodies individual characteristics. In other words, political discourse can only be adequately described and explained when light is thrown upon the socio-cognitive interference. This interference is linked with the socially shared political representations that control actions, processes, and systems (Van Dijk,1997:35). It may be argued that the ability to deal with political discourse is natural and need not be studied in depth. Nevertheless, the positive view is that when dealing with a political discourse , we are dealing with the complex form of human activity which should be tackled by its own right (Ibid,1997:206-7).

An important observation to be made about a political discourse is that it is not a genre , but a class of genres defined by a social domain , namely , that of politics . Therefore , government deliberations , parliamentary debates, party programs, and speeches by politicians are among the many genres related to the domain of politics. In addition, there is a kind of emphasis on studying , analyzing , and relating political discourse to genres that are totally linked with the domain of politics rather than the genres belonging to social domains, even though displaying political intentions such as anti-abortion company, or corporate talk intended to influence tax or investment legislation. The focus is mainly on the discourse linked with governments, parties, parliamentsetc. (Van Dijk, 2001:5-6).

Zheng, (2000: 1) maintains that political discourse is a mixed production of personal development and the relevant social environment in which an individual grows. Any individual discourse is the result of personal development in a certain social setting . What characterizes the discourse of political language, as in a public speech , is its ability to include the old and the new in an attractive manner . In such a discourse, a great deal of the ritual phraseology and consciousness of precedent, which we related to religion or law, is exhibited . It is in this field where many of the effective rhetorical and dramatic techniques are utilized. It can be said that political discourse is an eclectic language whose use depends on the context of situation in which it is used. Sometimes political discourse links with facts about the world, and sometimes it is totally emotive, personal , informative, communicative and expressive. The concept of political discourse does not restrict to the institutional field of politics (parliamentary discourse, speeches, elections campaigns ...etc.). Political discourse may open to all linguistic manifestation that may be regarded to be political appearance(Zheng,ibid).

3.2 Political Language

3 . 2. 1. Language of Politics

Language as a term is used in order to describe the political and social consequences of linguistic differences between people on occasion, the political consequences of the way a language is spoken.

Gee (1999: 2) states that "politics" today includes "democrats" and "republicans" parties. He adds that "politics" means anything and anyplace where human social interactions and relationship have implications for how "social goods" (a group of people believe to be a source of power, status, or worth) ought .There is a close relationship between language and politics as viewed by Gee (Ibid), who says that politics is part and parcel of using language. The main interest in politics demands that people are engage in the empirical details of language and interaction.

Similarly, Chilton (2004: 19) views the interesting relationship between politics and language. This idea stems from the study of language and. Scollen (1998: 147) emphasizes the significant role of society. He argues that the framework of mediated action occurs in communities of practice and it can be considered as a useful way of understanding discourse. He adds two general concepts: the players and transactions. Scollen emphasizes the message and he considers it as a distraction. He defines interactional sociolinguistics as "concern to study the ways in which people in communication with each other mutually construct the situations they are in and identities in those situations through discourse".

Van Dijk (1985: 44) has a similar point of view he mentions that political discourse is not a consensus model of society and a model of language but it can be seen as a part of social action.

Moreover, the relation between language use and politics can be described as cooperative and uncooperative as recognized by Chilton (2004: 21). He argues that the structure of human linguistic communication has a relation to these functions make what we recognize as 'political'

speeches. It is possible to see a connection between what we can interpret as political discourse and the use of particular features of language.

3 . 2.2. Politics and Language

Politics and language are intertwined. Any political activity needs language, oral or written as its vehicle. Hall (1972, 51) argues that "the basic element of politics is, quite simply, talk". Lakoff (1990:13) assumes that "language drives politics and determines the successes of political machinations. Language is the initiator and interpreter of power relations. Politics is language". In fact, language is not a sort of ornament to beautify political action; rather, it lies in the core of politics. Recent studies in linguistic approaches to political language, such as metaphors, suggest that speech and action have a strong relationship. May (2001:306) suggests that figurative language is not a way to solve problems, but also to establish them.

The study of language has recently become more central to those academic disciplines concerned with politics. Linguists and discourse analysts, focus on different aspects as they discuss the relationship between language and politics, and apply different theories and methods. (Schaffner, 1996: 201) considers political scientists mainly concerned with the consequences of political decisions and actions and their impact on society, and they may be interested in the political realities, which are constructed in and through discourse. Linguists, on the other hand, have always been particularly interested in the linguistic structures used to get politically relevant messages across to the addressees in order to fulfill a specific function.

Wilson (2001, 404-10) considers the goal of language in politics as "to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect and almost all levels of linguistics are involved; linguistic options for representing the world are clearly, then, central issues in linguistic analysis; utterances within the context of political output are rarely isolated grammatical cases". Wilson uses Sir Patrick Mayhew's, the

Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, remarks on BBC Television as an excerpt, and shows the influence of semantic choice. When Mayhew made a speech in the House of Commons, he made the following claims:

*we did not talk to the IRA; we had channels of communication/
contacts.*

we did not authorize anyone to talk with the IRA.

In the first case, a semantic contrast between 'talk' and 'communication' is presented; for the first instance this means that the British government did not have direct verbal contact (talks), but it did communicate with the IRA using certain channels

of communication. In the second point, negation is employed in the context of a particular type of presuppositional verb (authorize) which creates two possible interpretations, both of which are acceptable:

We did not authorize anyone to talk to the IRA, so no one did.

We did not authorize anyone to talk to the IRA, although someone did(unauthorized).

Chilton (2004:4) sheds light on Aristotle's celebrated definition of humans as creatures whose nature is to live in a "polis"; Aristotle speaks of the unique human capacity for speech: But obviously man is a political animal (politikon zoon), in a sense in which a bee is not, or any other gregarious animal. Nature does nothing without some purpose; and she has endowed man alone... with the power of speech. Speech... serves to *indicate* what is useful and what is harmful, and so also what is just and what is unjust. For the real difference between man and other animals is that, humans alone have perception of good and evil, just and unjust, etc.

(the politics, 1253a 7).

Thus, the ability of individuals to have a sense of values such as the 'just' and the 'unjust', the 'useful' and the 'harmful', means that there would be opinions as much as there are individuals. Consequently, we come to the fact that the perception of the above values will indicate political associations and that human language enables man to indicate what is just or unjust.

The construction of political system and state, where people need to be persuaded to act cooperatively for the benefit of all, seems to rely on the use of a symbolic communication system, and it is obvious that these two unique human characteristics have revolved simultaneously (Wilson, 1990: 122).

Fariclough (2000: 120) points out "the New Labour way of governing... is in part a way of using language". Within the same context, Miller (1991: 390) argues that the political process typically involves persuasion and bargaining, so that it is needed to explain how the use of language can produce the effects of authority, legitimacy, consensus, etc. that are recognized as being intrinsic to politics.

Sociolinguists point out that language and politics have their subtle uses. Spolisky (1998: 58) comments on this by saying that:

There are more subtle uses of language in politics. The use of a regional or a social dialect by a apolitical leader is often a claim to a specialized ethnic identity. South American politicians some times claim greater regional identity by using more Indian features in their Spanish. Anwar Sadat backed away from pan- Arabism by using more Egyptian vernacular in his speech when the norm for Arab public speech is the classical language.

(Schaffner, 1996: 202) sees that, in the literature of linguistics, political language has been used to either denote the use of language in the context of politics, in other words, a specific language use with the purpose of

achieving a specific politically motivated function, or it has been used to denote the specific political vocabulary. Hence, there are contributors to linguistic analysis of political framework use the term " political discourse " to refer to political language considering it firstly as discourse and secondly as politics. Consequently political language, political speeches, political rhetoric and political discourse are clearly intertwined terms that are used mainly to indicate the relationship between language and politics. What is clear then is that any political activity cannot exist without the use of language, and the doing of politics is necessarily expressed in language.

Chilton (2004: 6) points out that politicians know how to use words and are fully aware of the importance of the appropriate selection of their vocabulary. The political actor may choose to say; the next chamber will be "properly representative", but not " properly democratic" by such, he aims to dismiss criticism or avoid making politically sensitive specifications. The implications of "properly representative" means either the members of the reformed chamber would be appointed by government to represent sectors of the population, or the members would be elected through general elections. Hence linguistically speaking, semantics is actually so crucial. Woods (2006: 53) argues that:

'political discourse' ...political discourse, then is not by any means a neutral medium of communication... it is one designed to lead its audience in the directions of particular thoughts, beliefs, and ultimately actions.. Therefore, it needs to be examined in the context of communicative settings, and political functions and by reference to the political realities, which are actually constructed in the discourse itself.

Van Dijk (2001: 5-6) states that political language is not a genre, rather a class of genres belong to political field part of which is the political speeches given by political candidates, who seek to persuade undecided voters to vote for them, or to encourage their supporters and make obvious

that they were the best candidates for the job. Thus, one can predict that certain words and expressions involved in their discourse are not used randomly, otherwise their objects will not be reached. It is important now to mention different perspectives from which political language can be studied. From a functional perspective, (Eggins, 1994: 10-11) affirms that it can be argued that political language is a class of genres, conceived as the staged, structured way in which political actors go about achieving goals by using the register of political language in the immediate situational context in which texts are produced: press briefings, parliamentary debates, election campaign speeches, etc. Moreover, its mode, i.e., the role that language plays in the particular interaction. Its tenor, which relates to the relationship between interactants, finally its field, which is typically its topic, that is the discussion about taxes, immigration, etc.

What can be realized from the above eclectic display is that language and politics are social stances; the former is a medium used by society for the purposes of communication and interaction, and the latter is a medium for ideas and activities used for gaining and exercising power in society. Politicians utilize loaded language, they are aware of its psychological dimension as they make association between words and their denotative meaning.

Lord (1978:157) considers certain words and phrases cause deep disturbing effect on hearers, for instance during the period of cold war, the word 'Red': caused near-hysteria in some people.

Leech (1966:37) sees that loaded language aims at altering the will, opinions or attitudes of the receivers. He considers an implied negative aspect should be present in every loaded language situation. political language (Woods, 2006: 48).

As a matter of fact, Political parties sloganize their beliefs, attitudes, and actions. Moreover, they have sought to capture themselves in words and mottos. During the occupation of Iraq, opponents of the US's invasion and occupation used the slogan "blood for oil".

There is one way to understand the way language is used and manipulated by those who desire to gain power ; those who wish to exercise it and those who want to keep it .It is to understand the relationship between language and politics . To approach the connection between language and politics , there are various ways . All of them are , to some extent , connected and involving different contexts . One way is to figure out how politicians tend to persuade their audiences by looking at language as a form of rhetoric . To apply aspects of discourse analysis to political data by looking at structures of political language through which to see how politicians reflect ideological stances by their choice of languages another way . There is a wide range of social activities and politics is one of these activities . It has its own code i.e . it has a particular language variety (Kaid and Holz- Bacha , 2008 :391) . The language of politics reflects the positions of those who have created it . Above all , language is not separated from the ideas it contains . Instead , it can say a great deal about how the ideas have been shaped . It follows that language is a fundamental tool through which politicians persuade ,convince , create and shape the world in a way as the population wish it to be.

Politics can mean many different things , but most scholars who use the term define it in connection with the meaning of power . It is all about power to establish it , maintain it , and distribute it . For those who are concerned with politics , one of the most effective means for them besides power is language . Coercion is a natural method to carry out power . But it is preferable to persuade people to behave in a certain way .In Fairclough's words , to exercise power by manufacturing consent . In creating consent and making certain ideologies generally accepted ,language plus an important and effective role (Thomas et . al . , 2004: 38)Edwards (1997 : 154) for example , goes as far as to state that “ Whoever controls words controls the world “ .

Language can influence thought and perception of reality . Linguists stress the fact that language represents the way one interprets reality . This is done since language provides its users with a range of concepts to

express their perception of it . The American linguists Whorf and Sapir , at the beginning of 20th century , conducted a research on how language influences thought . They named their way as “ linguistic relativity “ . They mention that “ people act about situations in ways which are like the ways they talk about them “ . Whorf and Sapir support their acclaims by various real life situations . They conducted part of their research in storage facilities .People working there consider containers called “ empty gasoline drums “ safer than those labeled “gasoline drums “ even though the empty ones still contain dangerous fumes . The workers , as a result , were less careful around the empty ones thus causing accidents . On the one hand , according to this perspective language and thought are , to some extent , indistinguishable (Edwards , 1997 : 204 – 208 .). On the other hand , this notion is of great importance . Wilson (2001 : 401) maintains that in order for politicians to persuade people , they have to share their values to be able to master language as means of representation .Chilton (2004 : 198) exemplifies the close connection between language and politics by quoting Aristotle :

Speech , on the other hand serves to indicate...what is just and what is unjust . For the real difference between man and other animals is that humans alone have perception of good and evilIs is a sharing of a common view in these matters that makes ... a state .

The interpretation of Aristotle's words is that humans' ability for language is closely linked to their ability to live in communities , Besides , language is used to communicate the value system shared by the members of a community (Chilton , 2004 : 199) .

To define politics there are two orientations , according to Chilton (2004 : 3). On the one hand “ politics is viewed as a struggle for power between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it “ ; on the other hand , “ politics is viewed as cooperation , as the practice and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money , influence , liberty , and the like “ . Any political action

is influenced , guided , explained , justified , evaluated , and criticized by language . In linguistics and particularly in discourse analyzed , political language according to Schaffner (1997 : 1 – 2) has been used either to denote the use of language in the context of politics , i . e . a specific language use with the purpose of achieving a specific , potentially motivated function . Alternatively , it has been used to denote the specific political vocabulary , words , or phrases that refer to extralinguistic phenomena in the domain of politics . All in the , language and politics are interwoven ; Chilton (2004 : 6) asserts this view in that :

What is clear is that political activity does not exist without the use of Language... The doing of politics is predominantly Constituted in language

According to Joseph (2006 : 17) all language is political , the shopping list on the wall of one's kitchen , the early utterances of an infant , two people chatting in coffee shop , and so on . At the first glance , one may disagree to regard such uses of language as “ political ” . In doing so , he / she is using language politically , because “ disagreement is the mother of politics ” (ibid.) . People use language . In any act of this usage there may be a political motivation . People may be unaware of this motivation . Nevertheless , it is still capable of positioning them in a particular way . Hearers or readers may infer that there is a motivation , but speakers or writers may be unconscious of that . In using language , people cannot control the way others react or infer . (Joseph , 2006 : 18).

Above all , language is bound up in significant ways with the lives of the people who use it ; this leads to the commitment to view language as political . For man according to Aristotle , as illustrated . In (Kaid and Holtz – Bacha , 2008 : 44 , Joseph , 2006 : 20 , Chilton , 2004 : 6 , and Chilton and Schaffner , 2002 : vii) , is a political animal . This linkage between language and politics gives aid to politicians to employ language to serve in achieving their purposes through using political discourse .

O'barr(1976:353-413)states that “the relationship between language and politics is taken in the sense that language , as an effective and multi-

purpose tool, is presented as a means or an issue to bring about social and political goals". In other words, language is basically exploited by individual political actors, groups with political objectives, and government to convince, persuade, control , and wield power , etc. This link between language and politics is always considered mutual and interactive . This is due to the fact that most of the historical record exhibits the consideration and attention that governments seem to pay to language policies within the field of their jurisdiction . There is a kind of endeavor to manipulate or command the linguistic framework of communities to realizes specific political goals. This is clearly noticed in the situation of the setting of language policies by national governments, which indicates particularly what languages are used for, when, by whom, and for what reason.

Baily (1976: 253-4)emphasizes the bridge between language and politics by stating that the skilful and appropriate use of language in several political institution and processes becomes a source of power and can, to a certain, compensate for deficiencies in other forms of power. This skilful use involves the ability to transmit or to understand unspoken messages that lie behind the spoken, the hints, and veiled threats, i.e., the capacity to communicate one message while apparently saying something else.

Oliver (1994: 3-7) expresses that the general well – known function of language is communication. Although communication is the core of language, language is also about politics. This will lead to the fact that language can not only be regarded as a system of symbols or codes, but also as a discourse, on the one hand. On the other hand, politics is not just about voting, but also about exercising power in accordance with personal and social relationship.

In this respect, the link between politics and language is stated in the sense that language and the way it is used is regarded as a tool of politics , which politicians, or those indulged in this field , employ a great deal to achieve a desired effect or impression on their audience. Besides, it is

important to point out that it is very difficult to try to separate language from politics because they are considerably interrelated . Actually, this field can be noticed in every field of life , and thus , becoming quite intertwined with it . The fact to be mentioned is that politics surely cannot be conducted without language, and it is probably the case that the use of language in the constitution of social groups leads to what we call 'politics' in a broad sense (Van Dijk,1997: 206) . In the field of politics, language is recognized as a powerful tool and weapon for politicians to win and gain public support. Language is regularly used in the exercise of any political power; a government can attempt to control its minority groups by banning their language.

Generally, language can be used very effectively in politics , as it is explicitly observed in the use of a regional or social dialect by a political leader, which is often regarded a claim to a specialized ethnic identity . Most of the studies conducted on language and politics indicate that the language of politics is inherently political: it is utterly about different views, interests, opposing sides, power, and conflict (Spolisky, 1998: 58).

Moore, (2003: 41) states that :

The feature of political language vary as do its purposes, where politicians interact with society generally their purposes may be to persuade voters to influence the audience, or to make us adopt general political or social attitudes when politicians engage in language interactions with other participants, they use other forms, either loosely or under the rule of arbitrator.

Accordingly, it can be said that language plays a key role in exposing the real intentions of politicians while communicating with others through using the most effective and powerful terms and phrases of language in doing so. The fact stated is that there are so many activities in the world that are carried out under the influence of politics, and that such activities are mainly displayed through the medium of language . Besides, the basic

assumption is that the language of politics cannot be separated from the politics of language (Zheng,2000:1; Wodak and Chilton,2004:1).

3.2.3. The Function of the Language of Politics

Bretton (1976:431) regards language as the “primary physical component of the human message system”. In addition, he (ibid:435) considers it “a delicate, sophisticated instrument and a blunt tool that serves as a direct means of communication from person to person.” Language serves as an issue , or foil , to achieve social and political goals . It is necessary to keep in mind the enormous potential of language as a multi –purpose instrument: the same phrase and /or the same figure of speech can convey different implications in different situations. Fairclough(1995:167)explains the political functions of language as :

1. Serving as a key to power and is wealthy for many.
2. Generating administrative convenience .
3. Securing and assuring socio – psychological control over people .
4. Preserving the identity of cultural and ethnic minorities .
5. Supporting national unification goals .
6. Tending to spin off secessionist groups seeking their own separate existenc
7. Securing class advantages and maintaining class distinction .
8. Serving as an instrument of religious mobilization .

Chilton and Schaffner, (199: 212-214) list four functions of the language of politics that enables analysts to focus on details that contribute

to the phenomenon which people instinctively understand as “political” rather than other functions such as the informational Indic , etc, the functions are :

1. Coercions: Speech acts which are backed by sanctions,(legal and physical): commands , laws, edicts are clear forms of coerced behavior . Less noticeable forms consist of speech roles which citizens find hard to avoid or may not even become aware of , like giving answers to request, responding to requests, etc. Power also can be used controlling others use of language i.e., all through different kinds and degrees of censorship (the preventing of people giving information)and access control. The use of the coercion strategy is principally used by those who regard themselves as powerful and may be operated correspondingly by those opposite power.
2. Resistance, Opposition and Protest: They are specific forms of the fairly powerless. These forms consist of media (like the graffiti amongst ethnic groups, etc.) and linguistic structure (as slogans, chants, petitions, appeals, rallies etc.).
3. Dissemination: It involves the control of information. It may be quantitative. The strategy of preventing people from getting information is secrecy; which is the opposite of censorship . Information may be given , but be quantitatively inadequate to the needs or interests of the hearers (“being economical with the truth ” as British politicians put it). Or it may be qualitative which is simply lying. Implicit meanings may represent a means of distracting attention from troublesome referent.
4. Legitimization and Delegitimization: In point of fact, politicians cannot act by physical force long; only in the extreme case, where it is doubtful that one is still in the realm of what is understood by ‘politics’. This function is very much related to coercion because it establishes the right to be obeyed , i.e. , legitimacy which can be incorporated linguistically

by a clear statement or implication (which includes disagreement about voters' requirements, general ideological values, boasting about performance, self-presentation , etc.), Delegitimization, is vital equivalent point: the others (foreigners, enemies, unofficial opposition, etc.) have to be presented negatively. The process takes in the use of ideas of difference and boundaries, and speech acts of blaming, accusing , insulting, etc.(ibid.).

3 . 3. Definitions of political Discourse

To begin with elucidating the meaning of the term “ political “ will be helpful in understanding of political discourse analysis . The root of “*politic*” comes originally from Greek , meaning “*city*” and “ *citizen* “ . Most of the terms in this group of words carry a negative connection . The word “*politician* “ , for example , can be defined from a connection viewpoint as “a practitioner of the art of politics , essential to the working of human society but frequently despised by those outside the political arena “ (Beard , 2000 : 3 -4) . Despite the negative meaning and the abuse attached to the term , describing politics as an art is a positive orientation . This description puts politicians in a good position since they are doing an art . Thus , their work is taken to be regarded as creative , skillful , and for the good of the society . Still the negative image is attached . There are some adjectives that are always surround the term politician and political . They are described as devious and sinister . Since these terms carry such negative connections another word is required for those who achieve universal popularity ; figures like Nelson Mandela , Mahatma Gandhi , and Martin Luther King , whose reputation is uncontaminated by the usual connection of deviousness . The suggested word is , then , “ *statesman* ” a word carries connotations of wisdom and dignity . The new term has also been undergone changes in its meaning . The French President Georges Pompidou summarized in the 1960s the different connotations of the words “ *politician* “ and “ *statesman* “ . He said “ a statesman is a politician

who places himself at the head of the nation “ . A politician is a statesman who places the nation at his service “ (Beard ,2000 : 4) .

In an essay entitled politics and the English language in 1946 ,George Orwell says ,”all issue are political issues “ . His conception of politics is also negative for he continued by saying “ and politics itself is a mass of lies , evasions , folly , hatred and schizophrenia “ . In the 1960 , the terms “ “political” and” politic” gained different connotations . At that time , they have been taken to denote people and the lives they lead in organized communities . It becomes , then , to politicalize an issue is a positive move . In this usage of the word , to describe an issue as political is to demand a serious analysis and recognize the need for change (ibid :5).

Political discourse analysis subsequently , has received much attention as a special object of study . It is relevant to all people . Its power is derived from this scope and from its various degrees of legitimacy . In United States of America ,speeches and media performances of the president are both a prominent social or political event . This dominant presence in , and preferential access to , the media may be interpreted as manifestation of political power.

(Van Dijk , 2008 : 53) .

Schaffner (2004 : 118) agrees with the role of mass media when she states that the mass media plays an important role in spreading politics and in mediating between politicians and the public , also in a critical sense the topics which quality newspapers discuss in texts on their front pages , in editorials and comments should therefore be good examples of political texts . It is mainly these “ *prototypical* “ political texts that have been the object of discourse analysis . A range of analytic methods have been applied , including textual , pragmatic , discourse – historical , and socio – cognitive approaches , to variety of phenomena of political discourse in the media and other domains.

Political discourse has been defined by Drew and Heritage (1992: 78) as “ the professional realm of the activities of politicians ” . Subsequently , this definition suggests that to consider a given text (spoken or written) as political , it must be produced by a politician in an institutional setting such as parliament . government , speech , or debates . the idea is that the discourse to be political ; it should be produced in a political context .

Howard and Starvrakakis (2000 : 3) define political discourse analysis as “ a field of discourse analysis which focuses on discourse in political forums such as , debates , speeches , and hearing as the phenomenon of interest ” . They add that political discourse is a formal change of reasoned views . It is a science that has been used through the history of the USA. In this light , Johnson and Johnson (2000 : 292) consider political discourse to be the heart of democracy . They believe that the basis of influence within society should be discourse in a free and open discussion characterized by conflict among ideas and opinions . They state “ differences of opinion lead to inquiry , and inquiry to truth ” . According to them , the concept of discourse has two major meanings : one is the formal communication of thoughts about a serious subject through words (spoken or written) and the other is rationality or the ability to reason .

Political discourse is intended to involve all citizens in the making of the decision , to persuade others through valid information and logic , and to clarify what course of action would be most effective in solving a social problem . Political discourse is a method of decision making in a democracy .The purpose of political discourse is to create consensus among citizens as to which course of action will best solve problem such as poverty , crime , drug abuse , and racism . In political discourse , problems are often presented and solutions are attached to people . By attaching solutions onto people , candidates are chosen who solve problems on behalf of the citizens (Johnson and Johnson , 2000 : 292) .

Wilson (2001 : 398) notes that the term political discourse suggests two possibilities ; first “ a discourse which is itself political ” and second “ an

analysis of political discourse as simply example of discourse type without explicit reference to political content or political context “ . Given this orientation , it will be confusing , since it has been stated earlier that approximately all discourse can be considered as political , and then all analysis of discourse are potentially political . This fuzzy picture about the term arises from the definitions of the political in terms of issues like power , control , and conflict , for any of these , concepts may be employed in any form of discourse .

To make things even clearer and avoid the difficulties , the subject matter can be simply delimited with formal and informal political contexts and political actors . That is , politicians, political institutions , governments , and the like to achieve political goals . This makes the picture clearer . but still one of the pivotal points to political discourse analysis is work out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect in which Rahimi and Sahragard (2009 : 19) agree with (Wilson , 2000) when they state that one of the essential objectives of political discourse analysis is to make people aware of the different forms of language which are being used for particular political intentions .

In this connection Van Dijk (2008 : 176) also agrees that what defines and delimit a discourse is the function or the goal it is used to achieve , as stated in this quote

*Political discourse is not primarily defined by topic or style , but
Rather by who speaks to whom , as what , on what occasion and with
What goals . In other words political discourse is especially political
because of its functions in the political process.*

This extract suggests that political discourse in , almost , all its varieties such as political debates , slogans , propaganda , international treaties and so on , can be defined in contextual rather than textual terms (ibid).

3.4. Characteristics of Political Discourse

3.4.1 . Strategic Functions

Chilton and Schaffner (1997 : 212 -213) identify four strategic functions that are characteristics of political discourse : first , coercion , e. g , laws , edicts commands , censorship , agenda setting , and making assumptions about realities that hearers are obliged to at least temporarily accept .Second , resistance , protest ,and opposition , like slogans , chants , petitions and appeals that oppose existing power structures . The third function is dissimulation that means diverting attention from troublesome and controversial issues . And finally , legitimation and delegitimation . The four functions are , by no means , restricted to political discourse ; however , they are more explicit in this genre in particular , and thus especially important in political discourse . These strategies overlap with what Thompson (1990 : 60– 67) calls modes of operation of ideology . In addition to legitimization and dissimulation , Thompson discusses the following modes : unification , I . e . , “ establishing a form of unity which embraces individuals in a collective identity regardless of racial , religious , social , gender ,or political barriers which may separate them “ . Fragmentation, the opposite of unification , “ maintaining dominance by fragmenting the individuals and groups whose unity may challenge the dominate individuals and groups “ , and reification , represents a transitory , historical state of affairs as if it were permanent , natural, outside of time . Later Chilton (2004 : 46) added two more strategic functions : representation and misrepresentation . These seem to be correspondent to Van Dijk's “ ideological square “(de / emphasize good / bad things of us / them) . These functions can be effectively performed through the use of presuppositions . The ultimate goal of most presuppositions is to make a piece of information that the speaker believes appear to be what the listener should believe (Yule , 1996 : 29). Presuppositions have other discursive functions , that is , presuppositions help the writer / speaker avoid redundancy and establish a common ground , or a conceptual framework that has to be accepted by the audience . Presuppositions are only about knowledge, but also about expectations , desires , interests ,

claims , and attitudes towards the world (Caffi , 1993 quoted in Mey , 1993 : 203) .

3 .4. 2 . Political Euphemism

Political Euphemism is a tool for political leaders to control information transmission . It plays the role of hiding the truth and legalizing wrong behaviors ; it influences people's sense of right and wrong as well as their understanding of the objective world , hence succeeding in persuading them . Political euphemism has always been a point of penetration for political linguists to evaluate and criticize political discourse . Euphemism is defined in different ways from the perspectives of pragmatics and style . It is a “ replacement of ordinary expressions with favorable or exaggerated ones” . Political euphemism is created in political life and serves political purposes . Generally speaking , it is a tool for political participants to hide scandals , disguise the truth , and guide public thoughts when discussing social issues or events . Political euphemism is different from other expressing physical phenomena because it is equipped with obvious political language characteristics (Tian , 2002 : 24 cited in Zhao and Dong , 2010) political language is neither romantic as literature nor precise as that in foreign trade , but purpose oriented. Political euphemism is similar to . Political propaganda in that both aim at persuading and influencing the public . It has been a long time since linguists realize that language is not only for reflecting social culture but also for participating in a social events and constructing social relationship . Actually , it is a kind of social practice (Zhao and Dong , 2010 : 118 – 120) .

3 . 4. 3 . Information Selection

One more feature of political discourse is that of information selection. The selection of information focuses on human thoughts , emotions , and behaviors as they relate to political communication . This evaluates messages and cognitive processes on the part of recipients and considers how governments , politicians ,or administrators frame and construct their messages to influence the attitudes , beliefs , and opinions

of voters . Thus , political information selection draws on social cognition aspects in an attempt to explain how and why political messages influence people in various way .The causal ingredients influencing voters' decisions include factors such as partisanship (e . , party affiliation) , personal relevance of an issue , or the charter attributes of the candidate . Information selection in political discourse messages attracts attention . Thus , political information selection goes beyond predicting political behavior to explaining how and why political communication influences cognitions , emotions , and behaviors of voters . (Kaid and Holtz – Bacha , 2008 : 584) .

The media plays an important role in spreading information about political ideas and decisions of other countries . People will form their opinions on the basis of such reports , and political leaders too may take their decisions on the basis of information provided to them via the media . It is important that the information provided is reliable .If a quality newspaper reports statements made by a politician , people usually accept that these statements that have really been made . However , tracing the origin of statements provided by media can result in more less surprising findings(Schaffner ,2004 : 126 -127) . Thus , politicians are to a large extent keen in selecting the kind of information they transmit to their audiences in such a way that they put their main concentration on how to win the approval .

3 .4.4 . Lexical Choice

Van Dijk (1988 : 177) refers to the lexical choice as an eminent aspect of political discourse in which hidden opinions or ideologies may surface . A large part of the hidden point of view , tacit opinions , or the denied ideologies may be inferred from lexical descriptions , in political discourse .

So ,Schaffner (2004 : 121) sees that one focus of attention in political discourse analysis and also in critical discourse analysis has been on the strategic use of political concepts , or keywords , for achieving

specific political aims . There is widespread agreement in modern linguistics that meanings are not inherent to words , neither are they stable.It is rather the case that language users assign meanings in communicative contexts ,and in this process of meaning construction the information presented in the text interacts with previously stored knowledge and mental models . Political concepts too are relative to the discourse of a culture or political group and thus contestable.

The choice of words is usually associated with the style of discourse . the choice of specific words may signal the degree of formality , the relationship between the speech partners, the group – based or institutional embedding of discourse , and especially the attitudes and hence ideologies of the speaker . Finally , lexical style in political discourse may be controlled by rhetorical strategies , e . g . those of understatement . The stereotypical term “ controversial “ for instance , is used routinely to denote characteristics of a person that is considered negative by the people or other important reference groups . Point of view is crucial in this case . One is “ tough “ or “strong “ in his action or policy may be “ aggressive “ or “ offensive “ for others (Van Dijk , 1988 : 81) . The institutional context and the constraints it imposes can also be reflected in lexical choice , most obviously when technical or professional jargon is used . But the link between lexical choice and institutional context can also be subtle , for example using “ We “ instead of “ I “ and thereby speaking as member of an organization , or through a variety of “ institutional euphemisms “ (Drew and Heritage , 199: 3) .

In political discourse , speakers often display their opinions and ideologies in a roundabout way . They make utilization of resources that are provided by language , among which , politician can make use of the figurative language , particularly metaphors , which have long been considered as an outstanding characteristic of rhetoric . Politicians use metaphors to reproduce power , ideology , and many other discursive concepts , for metaphor can bring ideas by comparison with other ideas on the basis of cognitive knowledge that people have .

3 .5. Political Discourse Analysis and Metaphor

Beard (2000:19) argues that metaphors and other figures of speech are only one aspect of political discourse ; they are frequently used in the language of politics . He adds that metaphor refers to when “ a word or phrase which establishes a comparison between one idea and another “ (ibid : 19) .The relation of metaphor to political language could be , in one way or another , strongly connected to the role that the metaphor has to do with language . Denning (2007 : 155) quotes from Jose Ortega Y Gasset who mentions that “ metaphor “ is perhaps one of man’s most fruitful potentialities . Its efficacy verges on magic , and it seems a tool for creation which God left inside His creatures when He made them “ . Denning (2007 : 172) goes as far as to mention that effective speakers make frequent use of metaphor , an utterance without a metaphor is like a day without the sun .

As political discourse is concerned with conviction , winning the approval , putting one’s in a good status , or even with deception and manipulation , it seems that metaphor can provide politicians with all the tools they need to accomplish a given aim . The language of leadership needs to be effective , and metaphors can make language effective . Definitions of metaphor differ according to the approach that is used . Knowles and Moon (2006 :2) define metaphor as “ the use of language to refer to something other than what it was originally applied to , or what it literally means , in order to suggest some resemblance or make a connection between the two things “ . While Ricoeur (1977 : 1) says that “ metaphor constitutes a displacement and an extension of the meaning of words ; its explanation is grounded in a theory of substitution “ . Besides these definitions the most notable and comprehensive work of metaphor is by Lakoff & Johnson’s (1980) *Metaphors We Live* in which they establish their theory of metaphor on the basis of cognitive approach to language . They call it conceptual metaphor . Conceptual metaphor theory reject the notion that metaphor is a decorative device , peripheral to language and thought . Instead , the theory holds that metaphor is central to thought

,and therefore to language . Lakoff and Johnson (2003 : 4) state the following :

Metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and The rhetorical flourish –a matter of extraordinary rather than

Language . Moreover , metaphor is typically viewed as characteristic Of language alone , a matter of words rather than thought or action . For this reason , most people think they can get along perfectly well Without metaphor .We have found , on the contrary , that

Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life , not just in language but in thought and action . Our ordinary conceptual system , in terms of which we both think and act , is fundamentally Metaphorical in nature .

Lakoff and Johnson (2003) asserts that metaphor has to do with every aspect of life and thought . It is not just as feature of language use to make it festooned in a certain way . In politics , some theorists say that politics is also pervasive in everyday life . If metaphor and politics have to do with every day life, thought , and action , this suggests that they are interrelated , they are working exactly on the same domains including language and that what makes them important in the political discourse analysis .

3.6. Political Discourse Strategies

Politicians express their ideas most of the time with language; it is a means of social control, as such, it cannot be analyzed away of its purposeful aims. Political actors exploit language to perform various functions such as persuade people either to adopt their ideologies or to disbelieve in contrary opinions. According to Aitcheson (1987: 29), the first function of language is to convey "factual or propositional information and to convey essential commands". Brown and Yule (1983:2) consider such language, as "primarily transactional language" by which the speaker/writer has primarily in mind the efficient transference of information.

The second function of political language is the directive one. It aims at controlling the attitude then the behavior of the recipient. The function's prime aim is for the benefit of the originator, or both. On his part, Chilton (2004: 45) postulates three categories of the 'strategic function' of political linguistic expressions:

3.6. 1 . Coercion

Unlike other functions, this one is not purely linguistic, but it depends on the political actor resources and power. For instance, in speech acts supported by sanctions legal and physical such as commands, laws, etc. political actors often act coercively through language in setting agendas, selecting topics in conversation, positioning the self and other in specific relationship. Coercion can also be exercised to control others' use of language such as the control of public media.

3.6.2. Legitimization VS De-legitimization

It is well known that political actors cannot act by physical force alone, except in special cases. In fact, the legitimization function is closely linked to coercion, because it determines what is right and needs to be obeyed, that is legitimacy. Reasons behind obedience need to be communicated linguistically, whether by overt statement or by implication. The ways used for this include statements about voters wants, general ideological principles, charismatic leadership and positive self- presentation. De-legitimization on the other hand, is presented in language which presents others as foreigners, enemies within, unofficial opposition, all have to be depicted negatively, the speech acts for this purpose are blaming, accusing, insulting, etc.

3.6.3. Representation VS Misrepresentation

Political control involves the control of information, i.e. discourse control. It may be qualitative or quantitative. In this matter secrecy is the strategy of preventing people from getting information, it is the inverse of censorship, which is preventing people giving information. Qualitative

misrepresentation is simply lying, and includes various kinds of omissions, verbal evasion, and denial. For instance, euphemism has the cognitive effect of blurring or defocusing unwanted referents. Implicit meanings of various types also constitute a means of diverting at "Persuaders" use variety of techniques to grasp our attention to establish credibility and trust, to stimulate desire for the product, or policy, and to motivate us to act (buy, vote, give, money). These techniques are called principles more than 2000 years ago and they have been used by speakers, writers and media markers (www.nmm/p.org, 2007).

3.6.4 . Solidarity Strategy

Yule (1996: 65) brings this concept. It refers to the tendency to employ positive politeness forms, highlighting closeness between speaker and hearer. This is one of the pivotal pragmatic aspects found in electoral propaganda. Yule adds that:

..this may be the principal operating strategy among a whole group or it may be option used by an individual speaker on a particular Linguistically, such a strategy will include personal information, use of nicknames ... Frequently, a solidarity strategy will be marked via inclusive terms such as 'we'..

Thus, we may affirm that by means of solidarity strategy the speaker intends to build close relationship, and create common ground by reducing the social distance between the addresser and the addressee with the ultimate goal of persuasion.

3.7. Ideology and Politics

Rahimi and Sahragard (2007: 128) view that the theory of ideology according to Van Dijk (2000) can be seen as a conceptual and interdisciplinary triangle which can be recognized as a relation which relates cognition, society, and discourse. They define ideologies as a kind of 'system of ideas' and occupy an indispensable position in the symbolic field of thoughts and belief. In 'cognition' ideologies can be considered as a social and associated with conflicts or struggles.

Renkema (1993: 145) defines an ideology as system of norms and values pertaining to social relations. This definition illustrates why two newspapers reporting the same event that can produce different reports.

Bloor and Bloor (2007: 10) view ideology as set of beliefs or attitudes shared by members of a particular special group. As for critical discourse analysts, it is very important to be aware that most discourse used by members of a group tends to be ideologically based. However, the beliefs or attitudes that stem from ideology may not always be held consciously by individuals. They can be ingrained in our thought patterns and language that we take for granted as self-evident.

The concept of ideology can be studied in connection with language use. Ideologies can be expressed and reproduced in and through language. The function of ideologies are found in a society and discursive social practice, such as: concealment, manipulation and so forth. It should be pointed out that ideologies are expressed only by language but it is taken for granted that language use plays a significant role in the reproduction of ideologies. Language is not used in vacuum but it is used in discourse context that is constructed with ideology of social systems and institutions. Since it operates within social dimension and it tends to reflect and construct ideology (Rahimi and Sahragard, 2007: 129).

Political discourse is about taking sides. Language plays a crucial role in the construction of ideological positions. Within political discourse, political positions are publicly elicited and negotiated by two or more interacting participants while an overhearing mass audience is watching. Occasionally, however, despite the expectation that interviewees take sides, they strategically avoid doing so, (Becker, 2007: 161).

Van Dijk (1998: 267) defines ideologies as “belief systems shared by groups, and reproduced in discourse”. In ideological discourse structures, there are usually four main discursive strategies involving the distribution or withholding of positive or negative information about those who are seen as belonging to one’s own group and those who are perceived as

being “ the others “ . Van Dijk (1998) subsumes these strategies under what he calls the “ ideological square “ . Express / emphasize information that is positive about us . Express / emphasize information that is negative about them . Suppress / de – emphasize information that is positive about them . Suppress / de – emphasize information that is negative about us . These strategies occur in political discourse where it is in the interest of the discourse participants to construct clear – cut boundaries between “ Us “ and “ Them “ .

Beard (2000: 18) rightly asserts that "when analyzing the language of a political text, it is important to look at the way the language reflects the ideological position of those who have created it, and how the ideological position of the readers will affect their response. This response depends on the readers' interpretation in the mind". In other words, to make the message of certain political text attractive, appealing and comprehensible, language should address and affect emotions and intellect of the audience .

There is a strong relationship between ideology and politics which stems from the ideas and opinions that are expressed and happened within community and through it, the politicians have the ability to play-on words in order to affect and convince.

Politics has traditionally been a domain in which formal or conventional language is required , and , historically , the tone of political speaking has been reserved and many aspects , ritualistic and ceremonial situations (Ibid)). The political analyst’s role is to use linguistic instrument to find distortion and mystification and explain them with regard to the social and historical roots . Thompson (1989) states that political discourse analysis focuses on the ideology meaning in a text , indeed , political discourse analysis restricted only to the situational field of politics (parliamentary discourse, speeches, election campaigns ...etc) but it also opens to all linguistic manifestations that may be considered political . To study ideology in a text is to analyze the ways in which meaning serves to sustain in the relations of domination . The main aim of political discourse

analysis is to make people aware of the different forms of language , which are used for particular political intentions (Rahimi and Sahragard , 2004 :19) . Volosinov (1973 :6)provides the first linguistic theory of ideology , introduces ideology in terms of class struggle which is materialized in linguistic sign pervades all language use . Hodge and Kress (1993 : 72)make a distinction between types of ideology : the first kind of ideology is equivalent to what Fairclough (1995 : 6) calls “neutral ideology “ or “ world view “ , Hodge and Kress describe language as the practical but partial and false consciousness of social interaction , and call this consciousness ideology . The second kind of political ideology is liable to project fantasy version of reality.

3 .8. Politics and Rhetoric

In a democratic society, the major use of language in politics is for persuasion. The art of political persuasion was first established by the first democracy in Ancient Greece. The use of rhetorical devices is one of the most striking features in electoral speeches. The creative linguistic features are not, merely used to decorate electoral speeches and make them more appealing to the audience, but more important is to criticize and de-legitimize the opponent while positively highlight certain personal aspects.

As a result of the influence of classical rhetoric on contemporary politics, political actors have been associated with superior eloquence, mastery of discourse, and the use of rhetorical tools such as metaphor, repetition, stock phrases, and the like (Flowerdew, 2002:149). Hence, it becomes obvious that persuasion is not always achieved by logical argument, but by employing creative linguistic means.

Johnstone (2008: 245) sheds light on the 'quasilogical strategy' which is based on logical syllogism argument constructed on the model of a proof and formal logic. For excerpt, to exemplify such persuasive strategy, Martin Luther King sent a letter from jail, the argument is this: Laws that degrade human personality are unjust. Segregation laws degrade human personality. Therefore, segregation laws are unjust.

However, we may assume that a persuasive strategy that is effective and acceptable in one context may fail in another. In electoral propaganda campaign, a candidate's interest is not to provide arguments on the issues, instead they address a wider audience using a familiar mode in order to attract the attention of the public and persuade them that their policy is right, that their criticisms are justified, and that they have something better to offer. Hence, various issues are not actually discussed in detail. Goals are vaguely described and not thoroughly presented and accounted for in argumentative terms.

Accordingly, (ibid.:247) presents us to a 'presentational strategy' for persuasion, which is based on the assumption that "being persuaded is being moved, being swept along by a rhythmic flow of words and sounds the way we are sometimes swept along by poetry). Hence, it becomes obvious that persuasion is not always achieved by logical argument, but by employing creative linguistic means.

3.8.1 . Repetition

This device requires the politician to repeat the same idea recurrently. The political actor believes that if he repeats a word, a phrase, or a clause many times, his propositions would be more highlighted, acceptable and memorable. The rhythm of repetition would rolls like a drum through the speech. Such strategy will create a noise or a regular rhythm that authentically sounds like politics.

Price (2000:159) signifies the importance of repetition in electoral speeches. It emphasizes key elements and ideas while avoiding monotony. Repetition is a means by which the speaker gives structure to his speech, and even allow him make time while he regards the development of his next point. Hawkes (1977:136) points to another important function, it is the link between icons and symbols. When we combine words, which are symbolic into sentences and phrases, we create complex forms of iconicity. This point is clarified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 127-8) as they contrast: 'He ran and ran and ran and ran' with 'He ran'. They points out that the

repetition in the first sentence changes its meaning without changing its semantic content. They realize that repeating the same word would lengthen the sentence and makes it mimics the 'behavior' described by the sentence.

There are traditional names for many forms of repetition, for instance, alliteration for the use of a series of words beginning with the same sounds, parallelism for repeated grammatical structure, the repetition of certain words or phrases for their central role in the message. Woods (2006: 57) focuses on linguistic features that are used repeatedly:

(i). **Catch Phrases:** catch phrases are appealing phrases which people find it interesting to recurrently repeat them over and over.

Catch phrases are usually repeated in one speech or in a group of speeches that fit the same occasion.

(ii). **The Three Parts List:** It is presented as three key qualities that together define the values of the audience the campaign is aiming at. A list of three suggests unity and completeness; it also creates the familiar rhythm that the audiences recognize as both persuasive and political. It may contain the same words. . The following excerpt is from Blair's speech to the Labour Party conference 2000:

Excerpt (3.1)

Today I make further commitment... to increase the share ...on education in the next parliament. **Education, education, education.**

(Cited in Woods, 2006: 70)

Or it may include different words. The following excerpts are taken from David Cameron's in 2006:

Excerpt(3. 2)

With **growth, jobs** and **low mortgages** in place, we can
Ensure rising living standards for all.

(ibid)

It also may comprise clauses or phrases that according to Leanne (2009: 107-110) can be put into four categories: anaphora, epistrophe, and Mesodiplosis.

(iii) Anaphora

Is the recurrence of the same word, words, or phrases at the beginning of successive sentences, phrases, and clauses. The function is for focusing attention on key words, ideas, and help enhance the communicative power of electoral speech. The following excerpt is extracted from Churchill's speech to the House of Commons, 4 June 1940, will illustrate:

Excerpt(3. 3)

we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the beaches, we
shall fight on the landing grounds. (ibid)

(iv) Epistrophe: Is the recurrence of the same word, words, or phrases at the end of successive sentences, phrases, or cla.

Excerpt (3. 4)

The idea **was flawed**. The planning **was flawed**.,

The execution **was flawed**.

(Cited in Leanne, 2009:110)

(v) Mesodiplosis: the recurrence of a word or phrase near the midpoint of successive clauses or sentences. Here is an excerpt:

(3.5) We faced great obstacles yet we did not give up; we felt

Great resistance, yet we did not give in; we grew weary from the long fight, yet we did not lie down.

(ibid)

3.8.2 . Metaphor

A metaphor is not very different from a simile. It is defined as making compatibility between unrelated things without using the words "as" and "like." Or making conformity by transferring a name from one thing to another. The employment of metaphors is common in all human communication (Bloor & Bloor, 2007: 69). Many scholars consider metaphor as one of the most important characteristics of political communication used not only to persuade but also to create coherence in political texts. It contribute to the creation of common ground by appealing to a shared cultural frame, by allowing for new and easy to comprehend conceptualizations in the political field

(Beard,2000:19;Chilton and Chaffner,2000: 28).

Since metaphors are important in our every day communication in general and in political interaction in particular, Lakoff and Johnsen (1980) introduced their metaphor theory. It belongs to the field of cognitive linguistics, which aims at explaining conceptual systems and language within the general study of the brain and mind. It draws on cognitive psychology, cognitive neuroscience, and developmental psychology. It attempts to unify those disciplines to explain many aspects of language as possible, including syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Both authors stress that the locus of metaphor is thought, not language, and that a metaphor is one major part of our ordinary way of conceptualizing the world (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 204- 70). According to this theory, every metaphor is based on a single idea called a conceptual metaphor that links a bodily with non- bodily experience. (3.6) The democratic process in America will give birth to a legitimate

governments

(ibid. : 205)

These are words people frequently hear nowadays, the conceptual metaphor is "Democracy is a Women", here the conceptual metaphor has two domains: the source domain (human female) which is the bodily domain. And the target domain (the government) which is the non-bodily domain. The connection or the correspondence between the source and the target is called mapping (ibid.:206).

Moreover a distinction can be made between Conv metaphors that are common and conceptualize our ordinary experience, and creative or imaginative metaphors that provide a new conceptualization for our experience. For instance, in the Conv metaphor:

(3 . 7) America is the birthplace of all the Americans. the conceptual metaphor is "America is a Mother"

(3 . 8) Our life is a silly play (ibid).

is an example of imaginative metaphor based on "Life is Theatre" conceptualization.

The conceptualizing of a nation through family metaphor is common. (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003) describe the worldview of Republicans and Democrats in the United States of America, in terms of two models: the strict father model for the Republicans, and nurturant parent model for the Democrat. Though are fundamentally different models, still share the same conceptual metaphor (THE NATION IS A FAMILY). Lakoff (2003) claims that in the United States people's beliefs about what a family should be have a strong influence on their conception of society. For instance, the author says that, those who see the world in terms of a nurturing model favor more cooperative approaches, such as social policies in health care or education.

In the conceptual metaphor THE NATION IS A FAMILY produces inferences called entailments such as: America deserves sacrifice, America wants us to love each other as brothers and sisters, etc (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 139).

It is worth mentioning that Charteris-Black (2005:21) explains that metaphors occur when there is semantic tension between the source domain and the target domain. The tension can be caused by reification, personification or depersonification. Reification occurs, whenever we refer to something abstract using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something concrete.

(7 . 10) We are constantly bombarded (concrete) with warnings (abstract) about bird flu. (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 140)

In the case of personification, the source domain is always a person. Personification occurs when we refer to some thing inanimate using a word or phrase that in other context refers to something animate.

(7 .11) Life has cheated me

This fact argues against the standard theories.

(ibid)

Depersonification occurs when we refer to something animate using a word or phrase that in other contexts is inanimate.

(7 .12) The enemy is crawling towards our borders.

It is worth mentioning that there are common source domains for metaphors common in political rhetoric: military domain, theatre domain, sport domain, medicine domain, human body domain, animal domain, building and construction domain.

3 .8 .3 . Analogy

Analogies occur whenever contemporary situations are compared with historical events or myths. Ideas and concepts are intended to be clarified in an analogy by comparing them with supposedly well known phenomena (Beard 2000: 27). Analogies may be used to support a proposition if for instance real excerpts are close in time or if it is an extremely sensitive issue (charteris-Black,2005: 4). It is claimed that during the civil Rights

movement, Martin Luther King, the American preacher, drew analogies between the situation of the African American and the oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt (Ibid: 68). In his analogies, king managed to merge biblical story with present time and creates a moral vision comprising all Americans in a new American national identity free from ethnic segregation. This illustrate how powerful the use of analogies can be. Another excerpt from recent history is the analogy made by the Americans during first Arabic Gulf crises, between Saddam Hussein as abominable and insane fascist along with Hitler. Though there was no evidence that Kuwait was an innocent victim.

3 .8. 4 . Parallelism

Trask (1993:198) defines parallelism as "coordinate construction with all parts stand in the same syntactic relation to the rest of the sentence, is a parallel construction". Hence, parallelism would be successive sentences of the same construction to convey parallel or concord ideas for a rhetorical persuasive effect.

Parallelism helps make speeches more concise, clarifies the meanings and relations of compound sentences, and paragraphs, and satisfy audience' expectations concerning speeches. The persuasive strategy based on 'presentational performance', is characterized by its parallel clauses connected in coordinate series (Johnstone, 2008:247). (Woods, 2006:71) points out that parallelism can be made across sentences, within sentence, or even inside clauses and phrases. And distinguishes two types of parallel structures, the synonymous parallelism. The following excerpt from King's speech (I have a dream) will illustrate:

(7 .13) Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy.

Now is the time to make justice a reality for all God's children.

(Cited in Johnstone, 2008:248)

And the antithetic parallelism where a contrast is drawn between the elements that are paralleled. Zheng (2000:13) political addressors place

opposing ideas side by side to retrieve information from memories of the audience for the benefit of the speaker

(7 .14) We believe in personal responsibility. But not in selfish individualism

(Cited in Woods, 2006:71)

Here is an excerpt taken from John F Kennedy's inaugural address in 1961:

(7 . 15) Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your .

(ibid)

3 .8. 5 . Rhetorical Question:

Rhetorical questions are questions whose answers are considered obvious and therefore are not answered by a speaker explicitly. They help emphasize points, crystallize attention around important issues, laying the groundwork for delving into key themes and to persuade the audience to accept the argument more readily. (Leanne, 2010: 106).

(7 . 16) Who does not love this country ?

(ibid)

3 .8 .6 . Alliteration

Alliteration is the recurrence of initial consonant sounds or letters in two or more successive words (Weissman, 2009: 170).

Van Dijk (1997: 157) states that, in spite of the variation of rhetoric, there are two themes which occur regularly. **First**; the essential activities of rhetoric are loaded on a political stage. All the major writers on rhetoric such as: Isocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian believe that politics is the principle locus of rhetoric and they define their theories of rhetoric for us by political agents. The recent writers suggest that the rhetoric functions can be seen in religion, science, philosophy, literature and elsewhere.

Second, rhetoric is discourse that is calculated to influence on the audience.

Concerning the description of the end of rhetoric, there are theories that can vary in their description. Some writers describe rhetoric as means for persuading audiences, others conceive rhetoric as reliable judgements and decisions in a community, others emphasize on the cooperative activity(Ibid).

Furthermore, Charters- Black (2005) argues that successful speakers, especially in political texts, need to appeal to attitudes and emotions that are already within the listeners .The listeners perceive that their beliefs are understood and supported the speaker who has created connections to the policy that they wish to communicate. The listener must perceive that the arguments are relevant for the issue. This can not be done solely by lexical means, although, linguistic performance is the most important factor (Charters- Black, 2005: 10; cited in Kullo, 2009).

The effect of rhetorical strategies in political speeches is often a result of them, being combined.

Jones and Waremg (1999: 34,cited in kullo 2009) argue that the ability to convey the message that speaker and listener want the same thing plays a decisive role in the process of establishing an ideology (Ibid).

3 .9. Critical Discourse Analysis

Tehrani and Yeganeh (2007: 51) define “critical discourse” analysis as "a main aim to uncover the institution of ideology and imposition of power into texts through uses of language which ordinarily readers of text do not notice". This definition illustrates that the” critical discourse analysis” has a crucial role to impose its control over the various usages of language.

The aim of “critical discourse analysis”is to unpack the 'common- sense' social and cultural assumption (or ideologies) which are embedded in all forms of language that people use. By making various processes, such as:

making hidden assumptions visible or making critical analysis that is challenged the words of member of society that are taken 'self- evident truths' while the words of others are dismissed whether it is irrelevant or without substance.

Critical approaches study different discourse, especially those that have influential relation to the study of politics and politics- related discourses, so, it is an approach to language and discourse which takes the political positions and seeks to challenge the patterns of inequality (Woods,2006:50-51).

He argues that political discourse is the heart of" critical discourse analysis" and it seeks to examine the relationship between power and discourse, particularly, the way in which authority, dominance, and social inequality are constructed, sustained, reproduced and resisted in the discourse of written texts and spoken words (Ibid).

The" critical discourse" analysts seem inclined to use hidden (or at least screened). They always lookout for "critical discourse analysis "hidden ideological positions by the use of words, such as: the act of war which is termed 'peacekeeping'. So, the main way of "critical discourse analysis" is that, to make explicitly the aspects of ideology that underpin social interaction. The process of investigating meaning by breaking it into parts is known as deconstruction. This process has various ways to engage within but there is one way that can be used to reveal the undercurrent of association and implication in order to analyze the grammar and choice of words in a specific text (Bloor and Bloor, 2007: 11).

The aim of "critical discourse analysis "is to uncover the opacities in discourse to the exercise, maintenance or reproduction of unequal relations of power. In other words, to clarify the ambiguous and hazy statements and to expose their effective role in society. "Critical Discourse Analysis" is expounded as a network of language, society and social relations of power (Rahimi and Sahragard, 2007: 10-11).

“Critical Discourse Analysis” can be seen as an implicit field and not as explicit or easy found. Widdowson (2000) describes “critical discourse analysis” as an uncovering of implicit ideologies in texts. The exercise of power in texts unveil the underlying ideological prejudices (Ibid: 7).

3 .10 . Discourse and Leadership

Within all types of political system , from autocratic to democratic , leader have relied on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership . The more democratic societies are , the greater the burden on leaders becomes , the burden to convince potential followers that they and their policies can be trusted . As Burns (1978 : 18) cited in Charteris – Black (2005 : 1) explains “ Leadership over human being is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize , in completion or conflict with others , institutional , political , psychological, and other resources so as arouse , engage , and satisfy the motives of followers “ . In this connection , Charteris – Black (2005: 1) comments that “ the most important type of behavior by which leaders mobilize their followers is their linguistic performance “ . In democratic framework , it is primarily through language that leaders legitimize their leadership . In democracies , voters make decisions on the basis of overall impressions of the reliability , honesty , morality and integrity of politicians as much as on their actual policies .

Multiple factors influence the impression people have of politicians . They measure their personality through aspects of appearance , physical features , dress ...etc . and through visual aspects of their behavior such as mannerisms and gestures . Indeed , people are only partially conscious of how a bundle of interacting attributes contributes towards the judgements of politician’s credibility as a leader . Various media make different demands on human communication resources , dress and gesture are important in face – to – face communication ; voice quality in radio communication, facial features , and face and eye movements are particularly important in television because of the potential for close – ups .

Through , successful performance requires skill in all of these as confirmed by the political success of professional actors . “Linguistic “ performance is common to all these communication media . This is why discourse is crucial in arts of persuasion and impression management through which leadership is performed (Charteris- Black , 2005 : 1) .

3 . 11. Presidential Discourse

Discourse and elite discourse provide a useful basis for understanding televised presidential debates .”Discourse is socially interactive process of creating meanings or senses” (O’ Sullivan et. ,al. , 1994 : 93) . They explain that “ discourse is the interactive process of communication . Under the conditions that language is subject to social relations , discourse is the product of social , historical , and institutional formations “ . `Habermas (1981 : 42) defines discourse as a process whereby “ the meaning of the problematic validity claims conceptually forces participants to suppose that a rationally motivated agreement could in principle be achieved “ . He points out that mutual critique would take place only if participants are engaged in discourse .

Political discourse can be considered as the site of political struggle since power can exercised and enacted in discourse . Power can be won , held and lost in only physical and brutal actions of civil wars or military coups, but also in the battles of words , tones , and even styles (Chilton, 2004 : 198) . broadly speaking , modern politicians , despite their national identity , have some definite linguistic mechanisms or (linguistic technologies) as it were . with the help of these linguistic technologies , the powerhlders reach their political goals through process of persuasion or bargaining . In other words , under the linguistic technology , one may understand operating procedures , skills , techniques that are used to realize some social and political factors . successful politicians are always alter to nuance and the finest shades of verbal meaning . In their speeches , they very often try to “ textualize “ the world in their own particular way .

In this way , politicians make political discourse emotional , powerful , and very persuasive (Fairclough , 1989 : 85) .

Elite discourse is , then produced and maintained by elite group . It is restricted to discourse that is produced and performed by elite groups . “ Elites “ , here , refers to “ persons who devote themselves full time to some aspect of politics or public affairs which is to say , political elites “ (Zaller , 1992 : 6) . Thus , Zaller classifies politicians , high – level government officials , journalists , activists , experts , policy specialists as elites . In elite discourse , participants or interlocutors are likely to engage in reasoned claims and counterclaims , justifying their arguments . Presidential discourse is part of elite discourse because presidential candidates belong to the highest elite in society . Presidential candidates facilitate , control , and contribute to the process of televised discourse by using diverse strategies , including claiming , counterclaiming , and justifications .

3 .12. Communication and Presidential Leadership

Generally speaking , the language people use in their various aspects of life is to give and receive messages , to interact , and to be socially connected with others . This is all done by means of communication . In this light , Billig (1991) states that “ politics is all talk “ . Communication is the fundamental social process through which individuals build personal relationships and conceive interests , political issues , allies , and adversaries (cited in Smith and Smith , 1994 : 17) .

The framers of the constitution of USA have devised a triple system of powers(judicial , legislative , and executive) . This system unifies USA by blending diverse representative mechanisms :state governments , state – appointed senators , sub – state representatives , a president chosen by citizens , and a court reflecting judicial expertise . Smith and Smith (1994) add that by dividing authority , the constitution denies any individual the right to orient society (ibid) .

Because communication is the fundamental process of human interaction , it is only through communication individuals find community . More specifically , institutions , legitimacy , leaders , interests , ideologies , and coalitions are all socially constructed through language . Thus , neither politics nor government can exist without communication . In fact , communication serves at least five functions in the American system of government (ibid) .

Communication serves to “ unify “ a society by fostering a sense of inclusion among its varied people, interests, values, and traditions. It is stated that the basic act of addressing another person establishes a sense of relational inclusion. Beyond that, any speech necessarily blends a variety of symbols , values , and reasons to evoke a sense of recognition and identification in the audience . Therefore , “ communication that is essential for unification paradoxically produces division, which in turn creates a need for unifying communication“(Smith and Smith 1994: 18) .

Kaid and Holtz – Bacha (2008 : 136) state that communication serves to “ legitimize “ by justifying the distribution of power in society . Powerholders and aspirants to political power alike ground their claims in a socially accepted doctrine of legitimation that is created , learned , and applied through communication .

Smith and Smith (1994 : 18) say that communication serves to “ orient “ a society by defining objectives and problems in coherent narratives that integrate people interests , values , traditions , power distributions , and spheres of influence . They add , one of these narratives attains temporary ascendancy and frames an agenda for ordering society’s priorities . This occurs only through communication , and the characterization of the political landscape frames political reality for the community .

Communication serves to “ resolve “ conflicts by drawing new distinctions , by transcending differences , by verifying factual claims , by evaluating arguments , and by choosing between prospective futures .

Graber (1992 : xv) cited in Smith and Smith (1994 : 19) observes that “ the essence of governmental organization is decision – making , and the essence of decision – making is communication “ .

Finally , communication serves to “ implement “ policies by mobilizing or by narcotizing other . Mobilizing consists of activating and organizing people ; narcotizing is the process of pacifying and distracting them . Effective persuasion mobilizing supporters and narcotizes adversaries , but it is possible to mobilize opponents and to narcotize supporters (ibid) .

Hence , the presidency can be communicated and may be understood as the interface between the person and the office , between the leader and followers , between the constitution and precedents , between the past and the future . It requires its occupants to reconcile their goals with practical constraints , their agenda with the public’s agenda , and personal coherence with social coordination . Through communication , each president attempts to orient the country with words and symbolic action. (Smith and Smith , (1994 : 19) .

3. 13. Speeches Defined

Speech is civilization itself , delivering a speech before an organized audience is different from having an informal chat with a group of friends . Public speaking essentially involves a definite purpose and the purpose is to communicate something to the audience . The speaker can use his speech for three primary purposes to entertain , to inform and to persuade. The speaker can inspire or motivate people with his speech , he can advocate for something or some idea with his speech . The speaker can also show his gratitude or honor to somebody by an appropriate speech .

On the other hand , speeches can be used to criticize or condemn certain act whereas they can be employed for uniting people and moving them in the opposite direction (Ibid :100) .there are certain elements , the speaker should follow in order to achieve a successful speech , which includes linguistic and non – linguistic aspects of language combined to

work out an effective and straightforward mechanism of speaking successfully . Non – linguistic refers to the non – verbal means that the speaker can rely upon to either reinforce or to replace the spoken word , such as facial expressions , gestures , and body or head movements (Evans , 1990 : 174) .

The most important part of speech made is the theme selected , because the speaker refers to the theme of his speech , the hearer will respond positively and keep in mind his words . The outline and structure of types of speeches all differ according to their content . Speeches are also delivered in ceremonies to commemorate a special day . Thus, depending on the type of occasion , and the type of the theme of speech . Accurate speech is mainly based on how much knowledge and experience the speaker has there are main types of speeches : forensic , epideictic and political speeches , forensic speeches deal with issues of justice and injustice as the were committed in the past This is obviously seen in courts where speeches of accusation and defence are prepared for this reason . Epideictic speeches focus on subjects of blame and praise on occasions and ceremonies . This kind of speech is also concerned with the speaker's performance as well as with past and future events while stressing the present .

Political speech has been described as “ a complex form of human activity “(Chilton and Schaffner , 1979 : 207) based on the recognition that politics can be conducted without language . Political speeches are also complex in a sense that is difficult to fully appropriate their contexts and see them in a great political and historical context without interdisciplinary cooperation . Moreover , political speeches are composed by a term of professional speech writers , who are educated in the use of persuasive language . Adding rhetorical devices to a pre – composed speech may be of a crucial importance to election results . A political speech is not necessarily a success because of correctness or truth , rather it may be a matter of presenting valid arguments (Beard , 2000 :18) .

3.14. Public Speech

Brain et al. (1988: 186) define a public talk as a “state in which someone stands and speaks to an audience in person, on TV, or on radio.” In other words, speech is a one – way communication where the speaker speaks and the audience listens. The most essential part of the speech made is the ‘theme’ selected to be discussed because as far as the speaker refers back to the theme of his speech , the hearer that, inserting quotations, certain notes, or stories of certain kind can have an access and place in the speakers text to be given if these are integrated in his speech in a manner that makes sense(Neal, 1998:15,Kelly,2002:1).

Price(1998:35)deals with public speaking in terms of an address in which there is a deliberate direction or delivering of a message , in whatever form, from one source(an individual, a group, or an institution) to a recipient , whether individually or collectively. As for Kurtus(2002:I), speaking in public is “the ability to speak effectively while enhanced with the knowledge and skill that result in great interest in the audience”.

Kelly, (2002: I) focuses on the subject aimed at in the text to be delivered by the speaker; she points out that:

The first and important task that a public speaker should stress is the message he is trying to convey ; then, trying to stick to one single idea instead of different ideas so that the audience will have a great tendency to remember it. After that, the speaker can move to other points or themes that nearly concern people.

In addition, sometimes the term 'oratory' comes across these subjects of speech writing. 'Oratory' is usually defined as a “highly structured public speech , with long phrases and cadences ...spoken by political or ceremonial leaders, exhorting the community to behave

correctly.” In other terms , oratory is a speech delivered by a mortal person to mortal people that argues a position on what is good for the community, it is an engine of persuasion tied to practise of continuous communal argument : politics (Clements,2002:4).

Speaking in public is regarded the most important and distinguishing skill that leaders, presidents , and the like, can possess; it is a magical aspects where the persuasive factor plays a role in having an impact on people of what the speaker thinks of and what will next be coming. In other words , a powerful public speech can catapult the speaker’s confidence and thrust him into a position of leadership or authority(Int.1,2003:1). As a matter of fact , three main points should be emphasized in making speeches : the means of creating effective persuasion, the style of language to be used , and the proper arrangement of the various parts of the speech. Besides, we have to make sure that the right thing in delivering speeches is what should satisfy the hearer, not to annoy him or to please him. There should be a sense of struggle upon the subject being discussed in the speech made in a given context of situation . In this case, the terms ‘speech, address , and oration’ almost refer to the act of delivering a formal spoken communication to an audience in a rhetorical and pompous way (Honeycutt, 2004:1).

Delivering a speech is totally a means by which a speaker attempts to convey his message to a given audience . Speakers are just like channels through which the hearer receive their message . Therefore the relationship between the text-procedure and the text-receiver is based on the interaction and interest that the audience finds in the speaker who tries to manipulate and affect his listeners as much as he can so as to achieve his goal(Int.2:1).

3.15 How to Achieve an Effective Speech

In order to achieve a successful and well delivered speech, there are certain steps and elements to be followed by the speaker. Both the linguistic and nonlinguistic aspects of language combine to work out an effective and straightforward mechanism of speaking successfully. On the one hand, there are certain syntactic , semantic, and textual features that affect the way the message or the main theme to be conveyed, organized, and written with the most appropriate form and function. This can be noticed in the way words, phrases, clauses, and paragraphs are selected and arranged to create the kind of persuasion required. On the other hand, there are important nonverbal means that the speaker can rely upon to either reinforce or to replace the spoken word, such as “facial expressions, gestures (pointing figures, waving,. etc) and body movements.” These means can go in line with what the speaker aims at conveying to his audience in a convincing way (Evans, 1990:174,Int.3,1.2). In this concern , it becomes necessary to shed light on the most essential elements that lead to a successful delivering of a well-comprehensive text . First, the ‘length’ of the speech made plays a role in the process of writing speeches; the length of the speech should suit the occasion itself in which the speech is given . This is because a much longer or shorter speech may not be delivered well . Secondly, the “words, tones, and messages” of the text given by the speaker should all be appropriate to the hearers both inside the location(as in a conference, room, club...etc.) or all around the country . Thirdly, the speaker should rely on the ‘eye-contact’ role: maintaining eye on his audience from all sides in a comfortable fashion. This is intended to help him build trust and relation with the audience. Fourthly, the speaker should use ‘pauses’ effectively in order to emphasize a point, or to allow the addressee to react to a fact, joke, anecdote...etc. Added to that , the speaker should avoid making , ‘nervous gestures’ with ,hands , and that he should use his hands effectively while speaking (Int.3:ibid).

The speaker is required to follow these steps systematically in a way that ensures the successful giving of the speech. It is again important to indicate that the context of situation plays a role in shaping the linguistic

and pragmatic aspects of language, which, in turn , are put together by the speaker in a way that can affect the hearer and communicate the main point or message intended in the text effectively. This can be observed in the political situations where presidents or political leaders are known for the tone, powerful words, and the body movements they make to voice their ideas or to stress the main point of their address to the audience. In addition, the 'personality' of the speaker has its role in setting the framework of the text itself, which forms part of the form and function involved in the speech made (ibid).

3.16. Techniques of the Political Speech

As a matter of fact, there are certain techniques that characterize the process of planning and writing a political speech. Such techniques can enable the speaker to deliver a meaningful and quite comprehensive text that can influence his addressees , especially in politics. Zheng(2000:3-9)cites some of the important techniques that political speakers usually use to attain their goals. These techniques are intended to create a certain style that can distinguish the speaker using them from others at the political level.

(i) The Inclusive Technique

Politicians use this technique in an attempt to persuade their audience that both themselves and their ideas are as the same as the people's. This technique is also called the 'plain folk' technique in which the speaker assimilates himself/herself into groups , and wins the support of the members of such groups(ibid:3) .

(ii) The Testimony Technique

This is where the speaker makes a list of achievements or deeds of individual parties or some prominent political figures. It can also be used to construct a fair well-balanced argument (ibid:5)

(iii) Citing Historical Speeches Technique

Political leaders , in delivering speeches , usually depend on a set of historical speeches made by former political leaders or presidents to support their opinions and plans about what they will do for their speeches , and to avoid making all allegations that many cause unexpected public feedback. In addition, politicians employ this technique to make their addresses effective and to reduce the political risk of being branded an excitement(ibid)

(iv) Inversion Technique

This is where speakers normally utilize a specific expression or word in a way to mean something that is totally opposite to the original meaning of that expression or word(ibid).

(v) Fear Technique

Politicians use this technique in order to generate a sort of threat or warning to the public, and then to provide solutions from which the public can choose. Such choices are made by the politicians, not the public. It is all about agitating the public or making them afraid of something that will happen in their life(ibid).

(vi) Logical Fallacies

It is called the “unwarranted extrapolation” where the speaker makes spectacular predictions about the future that are based on only few minor facts.

(vii) Religious Citation Technique

According to this technique, there is a preference to use proverbs , idioms, or biblical utterances. These proverbs and idioms are intended to create very plain and emotionally suggestive words. Political discourse normally emphasizes the use of such idioms or proverbs to 'pacify' the public in order to make an unpleasant reality more palatable .

(viii) Emotional Technique

Speakers depend on this technique in an attempt to appeal to the viewing public. This use of emotions by speakers is to produce a generous return to the speaker from his audience. There are several ways of showing emotions: talking in a hushed tone, ringing tone, or using exaggerated body language and facial expression (ibid:9).

3.17 Analyzing Political Discourse

According to Chilton and Schaffner (1997: 214- 227) analysis of political discourse needs to refer to the following :

1. Phonology: the location of nuclear tones on stressed syllables of the last lexical items in tone groups to signal new and important information.
2. Morphology: the special use of prefixes in the political lexical items, the use of collocations and compounds.
3. Syntax: the use of passivism as a special feature of political discourse, this type of discourse is focused on the action rather than the actor.
4. Semantic: the use of connotation, polysemy, metaphor by politicians to refer to the goals they wanted.

5. Pragmatics: the use of speech acts as promises disguised in various linguistic ways that are inverse to threat. The future action referred to something may be desirable to some addressees and something undesirable to others.

3.18. Presidential Speeches

Concerning the presidential speeches they are written and designed to be delivered, the fact to be stated is that such speeches always undergo certain structural , lexical ,and grammatical criteria. This is something that the reader /listener should consider because these speeches are :

- (1) written to be spoken, and therefore , structure should enable the addressee to follow easily,
- (2) written for a specific audience ; or
- (3) written to correspond to the historic context of the place in which such speeches are delivered

Generally , speeches made by a president are considered highly complicated, and they usually require the help of speech writers and counselors who have some sort of experience in fields like economy, communication ...etc. (Int.5:1).

There is also a number of complex criteria that can characterize the rhetoric used in these speeches, and that such criteria have included recognizable cultural reference , political slogans , catch phrases, and sentence structure that can facilitate the comprehension of the audience . The most important thing is that the communication factor plays a basic role in most of the political activities occurring in so many countries. This characteristic can be very clearly observed in America where the use of the

global effective communication systems can have a special impact on the audience in rejecting or welcoming the political changes that will take place. Thus, this will achieve the promotion which political leaders aim at in their societies (ibid; Int.6:1-2).

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.Introductory Remarks

The details and explanations discussed in chapters, two and three serve as a background to the proposed model that would be adopted in the analysis of the data at all linguistic and pragmatic levels proposed.

This chapter is mainly concerned with the analysis of linguistic and pragmatic features represented by the speeches of the American president G.W. Bush during the period January 20th 2001 to February 26th 2003 as justification of a war against Iraq.

The analysis starts with linguistic levels which are examined in terms of types of clause relations. In which the researcher depends on several linguistics such as Winter's concept of clause relation "1982" and, Winter (1992, 1994) who believes that the two dominant ways of relating clauses are those of matching and logical sequence. Matching is "characterized by a high degree of systematic repetition between its clause, and by the semantics of compatibility or incompatibility, and also Winter, 1994 in which he says that logical sequence, on the other hand, is "concerned with representing selective change in a time / space continuum from simple time / space change to deductive or causal sequence, and aspects of logical sequencing according to Winter including instrument / achievement relation, condition / consequence relation, denial / correction relation, basis connection relation, connection, *Hoe's* model (1979, 1983, 1986, 1993 and 1994a) who concentrates upon showing how certain lexical items can signal not only clause relations but also the rhetorical pattern of whole texts. This does not mean that these techniques are newly invented but rather, most of them are already established in the field of linguistics and rhetorical studies. Since discourse analysis does not have its own tools but rather depends on other disciplines (such as semantics, syntax, pragmatics,

rhetoric,...etc) . And the main analysis depends on Crombie 1985a who suggests nine categories of general semantic relations which have at their basis the “ *proposition* ” as the abstract semantic unit of analysis (idea unit), not the clause which realize them structurally .

At the syntactic level the analysis draws mainly on Biber et al (2000), which helps identify types of verb phrases including their detailed explanations, and the role each type, with its components, play in getting the required response.

The second part of the analysis deals with the pragmatic investigation of the data given. This is basically based on analyzing the strategies of persuasion employed in these speeches. It is important to indicate both analysis aim at exhibiting the type of clause relations and the strategies of persuasion used by the speaker (president G.W. Bush)to persuade the nation in supporting his claims of being defensive of democracy and the Nation’s freedom.

At the pragmatic level, the analysis is basically based on the approaches of speech acts as discussed by Searle (1969) and his categorization of speech acts into groups of verbs that convey different illocutionary forces that are made either direct or indirect. The pragmatic analysis involves also the discussion of implicatures, as tackled by Grice (1975) and further explained by Yule (1996).

The rhetorical level is approached according to varied references. For the analysis of repetition Bloor and Bloor (2007), Leanne (2009). The analysis of metaphorical expressions, is based on Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Analogy is analyzed according to(charteris-Black,2005). The analysis of parallelism is based on Woods (2006) and Leanne (2009).

4.1General Observation of the Selected Speeches

The strategies of persuasion are used in a manipulative and influential way that helps the speaker to enable to deliver his message clearly and to

convince his mix audience of the farther plans , decision , and actions he is about to put in place in order to help the Nation prosper and move toward the best. The drastic .

changes and shifts existing in the political, strategic , and international relationships of the Americans can be noticed in the kind of persuasion strategies that G.W. Bush has started using in addressing the American people, and the allies as well.

Bush sheds light on the military aspects of the United States countries and the allies to remain secure and protected. Therefore , we can see that Bush employs this determination in developing more modern defensive techniques that enable him to confront the danger and challenge emerging, in using the defensive strategies of persuasion in his speeches.

In this respect, Bush is using strategies of persuasion to draw the attention of the American people and the international community to the production of mass destruction weapons that if these weapons fall in the wrong hands or the hands of terrorist groups, they may use them to attack the interest and civilian organizations, all over the world.

The general observation is that Bush chooses carefully his phrases and clauses as well as his images, expressions and speech acts(strategies of persuasion)in an emotional style that makes him appear always in a defensive status.

In fact the listeners of any of these speeches can notice an extensive high usage of the strategies of persuasion in drawing the attention of the world to this growing peril if not stopped or contained by ever possible means. Bush could persuade the congress and the international community to cooperate and support the decision , he will start to fight this length war on Iraq. One can also recognize the frequent mention of the terror and how Bush tries to make a link between the Iraqi regime and

terrorism . Therefore, Bush demands Saddam Hussein to disarm and abide by the international rules. This can reflect the intention of Bush to win and prevail in the war against Iraq.

4 . 2 . 1 . The Characteristics of Political Discourse:

Communication is, in a way or another, political whereby communicators usually attempt at reaching a common ground to make their verbal communication go smoothly. The politicians of communication comes from its negotiability where there is an ongoing negotiation over the meaning and intentions of the messages being produced. Political communication (or discoursing) is no exception but on the contrary it is the richest domain of negotiation and manipulation altogether. Nowadays, it is that specialized discourse by accredited politicians in political contexts that can attain the name *political discourse*. This kind of discourse is usually characterized by certain features which distinguish it from other types of discourse such as literary, scientific,...etc.

Politicians tend to use certain words, phrases, idioms, stylistic forms, abbreviations, technical expressions,...etc. Many words and phrases are not only restricted to political discourse but they are either coined by politicians in political contexts or being heavily used in political discoursing.

4 . 2 . 2 .The strategies of persuasion

The selected speeches were given by the American President Bush within the period from the 20th of January 2001 until the 26th of February 2003. This is a period in which America has accumulated an enormous public difficulties. About which serious predictions have proved to be true. The partial collapse of American military in the Dessert Storm ,the Gulf War, the reckless involvement in the Iraqi war. In addition the united states' reputation and prestige have badly affected by the misguided military in Gulf War, to remedial these situation the President Bush decides to have a war upon Iraq ,

He works as far as possible to persuade his allies for this purpose he takes the weapons of mass destruction as justification for this war ,so he decides to disarm the Iraqi's regime. All such events are covered by Bush's speeches during the above mentioned period . President Bush addressed the public face to face where audience can respond to things said by the speaker, in such context audience are restricted in what they may do in response to what the speaker says, and are for the most, although he was also addressing an external audience since the speeches are broadcasted by the media to the rest of the nation and to other nations as well. . The speeches should be considered monologues, even though the attending audience occasionally shout a few words, or cry out expressing their sympathy. Also we may consider the audience as part of the persuasive process because their confined interaction would enhance the speaker's propositions. . The objective of his speeches is to motivate people persuade them . His slogan during this period is the disarm of Saddam Hussien and his regime in order to establish the in Middle East .

The general observation is that Bush chooses carefully his phrases and clauses as well as his images, expressions and speech acts (strategies of persuasion) in an emotional style that makes him appear always in a defensive status.

In fact the listeners of any of these speeches can notice an extensive high usage of the strategies of persuasion in drawing the attention of the world to this growing peril if not stopped or contained by ever possible means. Bush could persuade the congress and the international community to cooperate and support the decision, he will start to fight this length war on Iraq. One can also recognize the frequent mention of the terror and how Bush tries to make a link between the Iraqi regime and terrorism. Therefore, Bush demands Saddam Hussein to disarm and abide by the international rules. This can reflect the intention of Bush to win and prevail in the war against Iraq.

One can observe a very careful and smart selection of strategies of persuasion that carry their impact on the style of the speeches. The use of these strategies is regarded a means of expressing indirect commands or order on the part of the speaker to get the hearer to do something for him, they are also associated with expressing obligation and logical necessity .

In fact, persuasion is an activity which attempts to change the belief, attitude , or behavior of other persons by conveying a message. The verb “persuade” embodies both the speaker’s attitude and the effect of an act. Persuasion is used with two different criteria: ‘action’ and ‘opinions’. Actions are achieved when the speaker assumes that he will be able to get the listener to change his attitude. Whereas opinions are activated when the speaker addresses the receiver’s emotion and will .

4 .2 . 3 . Model and Practical Analysis of the Presidential Speeches

The practical analysis of the presidential speeches has taken the following framework :

- The data has been used for the purpose of analysis is presented by _____ in a table under the name “Justification for a war against Iraq”. The table consists of (44) speeches. They are extracts from different speeches in different places and events that the president George W. Bush went through from the 20th of January 2001 until the 26th of February 2003. The president’s speeches have no comments on them and they are distributed on the months of the year. So a month may consist more than one speech. The speeches vary in their length , and all of them are about the 2003 war in Iraq. And for a systematic and objective way of the selection of the data, the researcher has selected twenty speeches, for the purpose of analysis . She starts with the first ten speeches to remind the readers with the base of the speeches, from the period 20th of January to 7th of August. Then concentrating on the last ten speeches which are the closest to the Iraq

war 2003; they are only six months ahead from the war. So they are more original than the others.

- The model adapted for the taxonomy of the clause relations is Crombie's (1985:16). It has been drawn on a number of different sources which make it collective and as comprehensive as possible

The researcher adapted an eclectic model for the analysis of the selected speeches as the following :1

- The model adopted for the analysis of persuasion is Louis Kriesberg(1982:5-9) strategies of persuasion . Thus we have an eclectic model for the purpose of analysis , which makes it a collective and comprehensive one .
- At the pragmatic level, the analysis is basically based on the approaches of speech acts as discussed by Searle (1969).And also s involves also the discussion of implicatures, as tackled by Grice (1975) and further explained by Yule (1996). Biber et al (2000),
- At the syntactic level the analysis draws mainly on which helps identify types of verb phrases including their detailed explanations, and the role each type, with its components, play in getting the required response.
- Of the four components of persuasion(Situation, Source, Message and Receiver), the analysis will focus on the message itself and leave out the other components for the following reasons:

1. There is one situation through out the whole speeches that is the war in Iraq.

2. The source is president Bush and no other participants are involved.
3. The receivers are many and various and can't be determined for they are out of the focus of this study .

In the analysis, the speeches are written in italics to be distinguished from the rest of the research and they are numbered . The sentences of each speech have been enumerated in Arabic numbers; and if a sentence consists of more than one member then they are labeled as (a), (b) and so forth.

- The analysis of the speeches combines the binary value with the unitary values of the speeches. Thus it is twofold : The first one gives the different types of clause relations. The exclusive ones are labelled (1),(2),(3),etc. Whereas the inclusive are labeled (a), (b),(c),etc. The plus(+)mark combines markers of clause to each other. The second part of the analysis gives details about the different acts of persuasion that penetrate in the clause relations.
- The analysis is rounded off by a breakdown table that shows the frequent types of clause relations used in the analysis.

The analysis of political discourse is not an easy task since political discourse in all its subgenres is almost always modeled and molded deftly to serve the strategic goals of its producers. It is also maintained to meet the needs of the audience whether being present before the speaker or physically absent but yet has its effect on the production of discourse as it is put forward by its producer. For analyzing a political discourse (which is critical by its very nature whether being stated or not), the analyst has to have –as much as possible- an encyclopedic and comprehensive knowledge

of the world and its sociopolitical make-up. This knowledge of what is and what has been going on in the world is not adequate but thorough reading of what might go on at least in the near future is also required. . Thus, the analyst has to have a hand at the political circumstances, historical upheavals, economic problems,...tc. because all these things can be directly or indirectly hinted to or addressed by the speaker.

Again, political discourse is a rich domain of linguistic manipulation and instantiation so that penetrating effects can be achieved and ideological stances can be implicitly played upon. In writing their speeches, politicians tend to use many techniques in order to attend to the minds as well as the emotions of their audiences through the strategic employment of those techniques.

Language provides its users with a variety of sources in such a way that enables them to encode their messages dexterously and flexibly yet they require tactful mastery to be at the hands of their users. Through language, politicians can use certain lexicalization, along with syntactically manipulated sentences to emphasize their supporters' good /opponents' bad actions and vice versa. Through semantics, it is possible to pick out those words which can depict them in the position of goodness, morality, leadership, humanity, social respectability,...etc. on the contrary of their enemies(opponents or rivals) who are portrayed as bad guys, villains with no sense of humanity or responsibility,...etc. The field of pragmatics also displays its tools to politicians such as speech acts, implicatures, deictic expressions,...etc., so that they can issue indirect speech acts and evade the directness in emphasizing some aspects where they can express more than what is being actually said. Rhetorical techniques are no exception in being heavily used in the language of politics where politicians can attain evasiveness not through decoration but through well-calculated exploitation so that strategic goals are successfully reached and effectively operated. Through metaphor, contrast, citing, number-game,...etc.,

politicians can arouse their audience's feelings and attain them on their sides.

To analyze such a condensed discourse as a presidential speech for example, one has to concentrate on the linguistic components and aspects which seem to be strategically used. Since political discourse has as its functions: coercion, opposition, dissimulation, legitimization and delegitimization, politicians usually tend to positively present themselves, their actions, policies, supporters and friends (in the field of international politics) and to negatively depict their enemies (opponents, and political rivals) and their actions, policies, viewpoints,...etc.

4. 2 . 4.Types of Clause Relations

It is important to mention that the American president G.W. Bush employs all categories of clause relations that have to do with the semantic pragmatic and linguistic unit of analysis. The use of clause relations is highly observed, and has its effect on the Bush's speeches which are described as being logical, emotional defensive rather than being tough and aggressive in addressing the nation and the world about his goals and the resultant consequences related to it.

In fact, the clause relations are classified into: Temporal relations which connect between events, Cause-Effect relations , and expresses in logical reason and results, Truth and Validity relations that deals with an indirect or direct way, with truth , Alternative relations which have opportunities of a choice , Bonding Relations which involve additive relation to clarify the issue more explicitly, Amplification relations involve the replacing of specific word or expression for a general one, Setting / Conducting relations which involve the events, Manner and Location , the Paraphrase relations which means the same propositional content and is expressed in different ways.

4.5. 1. Speech (1) 20 January 2001: Inaugural Address

*“(1)(a)we will confront weapons of mass destruction ,
(b)so that a new century is spared a new horror”. (Int.7)*

4.5.1.1. Types of the Clause Relations

What is clear is that political activity does not exist without the use of language. Politicians usually tend to use different rhetorical techniques in order to persuade . Winter has developed the concept of clause relation by widening in scope that the semantic relations concern the way that the interpretation of one member is based on the lexical selection of the other.

In this speech the following Clause Relations have been observed :

No. of clause Relations	Specification
●(1)(a)+(b)	Cause- Effect/ Means – Purpose

4.5.1.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

All the speech is one unit sentence . President Bush’s first strategies of persuasion is the defensive strategy for politicians to persuade people they have to share their values. He tries to establish an argument through suggesting something better to hearers. The speaker avoid redundancy and establish a common ground , or a conceptual framework that has to be accepted by the audience . This shows that the speaker is defensive rather than aggressive , when he said “*century is spared new horror*” in clause(b), any kind of action against this violent seems to be justifiable because it is a deterring action to save people and maintain peace and stability. Throughout the speech under analysis, President Bush has made effective

use of metaphor. This use of metaphor is strategic whereby the speaker penetrates the minds and hearts of his audience through creating an image of a dangerous giant, namely horror., the speaker uses *We* to stand for himself where he promises his audience that he will be armed with courage, persistence and patience to end all forms of tension and lack of confidence. The reference “we” in clause(a) shows that the confrontation is not personal, everybody is included through the strategy of superordinate shared goal. This employment of *We* arouses a spirit of connectedness between the Americans and all the nations of the world and this somehow justifies or paves the way to the new beginning looked for via this speech. The speaker and his audience are incorporated in the use of *We* in the speech above. The speaker is trying to persuade the addressees by making the confrontation as a general issue and everybody is going to be affected by its consequences . One can observe a very careful and smart use and selection of clause relation and strategies of persuasion that carry its impact on the style of the speaker.

4 . 5 . 1 . 3 . The Policy

The policy that is used in this speech is the policy of containment . Bush tries to enlighten and warn the international community that the “*new century is spared a new horror*”, which becomes a vital source of threat to the United States and its allies in the region.

4.5. 2. Speech (2) 16 February 2001: Press Conference with Vicent Fox :

“(1)(a) Saddam Hussein has got to understand (1)(b)that we expect him to conform to the agreement (1)(c)that he signed after Desert Storm . (2)(a)we will enforce the no. fly zone, (2)(b)both south and north. (3)Intention is to make sure that the world is peaceful; as possible . (4)(a)And we're going

to watch very carefully as to whether or not he develops weapon of mass destruction, (4)(b)And if we catch him doing so we'll take the appropriate action ". (Int.7)

4.5.2.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Any coherent stretches of text are combined to other coherent stretches of text via complex connection of relations. The selection of material for text reveals the intention of the speaker and his estimate of the needs of the audiences. It is often appropriate for speaker to omit certain types of information when he is sure that audiences already know it or can deduce it from other information .

In this speech the following Clause Relations are detected :

No. of clause Relations	Specification
•(1)(a)	Amplification /predicate – Specification
• (1)(b)	Amplification /Term – Specification
• (1)(c)	Temporal / Temporal overlap
•(1)(b)+ (c)	Bonding / Coupling
•(2)(a) + (b)	Setting / Conduct –Event / State – Location
•(3)	Cause – Effect / Ground –Conclusion
•(4)	Alternation
•(4)(a)	Bonding / Coupling
• (4)(b)	Cause – Effect / Ground –Conclusion
• (4)(a)+ (b)	Bonding / Coupling

4.5.2.2 . Strategies of Persuasion Used

The successful persuader may use any number of influential tactics capable of moving the target to think positively about an issue or course of action. However, maximum influence has great chance to occur when four tactics of influence are achieved . Pre-persuasion, source credibility, message delivery, and emotional appeals, are a simulation to Aristotle's three facets of persuasion, the source (ethos), the message (logos), and the emotions (pathos). Through word selection and the creation of textual and contextual environment, politicians can manipulate the meaning system and thus reshape the sociopolitical realities. This manipulation is usually geared towards legitimizing certain political course of action, persuading people, producing particular convictions and realities to serve their overall political ends. In this speech, president Bush is using the strategy of logic and data through which past and new information are given to remind the addressees of the points that they agreed upon. The strategy which is based on logical syllogism argument constructed on the model of a proof and formal logic. And he is trying to confirm this goal and making it sure by the lexical item “*agreement*” .

President Bush here, is personally committed to abiding by the security agreement with the Iraqi government which states that there is *the no. fly zone*, Although it is the United Nation and American congress that are in charge of this decisions and securing the world interests worldwide,. This is a source credibility, tactic which is used in this sentence as well as the strategy of logic which is aforementioned .

In the second sentence President Bush resorts to the strategy of a superordinate shared goal which is signaled by reference marker “*we*” , it seems very clear that the Bush's uses of “*We*” to stand for humanity or the international community is very frequent and ,condensed. Thus, Bush speech creates a strong sense of sharedness or *we-ness* and this reflects that his speech is internationally oriented .

In the third sentence, Bush tries to use the strategy of being defensive . It involves establishing an agreement through suggesting something better to the international community . This may serve to support that president Bush's intentions are defensive rather than aggressive. This can be done through the commissives which are speech acts with illocutionary force that commits the speaker to doing some future course of action and it necessarily involves intention.

The reference "*our*" shows that the president Bush attempts to include everybody, and to indicate that it is not a personal confrontation. It could be said that he is trying to persuade the audience through shared antagonist strategy . President Bush uses *our* –the possessive form of *We*- to refer to the international community. This is not only a mere reference but rather a kind of invitation that other nations have to share in maintaining their political and moral responsibility and not to keep themselves in the position of a spectator. The human conscience is and should be moved whenever innocents are hurt or cruelly abstracted from their humanity.

The last sentence of this speech involves the ethical appeal strategy through which persuasion may occur through appeals to common values and norms, the appeal is made to abstract principle, shared identification. The Appeal to Ethics and Emotions :Rhetorician have established that appeal to ethics and emotions constitutes a strategy that many support appealing to reason but never to be a substitute for it which is the persuasion through the arousal of emotion the audience is lacking some quality product or service- worth, power, safety, health that the speaker may be able to 'provide'. The speaker depends on an old information as a condition "*if we catch him*". Through the *if-clause* construction, the speaker initiates a presupposition to reflect the fact that there are needs which should be faced as soon as possible, and new information as consequence "*we'll take the appropriate action*". In fact, persuasion aims at making some sort of change, not just by giving information, but persuasion should imply a

“successful” action. the speaker employs *if-clause* to create a counterfactual presupposition.. These needs and challenges couldn't be confronted without understanding that they are dangers facing us all (as humans) and their consequences affect us all. In the logical appeal strategy the speaker shows the means of solving the problem and then gives the results of those stated through the marker “*action*”. President Bush provides information and details to the hearers to show them the contact and agreement that exist between the Americans and the allies . This is assured by the lexical item “*we’ll*” which is taken coercion, it evidently exists when certain speech acts are followed by sanctions whether physical or legal ones as it is with commands.

4. 5 . 2 . 3 . Policy

The policy which is used in this speech is again the policy of containment . He urges the Iraqi government to stop producing weapons of mass destruction, in a quite warning style of speaking. He asks the international community and allies to face such challenges and stay alert all the time, when he said “*we’ll take the appropriate action*” .

4. 5 . 3 . Speech (3)22 February 2001 : Press Conference

“(1)(a) The primary goal is to make clear to Saddam (b) that we expect him to do peaceful neighbor in the region , (c)and we expect him not to develop weapons of mass destruction.(2)And if we find him doing so, (b)there will be consequence ”. (Int.7)

4.5.3.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Discourse values can be divided into two different types : unitary and binary . One concern in the present study will be with the binary values that include relations such as : reason – result , condition – consequence , etc

The relations may connect elements of texts at all levels by definable persuasive meaning as the case in the following :

No. of clause Relations	Specification
•(1)(a)	Temporal / Temporal overlap
• (1)(b)	Amplification /Term – Specification
• (1)(a)+ (b)	Bonding / Coupling
•(2)(a) + (b)	Cause – Effect / Conditions
•(3)	Cause–Effect/ Ground –Conclusion-Consequence
•(1) + (2)	Bonding / Coupling

4 .5. 3 .2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

In the first clause the speaker Bush tries to use the strategy of appealing to emotion which is directed towards the emotion of the audience that appreciate reasonable arguments. Type of mental state in this context has been identified as attitude. A successful international effort at influencing another's mental state through communication in a circumstance in which the persuadee has some measure of freedom. Thus persuasion, will affect attitudes, values, and beliefs of receivers , i.e., to target the audience's mental state. He then moves to the strategy of superordinate shared goal which is signaled by the reference marker “we”. In the above speech, it is the Bush administration which is covered by *We* where the promise of implementing construction projects are supposed to begin soon. The speaker states that his administration intends to start investing in and supporting consequence of developing weapons of mass destruction in reconstructing their countries.

In the second sentence the speaker uses the strategy of logic . He puts the reason, and then he states the action. The use of the marker “we” again intends to show the aspect of unity grouping work, and grouping thinking which help to solve essential issues concerned with the situation . It may be said that the overall clause relation is condition- consequence. The condition is finding weapons of mass destruction , and the consequence is represented by the marker “*consequence*”. which is a result of the developing of weapons of mass destruction. Political discourse is characterized by the use of technical words which are usually translatable into different meanings. The field of nuclear weapons is full of technical terms such as Strategic nuclear weapon – large nuclear bomb of immense destructive power.

4. 5. 3.3 . Policy

The policy which is used in this speech is the containment with improved sanctions. Bush draws the attention to the danger growing in Iraq because its regime refuse to apply the resolution imposed by the international community regarding its arsenal of mass destruction weapons, and its insistence on increasing this weapons. Thus it becomes a big threat to the peace.

4.5.4. Speech (4) 23 February 2001: Conference with Tony Blair:

“ (1) (a) We spent a lot of time (b) talking about our natural interest in Iraq and the Persian Gulf, (c) and from our Perspective, as you know (d) I made the famous statement (e) that our sanctions are swiss chees (2) (a) that means they ‘re not effective (3) (a) and we’re going to

work together (b) to figure out away to make them more effective.

*(4) (a) But I think the prime Minister and I both recognized (b) it is going to be important for us (c) to build a consensus in the region (d) to make the sanction more effective. (5)(a) Colin Powell left today, after lunch, (b) to move around the Middle East, (c) collect thoughts (d) to listen with a policy of strengthening our mission to Saddam Hussein (e) that he shall not terrorize his neighbors (f) not develop weapons of mass destruction.”
(int. 7)*

4.5.4.1 Types of the Clause Relations

Clause Relations depend on the way the audience understands sentences combined together as unified messages by their compatibility in meaning. These Clause relations “ are away of the information of one clause in the light of other clause. The aim persuasion is to make one argues maximally present in the audience's consciousness by repeating and paraphrasing it, calling aesthetic attention to it in order to achieve the maxima persuasion . In the speech above, this analysis has revealed the following Clause Relations:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1)(a)	Temporal/ Temporal overlap
• (1)(b)	Setting/ Conduct . Event / State- Location
• (1)(a) + (b)	Bounding/ Coupling
•(1)(c)	Bounding/ Coupling
• (1)(d)	Amplification/Predicate- Specification

•(1)(e)	Amplification/ Term – Specification
•(2)	Amplification/Predicate– Specification
• (2)+ (3)	Bounding/ Coupling
• (3)(a)	Bounding/ Coupling
• (3) (b)	Cause Effect/means- Result
• (3) (a) +(b)	Bounding / Coupling
• (4) (a)	Bounding/ Contrastive- Coupling
• (4) (b)	Setting/ Conduct – Conduct- Event
• (4) (c)	Setting/ Conduct- Conduct Event/ State- Location
• (4) (c) +(d)	Bounding/ Coupling
• (5)(a)	Temporal / Chronological Sequence
• (5) (b)	Setting/ Conduct- Conduct- Event/ State- Location
• (5) (c)	Amplification/ Predicate- Amplification
• (5) (d)	Amplification/ Predicate- Specification
• (5) (c) +(d)	Bounding/ Coupling
• (5) (e)	Amplification/ Predicate- Specification
• (5) (f)	Amplification/ Predicate – Specification
• (5) (e) + (f)	Bounding Coupling

4.5.4.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

The main persuasive strategies used is the Aristotelian type of persuasive argumentation: Argument, Counter Argument, Evidence, and Conclusion . The language of politicians , especially they are speaking in public , is an interesting mixture of old and new information : it displays much of the ritual phraseology and consciousness of precedent, and it makes use of

many of the rhetorical and dramatic techniques which associate with public speech , the listener must perceive that the arguments are relevant to the issue . This cannot be done solely by lexical means although linguistic performance is the most important factor .

A strong argument needs facts at its base to change behavior without appropriate emotional appeal a factive presupposition is a kind of presuppositions which is triggered via the use of a factive verb such as “*know*” in sentence (c) . What comes after such verbs constructions counts as a fact. The Argumentation indicated through “*sanctions*” . And the evidence, and conclusions are achieved by the clauses “*We are going to work together to figure out away to the more effective*” . Where the pronoun “*them*” refers to the “*sanctions*” which are the subjects of the argumentation. The use of superordinate shared goal is very clear by the speaker in this speech through the references “*we*”, “*our*”, and “*us*” For most of the time Bush has used pronouns to mitigate his speech and to arouse a high sense of collectivity and sharedness with some kind of moral responsibility and authority. Through linguistic communication, new social and political realities can be *defined* .Thus, the semantic system can be effectively used to create a new epistemic halo of understanding and realization and finally serves maintaining or grounding for political ends and consequences. These references which are repeated in this speech as clear proofs of this strategy. Another shining marker of the goal shared strategy are the lexical items “*together*”, and “*consensus*” . Which refers to the more public unity of the situation.

President Bush makes strategic use of euphemism , it is justifiable to take tough measures against those violent extremists. Accordingly, the language of war seems to be avoided by the speaker and even when talking about it he uses indirect ways. So this violent extremists are used indirectly in this speech . The clause “*not terrorize his neighbor*”, “*not develop weapons of mass destruction*” , the speaker wants the addressee to do something according to the speaker’s wish , even both sentences are

negative, and in both cases when the addressee does something negative to speaker wants , the latter will perform his threatened . The preventing of terrorize and developing the weapons of mass destruction indicate that the speaker is in the defensive state rather than aggressive state. This is achieved through using the defensive strategy which involves establishing something better to the addressees.

It is important to indicate that the pronoun “I” which is repeated three times this speech defines the speaker as a source of authoring (or power) that provides information or knowledge to the addressees. This premeditated and skillful use of “ I” reflects President Bush's very own experience which shows the very tolerance and openness of this country (Iraq). . Repetition in this way means the speaker gives structure to his speech, and even allow him make time while he regards the development of his next point. He realizes that repeating the same word would lengthen the sentence and makes it mimics the behavior described by the sentence . And it also indicates that the speaker assimilates himself into groups, to win the support of the members of such groups. This is clear in the sentence No. four clause (a) “*The prime minister and I*”. All the aforementioned and many other examples signify the strategic use of the first person pronouns which are directly associated with the speaker on the one hand, and the speaker and others on the other.

4.5.4.3. Policy

The policy which is used in this speech is again the policy of containment with improved sanctions; Bush provides his audience with information and other details that made him choose his person to hold this significant position. This is clear in sentence No. five clause (a) when he says “*Colin*

Powell left today, after lunch". In this clause the speaker as the agent presents the addressee as being responsible for the speaker's future action , to share responsibility in the case of an upcoming in Iraq .

4.5.5 Speech (5) 27 February 2001: State of the Union

"(1) (a)Our nation also needs a clear strategy (b) to confront the threat of the 21st century- threats (c) that are more widespread and less certain (2) (a) They range from terrorists (b) who threaten with bombs (c) to tyrants in rouge nations (d) intent upon developing weapons of mass destruction. (3) (a) To protect our own people, our allies and friends (b) we must develop (c) and we must deploy effective missile defenses." (Int. 7)

4.5.5.1. Types of the Clause Relations

The means of Clause Relations are used to reinforce meaning and ensure relationship among idea. The speaker is required to speak in a style appropriated to satisfy his addressees effectively and persuasively . It is through linguistic behavior that charismatic leadership and persona are communicated that enables us to better understand and identify the ideologies of discourse producers and the value system upon which they are based. The following Clause Relations are found in this speech:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1) (a)	Cause- Effect/ Cause- Purpose
• (1) (b)	Temporal/chronological Sequence
• (1) (c)	Bonding/Coupling
• (1) (b) + (c)	Bonding/ Coupling

• (2) (a)	Cause- Effect/ Cause- Purpose
• (2) (b)	Amplification/ Predicate- Specification
• (2) (a) + (b)	Bounding/ Exemplification
• (3) (a)	Cause- Effect/ Means- Purpose
• (3) (b)	Cause- Effect/ Means- Purpose
• (3) (c)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (3) (a) + (c)	Cause- Effect/ Means- Purpose
• (3)(b) + (c)	Bonding/ Coupling

4.5.5.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

The strategy used by the president Bush in this speech is the strategy of appeals to logic. The logic argumentation is made up in a series of cause purpose relationship that ends up in the confrontation of making up effective missile defense by all allies to confront any threat, and protect the allies. He uses marshal evidence to persuade the reader to adopt a point of view or pattern of behavior contrary to the audience's normal thinking or behavior . He offers reasons ,evidence in favor of one option among several to show that this option is superior to the others .The Lexical item distributed among the sentences and links the sentences is the repetition of the Lexical item "*threat*" which shows that the speaker is in a defensive rather than aggressive state . A threat is regarded to have been made when a speaker's statement was given as a serious threat under specific circumstance , whenever a certain person foreshows that the statement as a serious expression of an intention in order to conflict statement not be the result of mistake or coercion . This is made through the use of a defensive strategy. "*to confront the threat of the 21st century- threats*" Here, the speaker re-addresses an important point through the use of 21st

century. The semantic indication through its use is that this shift in time requires a shift in attitudes and practices. President Bush maintains the importance of being aware that this new millennium imposes a collective work because the problems and challenges are shared.

In the last sentence and specifically clause (a) the speaker Bush tries to make the situation as public as possible through the reframing strategy which is marked by the items “*our nation*”, “*our people*” and “*allies*” all of them refer to plural mass people who are working together to make appropriate decision to the situation. Here the Bush is inclusively referring to himself and his supporters ' you and I ' who gather in one place and those out of place, he tries hard to grind their will against all frustrating allegations launched by his opponent who raises question about the speaker and his followers concerning their capability to achieve the promised change. One general fact is that the pronominal choices Bush makes, serve persuasive and strategic political functions, i.e. the traditional polarization in his speeches the use of 'we' “ *our*” where they are associated with positive elements and with negative elements, but when Bush uses these references he does not only violate the rule, but also makes a brand new use of them .

In his speech, President Bush gives *violent extremism* high priority and thus importance. It is the first issue he brings into focus to be discussed with the world: . Here, President Bush strategically and manipulatively exploits this expression and its semantic value and connotations to serve certain ideopolitical ends. . More important is that the real nature of those violent extremists is intensified when the speaker moves to “ *developing weapons of mass destruction*”. The lexical items: “*threat*” ,” threats” , in the first sentence clause (b) and “*terrorists*” , threaten , “*bombs*” , in the second sentence clauses (a) and (b), “*weapons of mass destruction*” in the second sentence clause(c)refer to that the speaker attempts to persuade the world of the legitimacy of his war on Iraq and intends to enlighten the audience about what exactly the situation is on the national and international levels. This is made through the strategy of being defensive. In his speech under

analysis, President Bush makes strategic use of euphemism and euphemization to serve certain ideopolitical ends and aims covert in the speech . . . Euphemism, in all its forms, is a very active tool in the hands of language users, especially politicians, because it enables them to evade direct reference to sensitive issues and make their language more flexible and maneuvering.

4.5.5.3. Policy

The policy used in this speech is the policy of Missile Defense. The speaker clarifies this through the clause (b) last sentence "*We must deploy effective missile defenses*". This reflects that the speaker ; intention is to win and prevail in this war, as he named it a war on terror. This technique has been strategically used to serve the speaker's pragmatic goals (in the meaning of pragmatism) to gain the support politically and non-politically he looks forward to and to criminalize or demonize all those against the stream of the prominent who is Saddam and Iraq. Since the speaker's government is presumably seeking to establish security and stability, those who do not stand by it will be directly or indirectly supporting non-stability and non-security and thus standing by outlaws and extremists.

4.5.6. Speech (6) 1 May 2001: Speech at Defense University

" (1) (a) Today's the world requires a new policy, (b) abroad strategy of active, nonproliferation, counter proliferation and defenses. (2) (a) We must work together with other like- minded nations (b) to deny weapons of terror (c) from those seeking to acquire them. (3) (a) We must work with allies and friends (b) who wish to join with us (c) to defend against the harm they can inflect. (4) (a) And together, we must deter anyone who would contemplate their use". (Int.7)

4 .5 . 6 .1 . Types of the Clause Relations

Clause Relation is a basis of discourse structure which refers to the semantic relation which interprets the information of one clause in the light of another. The use of rhets to bring about the rightness as well as truthfulness of his argumentation by appealing to the receiver's mind rather than his/her emotions, those rhetorical devices are unarguably persuasive devices which help in persuading receivers of the fruitfulness of issues argued for by the speaker as an orator. In speech (6) The following Clause Relation are detected:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1) (a)	Temporal/ Temporal Chronological
• (1) (b)	Bounding/ Coupling
• (1) (a)+(b)	Amplification/ Term Exemplification
• (2)	Amplification/ Term Exemplification
• (1)+ (2)	Bounding/ Coupling
• (3) (a)	Bounding/Coupling
• (3) (b)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (3) (c)	Cause- Effect/ Means- Purpose
• (3) (b)+(c)	Cause- Effect/ Means – Purpose
• (4)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (3)+(4)	Bonding/ Coupling

4.5.6.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

Strategy of persuasion in the first sentence depends upon the face-saving strategy in which the speaker tries to turn a divisive issue into a problem that is shared and needs a mutually satisfactory solution. He

attempts to make the situation as public as possible to be able to back away if it is embarrassing to him. The use of the lexical item "*world*" is the best proof of the speaker's intention. In order to make the speech more legitimized Bush usually tends to positively present himself, his actions, policies, supporters and friends in the field of international politics. In his speech, President Bush tends to depend on presuppositions heavily. He uses different kinds of presuppositions with varying degrees of frequency. He employs them to intensify the strong relationship between America and the world. Most of the presuppositions maintained herein are oriented towards mutual respect, active interaction between Bush and his *allies and friends*, the goodwill of the American people, the need to get rid of all tension by launching a new beginning based on the common interests.

In the second sentence the persuasion is through reasoning strategy which involves a cooperation between the persuaders and persuades which is based on data logic strategy in which the speaker is stating the reason "*deny weapons of terror*" to explain his view point, and then he gives the means to achieve the results "*we must work together*" how to come over who wants to have weapons of "*terror and acquire them*". The argument between the persuader and persuadee is based on an implicit threat rather than on arguments or other forms of persuasion. But, the required choice for action is made because the alternative (not acting or acting indifferently) is less attractive to the actor.

Persuasion through the arousal of emotion. The third sentence indicates that the speaker is using appeal emotion strategy which is signaled by "*allies*", "*friend*" "*defend*", through the arousal of emotion the speaker is able to persuade the others. "*allies*", "*friend*" "*defend*" are words of influence that shows the speaker is not hostile in doing that and he is going to do only if it is necessary. These words have power, and great influence to persuade. The description of an object, and the manner in which a course of action is presented, both will direct our thoughts and module our cognitive response concerning communication. In fact the pre-persuading Words are the target through the labels he uses. Hence, the

recipient would accept the presented definition of the situation even before the argument begins *“defend against harm”*. Appeal to emotions constitutes a strategy that many support appealing to reason but never to be a substitute for it ..

Through the strategy of being defensive the speaker states the means against any one who uses weapons of terrorism. The speaker clears that through the use of *“together deter”* These needs will be met only if we act together and if we understand that the challenges we face are shared, and our failure to meet them will hurt us.

The main marker used in this speech is *“together”* which is used in the second sentence and the last sentence clause (a). This means that the speaker is seeking support to achieve his purpose through shared antagonist strategy. Again Bush resorts to the repetition device through which he realizes that repeating the same word would lengthen the sentence and makes it mimics the 'behavior' described by the sentence. And in order to attend to the minds as well as the emotions of their audiences through the strategic employment of this technique.

Shedding light on some topic, specific lexical item *“work with allies” friends’*, *“friends, who join with us”* assumes that what is talking about is already understood and well known by his audience. These words are mainly geared towards persuasion and conviction in public speaking so that certain aims are achieved as well as act . It creates sense of unity, and emphasizes similarities within the group, whereas exaggerate differences with other groups. ones orated for.

4 .5 . 6 .3 .Policy

Again the policy used in this speech at that time and place *“1 May 2001” , National Defense University”* is the policy of Missile Defense. This comes from the fact that Iraq kept refusing to comply to the United Nations

resolutions that call Iraq to stop developing weapons of mass destruction. We cannot keep witnessing this deterioration without doing anything about it. He affirms that by means of solidarity strategy. The expression of “*Missile Defense*” “this expression is used to refer to a certain kind of weapons which are not to be used in ordinary kind of war against human beings and their properties. It presupposes that all other types of weapons are to be justifiably used in war against humans; it also implicates that wars are legitimized and the use of weapons is thus necessarily their tools.

4.5.7. Speech (7) 25 May 2001: speech at Nobel Academy

“(1) Today nearly one third of our naval forces are forward – deployed over seas. (2) (a) The USS Constellation carries battle group (b) and its 10.000 sailors are playing the water of the Persian Gulf, (c) enforcing the no. fly zone over southern Iraq.”

“(3) (a) Another 3.000 sailors and Marines stand guard, nearly with Boxer amphibious read group, (b) deterring and mischief Saddam might contemplate.” (Int. 7)

4.5.7.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Clause relations governing the logical development of discourse. The relation between the smaller and larger structure is of composition in which a larger clause relation consists of further membership of clause relations. In writing their speeches, politicians tend to use many techniques in order to attend to the minds as well as the emotions of their audiences through the strategic employment of those techniques. In this speech the following Clause Relations are found :

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1)	Temporal/ Chronological Sequence
• (2) (a)	Amplification/ predicate Specification
• (2) (b)	Setting/ Conducting/ Conducting
• (2) (a) + (b)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (2) (c)	Setting/ Conducting/ Event/ State- Location
• (1) +(2)	Amplification/ Predicate Specification
• (3) (a)	Bounding/ Coupling
• (3) (b)	Bounding/ Coupling
• (3) (a) + (b)	Amplification/ Predicate Specification

4.5.7.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

The strategy used in the first and second sentences is the strategy of appeal to data and logic. politicians are to a large extent keen in selecting the kind of information they transmit to their audiences in such a way that they put their main concentration on how to win the approval. The speaker addresses the receiver's emotion, wills and keens to bring about a change in the addressees' attitude reminding them of their strength and courage through amplification of the situation of their sailors as an effective emotional appeal. In the speech above, the speaker creates a factive presupposition via the use of the use of verb *be*. Through the use of the factive verb *be*, President Bush focuses on a well-known piece of knowledge about the allies force. The use of this presupposition is strategically maintained to strengthen the bonds between the speaker and his audience through admitting the role of allies in pushing the wheel of war forward. It is a kind of invitation to allies to keep enriching their force to the utmost level possible Employing facts at its base in which the

speaker makes a list of achievements “*one third of our novel forces are forward- deployed- overseas*”, “*10.000 sailors are playing the waters of the Persian Gulf*”, “*enforcing the no –fly zone*” to construct a fair well- balanced argument in an attempt to persuade his audience to do what he wants from them. The use of rough figures can be geared towards amplifying some actions or events, adding some sense of credibility to the speaker's message. The use and function of this technique is dependent on the speaker's aims and ends and how the speaker wants it to be taken. This use is very strategic and well-calculated by Bush .

In the third sentence the speaker again uses the logic strategy which is conveyed to the addressees by means of a highly effective and relevant propositional content. Through the *expressive device* the illocutionary point of this kind of speech acts is that the speaker is capable of expressing some kind of psychological state . With this category of speech acts, there is no direction of fit between the world and the words being uttered. That is, neither the world is oriented to match the words uttered nor the words are oriented to fit the external world. The truth of what is expressed by.

So the basic idea conveyed in this speech is that the motivator (speaker) is able to confirm an attitude in the mind of listeners by using the strategy of data and logic.

4.5.7.3. Policy

The policy used in this text is the containment of Iraqi forces enforcing the “*no. fly Zone over southern Iraq*”. The speaker expresses his attitudes and options; and he tries to influence others’ behavior or way of thinking. In other words, he provides the hearers with information and details. Through directives, the hearer who is supposed

to do the action for the speaker. While the speaker commissives, to undertake the action for the hearer.

4.5.8 Speech (8) 12 June 2001. Press Conference with Spanish President Aznar

“ (1) (a) Those new threats are terrorism, (b) based upon the capacity of some countries (c) to develop weapons mass destruction (d) and therefore, hold the united states and our friends hostage”. (Int. 7)

4.5.8.1. Types of the Clause Relations

The importance of clause relations depends on the way the audience understand a sentence which can be realized with or without lexicogrammatical signaling. patterns can account for the microstructural level of the relations between the individual sentences or propositions .Then in this speech the following Clause Relations are detected:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1) (a)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (1) (b)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (1) (c)	Cause- Effect/ means- Purpose
• (1) (b) +(c)	Cause- Effect/ Means- Purpose
• (1) (d)	Cause- Effect/ Reason –Result
• (1) (c)+ (d)	Cause- Effect/ Reason- Result
• (1) (c) + (d)	Bounding/ Coupling

4 . 5 . 8 .2 .Strategies of Persuasion Used

The whole speech is unified in one integrated sentence in which the main persuasive strategy used is the data and logic strategy. The speaker amplified the situation by giving past and new information in a way that expresses Cause- Purpose relations. That is to say, to incorporate the act of governing nations , authority and power as well as influence can be maneuvered and manipulated. Establishing a form of unity which embraces individuals in a collective identity *“Those new threats are terrorism”*.

The speaker to express overtly about the precise state of affairs which he wants the addressee to carry out. Psychologically speaking, depicting an image that might frighten audience or people even if being fictitious has very strong influence on their response so that creating such an image help speakers drag listeners into the target act

In the field of politics, it can be noticed that enemy-image creating plays a high role in attaining legitimization and justifying actions especially if they are taken as precautionary ones.

The last clause shows that the speaker appeals to ethical strategy, by using an emotional appeal at exciting the required state of emotion in the hearer through lexical items *“United States and our friends hostage.”* The Appeal to Ethics and Emotions :Rhetorician have established that appeal to ethics and emotions constitutes a strategy that many support appealing to reason but never to be a substitute for it .

4.5.8.3. Policy

The policy which is used by the speaker in this speech is the Missile Defense Policy; Bush urges the nation and the United Nations army to deploy every possible resources to protect and defend the allies and friends of America. This is clear through the last clause (d) *“our friends hostage”*.

4.5.9. Speech (9) 17 July 2001:Interview with the Foreign Press

“(1) (a) I’ve spoken very clearly to the president [Putin] (b) that its time for new leadership (c) to develop a new strategic framework for Peace. (2) The threats that the ABM Treaty addressed no longer exists; no Longer exists. (3) (a) There are threats, new forms of terror; cyberterrorism fundamentalist extremists, extremism (b) that certainly threaten us, (c) threaten Israel, how is our strong ally and friend, threaten Russia, (4) we’ve got to deal with it. (5) The threat in Europe at sometime, perhaps. (6) We must deal with that issue . (7) (a) And one way to do that is coordinate security arrangements (b) is to talk about how to talk about how to... as to how (c) to deal with new threats (d) but also is to be able to have capacity (e) to rid the world of blackmail, terrorist blackmail. (Int. 7)

4.5.9.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Clause Relations are relations of governing the logical development of discourse to understand a sentence in an adjoining content of another sentence which is the meaning between two coherent stretches of text . In this speech the following Clause Relation are found.

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1) (a)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (1) (b)	Temporal/ Temporal Overlap
• (1) (c)	Cause- Effect/ Means- Purpose
• (1) (b) +(c)	Cause- Effect/ Means- Purpose
• (2)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (3) (a)	Amplification/ Predicate – Specification

• (3) (b)	Setting/ Conduct/ Event- Direction
• (3) (a) + (b)	Bonding Coupling
• (4)	Cause – Effect/ Reason- Result
• (3) +(4)	Cause- Effect/ Reason- Result
• (5)	Setting/ Conduct- Event- Direction
• (6)	Cause- Effect/ Reason- Result
• (5)+ (6)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (7) (a)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (7) (b)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (7) (c)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (7) (b) +(c)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (6)+ (7)	Bonding/ Coupling

4.5.9. 2 Strategies of persuasion

In the first two sentences of this speech the speaker employs the strategy of appeal to data and logic. He puts the reasons. They are all good reasons which are shown through the lexical items “*threat*”, “*extremism*” which are repeated many times in this speech. In this speech it can be noticed that President Bush uses *violent extremism* as a collocation all through his speech. Semantically speaking, the word *extremism* by itself carries a very negative connotation. Here, this collocational use indicates that it is not any kind of extremism that can be tolerated but rather it is *violent* one, since they behave irrationally and violate all conventions of human rights. Consequently, any kind of action against those violent extremists seems to be justifiable because it is a deterring action to save people and maintain peace and stability. Here, President Bush strategically and manipulatively exploits this expression and its semantic value and

connotations to serve certain ideopolitical ends. “ *no longer exists; no Longer exist*” In this clause Bush uses repetition device which requires the politician to repeat the same idea recurrently. The political actor believes that if he repeats a word, a phrase, or a clause many times, his propositions would be more highlighted, acceptable and memorable.

In the third and fourth sentences, the speaker uses the superordinate goal strategy. The speaker mentions other countries share the same goal like “*Israel*”, “*Russia*” and “*Europe*” plus the reference “*we*” which pluralized them in a shared antagonist strategy. This employment of “*W*” arouses a spirit of connectedness between the speaker and his and this somehow justifies or paves the way to the new beginning looked for via this speech.

The speaker and his audience are incorporated in the use of *We* in the speech above. The speaker and his audience are incorporated in the use of *We* in the speech above. The Bush and his allies are called to be more courageous in facing and eradicating the tension sources. Along with the use of “*must*”, both sides are invited by the speaker to act speedily because of the high and urgent necessity to right the wrong and bring relationships back to the right track.

Sentence six shows that the speaker uses the strategy of being defensive in dealing with that issue. , the speaker initiates a presupposition to reflect the fact that there are needs which should be faced as soon as possible. These needs and challenges couldn't be confronted without understanding that they are dangers facing us all (as humans) and their consequences affect us all. This presupposition is highly important because it enables the speaker to keep maintaining that the future is shared and the failure of anyone is inevitably a failure of all. Consequently, President Bush implicitly indicates that all countries are targeted by these challenges and have to be aware of that and to work collectively on solving them together

In sentence seven the speaker again resorts to shared goal strategy through “*coordinate security*”, and “*have the capacity to the world of blackmail*”. The argument between the persuader and persuadee is based

on an implicit threat rather than on arguments or other forms of persuasion. But, the required choice for action is made because the alternative (not acting or acting indifferently) is less attractive to the actor

The main clause (a) , *“threaten”* in sentence three clause (b) and (c); *“threats”* in sentences seven clause (c) , which is repeated for six times, the lexical item *“no longer”*, which is repeated two times in sentence two, the lexical item *“terror”* in sentence three, clause (a), *“terrorist”* in the seventh sentence clause (e), lexical item *“extremists”*, *“extremism”* which is repeat two times in sentence three clause (a), the lexical item *“how to talk about”* , *“how to talk , to how”* repeated three times in sentence seven clause (b) and finally the lexical item *“blackmail”* which is repeated two times in the last clause of the seventh sentence; all these lexical items refer to that the speaker attempts to convince the world of the legitimacy of his war on Iraq, in a defensive way through the strategy of being defensive and seeking protection and support, inversion to all these lexical items which refer to threatening, frightening and tension. The speaker uses only one lexical item which refers to relax and safety that is the lexical item *“peace”* in sentence one clause characteristic of this speech is the repetition of many lexical items for several times such as *“threats”* in sentence two *“threats”* in sentence three (c). Again in this speech President Bush gives violent extremism high priority and thus importance. Which is the first and important issue he brings into focus to be discussed with his allies .And again President Bush resorts to the repetition strategy to reinforce and emphasizes key elements and ideas while avoiding monotony.

4.5.9.3. Policy

Again the policy used in this speech is the Missile Defense Policy. The speaker is intended to enlighten the audience about what exactly the situation is on the National and international levels. He attempts to convince the world of the legitimacy of his war on terror, his attempts to mobilize every means and source possible to chase terrorists.

4.5.10 Speech (10) 7 August 2001 :Press Conference

“(1)(a) As I said, Saddam Hussein is a menace , (b) he is still a menace and (c) we need to keep him in check (d) with Q.(2) Are they ratcheting it up, though? (3)We’ve had a lot incidents lately.

THE PRESIDENT. (4) No... are they, the Iraqis? (5) (a) He’s been a menace for ever (b) and we will do (c) he needs to open his country up for inspection, (d) so we can see weather or not (e) he’s developing weapons of mass destruction.” (Int.7)

4.5.10.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Clause Relations provides the following relations. The semantic link between propositions, comparison between two things. Events or abstractions in terms either similarity or difference indicate causative relation. The choice between antitheses relations, additive relations and the same propositional content are expressed in different ways, the explicit or implicit of the propositional content and adverbial relations. Then, in this speech the following Clause Relation are detected:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1) (a)	Amplification/ Predicate Specification
• (1) (b)	Truth and Validity / Statement Affirmation
• (1) (c)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (1)(d)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (1) (c) (d)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (2)	Truth and Validity / Contraexpectation
• (3)	Amplification/ Term Specification

• (4)	Truth and Validity / Contraexpectation
• (5) (a)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (5) (b)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (5) (a)+ (b)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (5) (c)	Amplification
• (5) (d)	Alternation/ Contrastive Alternation

4.5.10.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

"Persuaders" use variety of techniques to grasp audience attention to establish credibility and trust, to stimulate desire for the product, or policy, and to motivate us to act. One of these techniques which is used by President Bush is the ethical appeal strategy, the one which is called the strategy of induction for it involves Aristotle's on an effective emotional. Beliefs operate as thoughts about the relative truth or falsehood of a thing. Some beliefs are central to a person, whilst other are less important. Central beliefs are those if positively or negatively activated, consequences would occur on other beliefs related to the central one. such beliefs are 'fundamental'. Bush generates Prejudice against the opponent through irrelevant information which is indicated in the marker "*menace*" that is repeated in this speech several times .The rhythm of repetition would rolls like a drum through the speech. Such strategy will create a noise or a regular rhythm that authentically sounds like politics.

In the second sentence the way to clarify what he has already said. Through rhetorical question speaker uses an appeal to data and logic strategy by adding information in a logical the speaker focus attention on important information. Rhetorical questions are actually questions whose answers are considered obvious and easy to predict, therefore are not answered by a speaker explicitly. Such questions help emphasize points and focus attention on important issues.

The persuasive argumentation tactics used by the speaker in the last three sentences is again an appeal to the emotion strategy through the logical sequence relations. It is very important to employ arguments, in order to persuade, through political discourse to be 'catching', thus enabling a high degree of re-production chiefly at the media level.

Again in this speech the listener can observe the repetition of some lexical items such as menace which is repeated three times in this speech. Through the anaphora tactic which is the recurrence of the same word, words, or phrases for focusing attention on key words, ideas, and help enhance the communicative power of speech, another important function, it is the link between icons and symbols. When we combine words, which are symbolic into sentences and phrases, we create complex forms of iconicity. The speaker is confident that if he repeat a statement often enough, it will in time come to be accepted by his audience.

4.5.10.3. Policy

The policy used in this speech is the policy of containment of weapon of mass destruction. The speaker granted the Iraqi government is oppressive and unjust, which makes the Iraqis the daily victims of this regime. The United States has friends and allies who will make a coalition to defend his ruler and to liberate the Iraqi people and assist them in building their just and democratic government .

4.5.11. Speech (11) 27 September 2002: Speech in Colorado

“(1)there’s no negotiation, by the way, for Mr. Saddam Hussein. (2) There is nothing to discuss. (3) (a) He either gets rid of his weapons (b) and United Nations get rid of his weapons ... (c) he can either get ride of his weapons and (d) the United States can act, or (e) the United States will lead a coalition to disarm this man.” (Int.7)

4.5.11.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Clause Relations are based upon the assumption that any two sentences when put together can only function as a unified message by virtue of their compatibility in meaning with our consensus of the expected meaning of sentences. In speech (11) the following Clause Relations are found:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
•(1)	Truth and Validly/ Statement Affirmation
• (2)	Paraphrase- Paraphrase
• (1) + (2)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (3) (a)	Alternation/ Contrast Alternation
• (3) (b)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (3) a+ (b)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (3) (c)	Alternation/ Contrastive Alternation
• (3) (d)	Amplification/ Term specification
• (3) (c) + (d)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (3) (e)	Alternation/ Contrastive Alternation
• (3) (d) + (e)	Bonding/ Coupling

4.5.11.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

Logical emotion strategy is used in the first and second sentences. The speaker tries to put the audience into a certain frame of mind, through logical relations that are established between the speaker and the hearers. The hearers of the speech can notice the tone of Bush in drawing the attention of the world to containment- no- change specified. The speaker

desires can be best satisfied by the addressees. This is clear through the clause *“there is nothing to discuss”*.

The last three sentences demonstrate .The appeals to logic strategy through logical sequence relations. The speaker states the reasons for getting rid of his weapon as a condition, then he states the action to fulfill the result *“the United States will lead a coalition to disarm this man”*. A more explicit type of declarative realization procedure for threat is achieved by the means of the conjunction “ or “ . The use of alternative coordination allows the speaker to express overtly about the precise state of affairs which he wants the addressee to carry out .

The last clause in the third sentence shows that the speaker resorts to the face- saving strategy. The speaker tries to retreat from a singular position to a new unified issue to make it more public. This is clear through the marker *“Coalition”*.

4.5.11.3. Policy

The policy used in this speech is the disarmament policy, in a clear threatening and warning language. Bush demands to enforce Saddam Hussein to disarm and abide by the International rules.

4.5.12 Speech (12) 28 September 2002: Speech in Arizona

“(1) (a) And so I went to the United Nations, (b) and said to the United Nations, you need to deal with him. (2) You, the collective body of freedom- loving countries, need to deal with him. (3) For 11 Years he’s made fun of you. (4) (a) You can either be the United Nations and be effective, (b) you can be the league of Nations- Your choice. (5) They’re the United Nations. (6) I hope they’re capable of helping to keep the pace. (7) That’s their choice.

(8)(a) Saddam Hussein has got a choice, and (b) that is he can disarm. (9) There is no negotiation by the way. (10)

There is nothing to negotiate with him. (11) (a) He told the world he would disarm 11 years ago, and (b) he's lied to the world- (12) It's their choice to make. (13) (a) He must disarm, (b) just like he said he would do. (14) And the United Nations, in order to be effective, must disarm him. (15) (a) But for the sake of our freedom (b) for the sake of our future, (c) if nothing happens, (d) the united states will lead a coalition (e) to hold him to account (f) and disarm, Saddam Hussein. (16) we owe it to the world to do so.”(Int.7)

4.5.12.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Many Clause Relations which are related to sequencing, causation, problem- Solution and comparison seem to be universal, certain of these clause relations can be specific, some people prefer specific points in their explanation of ideas in their speech. Whereas others prefer a boarder and more general approach. In this speech the following Clause Relations are observed:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1) (a)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (1) (b)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (1) (a) + (b)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (2)	Amplification/Predicate Specification
• (3)	Temporal/ Temporal Overlap
• (4) (a)	Alternative/ Contrastive Alternation

• (4) (b)	Alternative/ Supplementary Alternation
• (5)	Amplification/ Predicate Specification
• (6)	Amplification/ Predicate Specification
• (7)	Alternation/ Contrastive Alternation
• (8) (a)	Alternation/ Contrastive Alternation
• (8) (a)+(b)	Bonding/ coupling
• (9)	Truth Validity/ Statement Affirmation
• (10)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (11) (a)	Amplification/ Predicate Specification
• (11) (b)	Amplification/ Predicate Specification
• (11) (a)+(b)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (12)	Alternation/ Contrastive Alternation
• (13) (a)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (13) (b)	Amplification/ Term specification
• (13) (a)+(b)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (14) (a)	Cause- Effect/ Reason- Result
• (14) (b)	Cause- Effect/ Reason- Result
• (14) (a)+(b)	Bonding/ Coupling

• (14) (c)	Cause- Effect/ Condition- Consequence
• (14) (d)	Cause- Effect/ Means- Purpose
• (14) (e)	Cause- Effect/ Means- purpose
• (14) (f)	Cause- Effect/ Means- Purpose
• (14) (e)+(f)	Bonding- Coupling
• (14) (c)+(d)	Cause- Effect/ Condition- Consequence
• (14) (d)+(e)	Cause- Effect/ Means- Result
• (14) (d)+(f)	Cause- Effect/ Means- Result
• (15)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (16)	Amplification/ Term Specification

4.5.12.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

The first person singular pronoun “ I ” in the first sentence fills its position creating a form of responsibility, authority as well as individualness. The speaker seems to be a peace messenger and an envoy of goodwill equipped with understanding and in a position of leadership interacting with others. The personal experience is emphasized in sentence number six where the speaker tells how he hopes of keeping the peace in the world . The strategic use of the first person pronouns which are directly associated with the speaker on the one hand, and the speaker and others on the other. In these sentences the speaker creates a useful desire by indicating motivation that is helpful to the purpose, which propel and persuade the addressees towards the goal being sought.

In the first sentence the speaker resorts to the strategy of induction, for it involves an effective emotion to excite the state of emotion in the hearer. The speaker believes in rhetoric as an instrument for giving effectiveness to truth, but truth is not always easy to come by.

In the second sentence the addresser uses the face- saving strategy by throwing the ball into the *“United Nations”* said to be more *“effective”* reframing the issue from singular position to a, not by giving information, but persuasion should imply a “successful” action, therefore he resorts to the United Nation be responsible of solving the problem of disarming Saddam Hussein. In the third and fourth sentence the speaker appeals to data and logic strategy through a series of reason and results. Bush lays claims to qualities that the addressees respect when he says *“11 years he is made fun of you” “He lied to the world”*. The speaker appeals for pity to gain the addressees' attention. . President Bush brings into focus many issues through the use of number”11”

Sentence five shows that the addresser depends upon the shared antagonist strategy when the speaker combined himself with the *“United Nations”*.

Sentence six and seven demonstrate the strategy of being defensive that the speaker wants something better to the hearer. The speaker shows his desire “to keep the peace”.

In the eighth and ninth sentences the addresser uses the appeals to data and logic strategy. He depends on new and reorganized information.

Sentences nine and ten show that the speaker is still with data and logic strategy to persuade his audience through these existing and new information which he shows to them.

In sentence eleven Bush depends on the logic emotion strategy through giving irrelevant information against the opponent. This irrelevant information clears in "*he lied to the world*".

Sentence twelve shows the employment of the face- saving strategy through using reference "*Their*" which marks to the United States. Through the directive strategy, it is the hearer who is supposed to do the action for the speaker ,not , the speaker himself is supposed to undertake the action for the hearer.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth sentences Bush uses data and logic strategy through cause-effect relation/ means- purpose "*be effective*" is the means and "*disarm*" is the purpose.

In the fifteenth sentences the speaker employs the strategy of being defensive to show his worries about the future and freedom of others. It is signaled by the items "*for the sake of our future, for the sake of our freedom.*" , the speaker uses the word *freedom* in association with his allies and his country- and this word carries semantically mild connotations. In the same sentence and in clause 'c' . Through the *if-clause* construction, the speaker initiates a presupposition to reflect the fact that there are needs which should be faced as soon as possible. These needs and challenges couldn't be confronted without understanding that they are dangers facing us all (as humans) and their consequences affect us all. This presupposition is highly important because it enables the speaker to keep maintaining that the future is shared and the failure of anyone is inevitably a failure of all. Consequently, President Bush implicitly indicates that all countries are targeted by these challenges and have to be aware of that and to work collectively on solving them together .In sentence fifteen and with its all clauses the speaker *commissives* himself and United Nation to some future course of action. By doing so, the speaker is about to make the world fit the words being uttered. Additionally, the propositional content of commissives is that the speaker is committed to doing a future course of

action. Under this category comes *threaten* . Since the direction of fit is the same for commissives and directives where the world is assumed to fit the words and that the propositional content is that of a future course action. there must be some distinguishing point in this respect. With directives, it is the hearer who is supposed to do the action for the speaker while in commissives, the speaker her/himself is supposed to undertake the action for the hearer. The fifteenth sentence clause (b) demonstrates the use of shared antagonist strategy to achieve the result the speaker intends.

In the sixteenth sentence the speaker uses the Logic emotion strategy to show his grateful attitude to the world when it achieves his desires. The marker "*we owe*" refers to that.

For the personal reasons belonging to the speaker, there is an emphasis on the issue of "*freedom*", unity, "*future*" This is clear in the clauses "*for the sake of our freedom, for the sake of our future*" sentence (15) clauses (a) (b). the speaker describes Saddam Hussein as being dangerous and a source of threat and danger to the national security of America and the allies. Saddam Hussein must abide by the international laws and rules of arming and human rights; otherwise the military force will be the only option left to handle the situation. .This is through the attributes of human personality .Through which attitude is best described as a person's general evaluation of an object.

This speech contains repetition in many clauses such as clause '9' and clause "10" and other clauses in order to emphasize his idea . Repetition is a means by which the speaker gives structure to his speech, and even allow him make time while he regards the development of his next point. They realize that repeating the same word would lengthen the sentence and makes it mimics the 'behavior' described by the sentence.

The main word in this speech is the "*disarm*" which is repeated five times This means that the use of repetition strategy is very clear in this

speech to make his idea to be more highlighted, acceptable and memorable .The rhythm of repetition would rolls like a drum through the speech. Such strategy will create a noise or a regular rhythm that authentically sounds like politics. And also we have the word *the United Nation which* is repeated four times The function is for focusing attention on key words, ideas, and help enhance the communicative power of the speech. The United nation and the speaker are called to be more effective, fearless and courageous in facing and eradicating the tension sources. both sides are invited by the speaker to act speedily because of the high and urgent necessity to right the wrong and bring relationships back to the right track this can be done along with the use of *must*.

Through the use of present tenses in this speech which indicating g future time, the speaker seems more superior than the addressee and the higher the power degree of the addressee will result in the greater of the speaker's capability to perform the threatening action .

4.5.12.3. Policy

The policy used in this speech is containment, Unilateral Action. The speaker wants to say that the United Nations must remain engaged in the world and will be always present to take the necessary action to defend the world if required, led by values, civility and dignity. In other words, Bush refers to a coalition that will work on defeating Saddam Hussein and lead him to disarm.

4.5.13. Speech (13) 5 October 2002: Radio Address

“(1) (a) American security, the safety of our friends, and the values of our country lead us (b) to confront this gathering threat. (2) (a) By supporting the resolution now before them, (b) members of congress will send a clear message to Saddam. (3) (a) His only choice is to fully comply with the demands of the world, (b) and the time

for that choice is limited. (4) (a) Supporting this resolution will also show the resolves of the United States, (b) and will help spur the united Nations to act (Int.7)

4.5.13.1. Types of the Clause Relation

A Clause Relation is the way in which the information of one clause is understood in the light of other clauses. The follow Clause Relation has been detected :

No. of the Clause Relation	Specification
• (1) (a)	Amplification/ Predicate Specification
• (1) (b)	Amplification/ Predicate Specification
• (1) (a)+(b)	Cause- Effect/Reason-Result
• (2) (a)	Temporal/ Temporal Overlap
• (2) (b)	Temporal/ Temporal Overlap
• (2) (a)+(b)	Cause- Effect/ Means- Result
• (1) + (2)	Bonding/ Statement- Exemplification
• (3) (a)	Alternation/ Contrastive Alternation
• (3) (b)	Alternation/ Contrastive Alternation
• (3) (a)+(b)	Bonding/ coupling
• (4) (a)	Amplification/ Term Specification
• (4) (b)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (4) (a)+(b)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (3)+(4)	Cause- Effect/ Means Result.

_ 4.5.13.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

President Bush 's first strategy of persuasion is that he tries the appeal of logic: he puts the reasons then states the action. They are all good reasons shown through the lexical items *security*, *safety* and *value*. So it could be said that he shows the good side before spitting out the bad ones. And even the bad ones are put in a defence position clarified by the verb *confront* which means that the country has been forced to bring face to face with the threat. A threat is regarded to have been made when a speaker's statement was given as a serious threat under specific circumstance, that the statement as a serious expression of an intention in order to conflict statement not be the result of mistake or coercion.

In other words, they are obliged to do so. Moreover, the antonym of the item *threat* with *safety* and *security* shows where the bad and good sides are. Thus, he is using the strategy of being defensive rather than aggressive.

The reference *our* and *us* show that the confrontation is not personal; everybody is included. These implicatures pragmatic devices whereby speakers implicate some meanings. It could be said that he is trying to persuade the audience by making the case general and everybody is going to be affected by its consequences. The marker *gathering* supports the previous idea and is used to attract the listeners attention to the fact that they are facing gathering forces so they have to get gathered too. This time, persuasion is done through the implicit warning and the strategy of a shared antagonist is fulfilled.

The strategy of persuasion used in the second sentence is that he starts to add information (strategy of data) in order to clarify what he has already said. Political information selection goes beyond predicting political behavior to explaining how and why political communication influences cognitions, emotions, and behaviors of audience. After stating the reasons, he now states the means to achieve the results of those reasons and one of those means is the shiny marker *Supporting* which is

used anaphorically . The function of this anaphoric use of *supporting* is for focusing attention on ideas, and help enhance the power of speech to be acceptable and more persuasive. His using of the appeal of emotion; he wants the audience to support his determination to stop his enemy this creates sense of unity, and emphasizes similarities within the group, whereas exaggerate differences with other groups. And when this is achieved, *members of Congress will send a clear message to Saddam*. Furthermore, he supports this strategy by the limitation of time. It seems that he is saying that time is cosumming and we need your support right now in order to send a message to Saddam. He is rushing them for a support. The next clause explains what the message is going to be. There is a logical appeal in which the speaker shows the means of solving the problem and then gives the results of those means stated through a doubled action: first, *show the resolve of the United States, and second the spur of the united nation*. Both form the strategy of data. This rhetoric device is mainly geared towards persuasion and conviction .

The use of references “*our*” and “*us*” in the first sentence clause (a) and (b) show that the confrontation is not personal; everybody is included. It could be said that he is trying to persuade the audience by making the case general and every body is going to be affected by its consequence. The marker “*Gathering*” in the first sentence clause (b) supports the pervious idea and is used to attract the listeners attention to the fact that they are facing gathering forces so they have to get gathered too. This time, persuasion is done through the implicit warning and the strategy of shared antagonist is fulfilled.

In sentence three clause (a) the speaker explains what the message is going to be through a logical appeal strategy in which the speaker shows the means of solving the problem and then gives results

In the fourth sentence the speaker clarifies the actions, how to solve these problems. He refers to those means of solving these problems

through double actions: first “*show the resolve of United States*”, and the second spur of the United Nation”. The speaker uses the strategy of logic and data to do so.

The main lexical marker in this speech is “*support*” which is mentioned two times; the first time in sentence two clause (b), and the second time in sentence four clause (a). This word means that the speaker is always seeking help and emotion to persuade his audience, this is done through emotion strategy. The politician t uses alliteration to help drive key points home. Therefore such technique would draws attention to those particular words and serves as valuable technique for highlighting significant words and ideas. All the devices and techniques in the aforementioned levels are strategically as well as ideologically geared towards serving certain ends by the users.

4.5.13.3. Policy

The policy used in this speech is again the policy of disarmament, Unilateral Action. The speaker draws the attention of the world to the danger growing by Saddam Hussein and it is the time to stop this danger, to work on building a common ground and mutual cooperation and providing a sense of standing and strong unity which the speaker refers to it “*United Nations*” in the last sentence clause (b) of this speech.

4.5.14 Speech (14) 10 October 2002: Cincinnati Ohio

“ (1) (a) we agree (b) that the Iraqi dictator must not be permitted (c) to threaten America (d) and the world with horrible poisons and diseases and gases and atomic weapons. (2)(a) Over the years (b) Iraq has provided a safe haven to terrorists such as Abu Nidal, (c) whose terror organization carried out more than 90 terrorist attacks in 20 countries (d) that killed or injured nearly 900 people, including 12 Americans.” (3) (9) I have asked Congress to

authorize the use of American's military (b) if it proves necessary, (c) to enforce U.N. Security Council demands”(Int.7).

4.5.14.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Clause Relations are logical relations that are established between any one stretch of text and its contiguous one. The structure of these relations show that coherent stretches of a text are connected to other coherent stretches of it by means of complex combination. This speech has the following Clause Relations:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1) (a)+(b)	Amplification/ Predicate Specification
• (1) (b)+(c)	Setting Conduct/ Event- Location
• (1) (c)+(d)	Bonding/ Statement- Exemplification
• (2) (a)+(b)	Temporal/ Temporal Overlap
• (2) (b)+(c)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (2) (c)+(d)	Amplification/ Predicate- Speciation
• (2)+(3)	Cause-Effect/ Ground Consequence
• (3) (a)+(b)	Cause- Effect/ Condition- Consequence
• (3) (b)+(c)	Cause- Effect/ Reason- Result

4.5.14.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

This speech begins with the reference “we” which is in the first sentence of this speech clause (a), this means that the speaker president Bush is using the strategy of a superordinate shared goal in this speech which is signaled by the reference marker “WE” . The use of reference marker “we”

means that the speaker combines himself inclusively with the audience with whom he can work together, it may be a shared issue stand for himself where he promises his audience that he will be armed with courage, persistence and patience to end all forms of tension and lack of confidence. The employment of "We" here seems to be oriented towards creating a self-confidence image as well as an apparent endeavor to enhance collectivity in seeking and achieving this task. The speaker and his audience are incorporated in the use of *We* in the above speech. And he is trying to confirm this goal and making it sure signaled by the lexical item *agree*.

He then resorts to the strategy of data through which past and new information are given to remind the listeners on the points they agreed upon and at the same time confirm that Saddam is a shared antagonist deserved to be punished for his deeds. The demands on the source and data have to do with credibility and the feeling sympathy the source evokes.

In sentence two the speaker is still with logic and data strategy which typically depends on new information or on the reorganization of existing information. This strategy is clear in his speech from the lexical marker and information the speaker refers to *"over the year Iraq has provided safe haven to terrorists such as Abu Nidal"*, *"whose terror organization carried out more than 90 terrorist attacks in 20 countries (d) that killed or injured nearly 900 people, including 12 Americans"*. In this sentence we have several numbers (90 , 20 , 900 , 12 .) Number-game is used by language users in general and politicians in particular to serve certain ends such as to maximize or minimize the size, importance or enormity of some things or some issues. Politician's interest is not to provide arguments on the issues, instead they address a wider audience using a familiar mode in order to attract the attention of the public and persuade them that their policy is right, that their criticisms are justified, and that they have something better to offer.

In the last sentence , the speaker states his conclusion and the action to be taken in the future, the speaker as the agent presents the addressee as being responsible for the speaker's future action. He is foreshadowing for a military action . The word "threaten" refers that it is plausible that the speaker likes the addressee (or hearer) , so that the face threatening act does not reflect a negative evaluation of the hearer's face , raising of dangerously emotional or divisive topics , here , the speaker raises the possibility of face – threatening acts occurring . He is trying to make people understand that he is not hasty in doing that and he is going to do only if it is necessary .

It may be said that the overall clause relation is Ground – conclusion . The ground is the superordinate goal which is to save America from terrorist and the conclusion is a stand by action . These semantic relations concern the way that the interpretation of one member is based on the lexical selection of the other.

4.5.14.3. Policy

The policy used in this speech is the policy of containment of weapons of mass distraction under United Nations Auspices. The speaker provides more details that help to clarify that the enemy is not only targeting America only, but also other nations, so the speech is connected with the speaker's desire and determination to fight and win over terrorism in all its forms.

4.5.15. Speech (15) 10 October 2002: Press Statement

" (1) (a) The House of Representative has spoken clearly to the world (b) and to the United Nations Security Council (c) the gathering threat of Iraq must be confronted fully and finally. (2) (a) Today's vote also sends a clear message to the Iraqi regime: (b) it must disarm and comply with all existing- U.N resolutions, (c) or it will be forced to comply. (3) (a) There are no other options for the Iraqi regime, (b) there can be no

negotiations (c) the days of Iraq acting as an outlaw state are coming to an end". (Int.7).

4.5.15.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Clause Relations concern the way the interpretation of one member based on the lexical selection of the other. The two dominant ways of relating clauses are those of matching and logical sequence . matching is “ characterized by a high degree of systematic repetition between its clause , and by the semantics of compatibility or incompatibility “ (Winter , 1994 : 50) . Logical sequence , on the other hand , is “ concerned with representing selective change in a time / space continuum from simple time / space change to deductive or causal sequence “ (ibid : 52) In this speech the following Clause Relations have been found:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1) (a)+(b)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (1) (b)+(c)	Amplification/ Predicate Specification
• (1)+(2)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (2) (a)+(b)	Amplification/ Predicate- Specification
• (2) (b)+(c)	Alternation/ Contrastive Alternation
• (2)+(3)	Cause- Effect/ Ground- Conclusion
• (3) (a)+(b)	Paraphrase/ Paraphrase
• (3) (b)+(c)	Paraphrase/ Paraphrase

4.5.15.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

In the first sentence and in clause (a) specifically, the speaker has used the strategy reframing and trying to make the case as public as possible

marked by the *"House of Representative"* and confirmed in the second clause with *"the United Nations"* the coupling has been put some weight on the case and announces it as a public one. Coupling is the second member adds at least one new proposition to the first . This relation involves restatement without amplification . Paraphrase means that the same propositional content is expressed in different ways in . the second member adds at least one new proposition to the first . In the final clause of sentence one the speaker spells out the house of representative and *"the United Nations Security Council"* decision to confront the Iraqi forces.

In the second sentence the speaker is trying to persuade the listeners that the international community is ready to enforce the Iraqi regime that will be forced to act that through the shared goal strategy. It is the goal of United Nations to disarm Iraqi regime. . The potential face threat of an act (in this case) is minimized to ensure that the speaker wants at least some of the hearer's wants . here by the implication . It is plausible that the speaker likes the addressee (or hearer) , so that the face threatening act does not reflect a negative evaluation of the hearer's face. The use of United Nation refers that the speaker in this speech use the implicit threaten to his enemy a threat is regarded to have been made when a speaker's statement was given as a serious threat under specific circumstance ,

In sentence three the speaker uses the strategy of data and logic which is the persuasion through reasoning about the veracity, logic or usefulness of the speaker's ideas to transfer his opinion to the listeners that there is no way, Saddam should end out law state of his force, or there will be a punishment by the International Community Persuasion through reasoning (about the veracity, logic or usefulness of the speaker's ideas) .The speaker usually attempts to make the hearer to do something for him to make the world fit the words via the listener by directing them to perform an act.

4.5.15.3. Policy

The Policy used in this speech is the policy of containment of weapons of mass destruction to stop Saddam to threaten America and the world under United Nations Auspices. Political discourse is also characterized by the use of technical words which are usually translatable into different meanings. Strategic nuclear weapon which means large nuclear bomb of immense destructive power .

4.5.16. Speech(16) 21 October 2002: Press Conference Washington, DC

“(1)(a)We’ve tried diplomacy; (b)we’re trying it one more time. (2)(a)I believe the free world,(b)if we make up our mind to, can disarm this man peacefully. (3)(a)But if not (b)if not , (c)we have the will and the desire, (d)as do other nations, (e)to disarm Saddam. (4)(a)Its up to him to make that decision(b)and its up to the united Nations. (5)(a)And we’ll determine here soon(b)whether the United Nations has got the will, (c)and then it’s up to Saddam to make the decision”. (Int.7)

4.5.16.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Clause Relations consist of two parts combined with an optional relation indicator. Each one of the two relation parts can be a sentence or paragraph. Possible combinations of the items of metastructure have been demonstrated depending on the speeches’ purpose and the audience’s knowledge . Speech sixteen detected the following of the Clause Relations :

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1) (a)+(b)	Bonding/ Coupling
• (1) + (2)	Bonding / Statement –Exemplification
• (2) (a)+ (b)	Cause – Effect/ Condition – Consequence
• (2) + (3)	Bonding / Contrastive coupling

• (3)(a) + (b)	Bonding / Coupling
• (3) (b)+(c)	Cause – Effect / Condition- Consequence
• (3)(c)+(d)	Matching/ Simple Comparison
• (3)(c)+(d)	Setting – Conduct – Event – Direction
• (3) + (4)	Cause – Effect / Ground – Conclusion
• (4)(a)+(b)	Bonding / Coupling
• (4) + (5)	Bonding / Coupling
• (5)(a)+ (b)	Cause – Effect / Condition – Consequence
• (5)(a)+(b)	Bonding / Coupling

4 . 5 . 16 . 2 . Strategies of Persuasion Used

In the first sentence clause(a)the speaker depends on the strategy of appealing emotion, which is regarded one of the strongest and most influential strategies in public speaking order to stir the listeners attention's towards the desired action through the use of many rhetorical devices such as vivid metaphors. Another point is meeting the motivations of them and keeping them in balance with the possibility of achieving theme . In other words, to make the message more attractive, and comprehensible, and affect emotions and intellect of the audience .

In this strategy the speaker leys on the uses of reverences for civic virtue which is marked by “diplomacy”. One of the most important points to be emphasized in public speaking is the speaker's awareness of the socio-psychological nature of his/her audience since they have different experiences, lifestyles, attitudes, necessities, desires,... etc. So from autocracy up to democracy, politicians in political systems have been aware of the power of the spoken word and its magic dictates upon the ears of audiences through stirring their emotions and penetrating their hearts where they can legitimize their actions and support their leaderships .This

conformation by the spells of language and public speaking is not an easy task as it appeals to be.

In the second sentence clause (a) and (b) the speaker uses the strategy of being defensive rather than aggressive, the speaker wants the addressee to do something according to the speaker's wish, when he expresses his wishes and desire of a free world "I believe the free world", in clause (a) second sentence, and "disarm this man" in clause (b) in the same sentence

In the last two sentences, four and five the speaker uses two strategies: first is the ethos strategy to gain trust of audience, follows rules of decorum, when he returns the issue to United Nations Political discourse is intended to involve all citizens in the making of the decision, to persuade others through valid information and logic, and to clarify what course of action would be most effective in solving a social problem be able to master language as means of representation establishing a form of unity which embraces individuals in a collective identity regardless of racial, religious, social, gender, or political barriers which may separate them. "It's up to the United Nations" sentence four clause (b) and "whether the United Nations has got the will" in sentence five clause (b). For politicians to persuade people they have to share their values to A range of analytic methods have been applied

These functions can be effectively performed through the use of presuppositions. The ultimate goal of most presuppositions is to make a piece of information that the speaker believes appear to be what the listeners. In order to make the case more persuasive the speaker moves to use more rhetorical devices such as euphemism which is a tool for political leaders to control information transmission. It plays the role of hiding the truth and legalizing wrong behaviors; it influences people's sense of right and wrong as well as their understanding of the objective world, hence succeeding in persuading them politicians are to a large extent keen in

selecting the kind of information they transmit to their audiences in such a way that they put their main concentration on how to win the approval .

In political discourse , speakers often display their opinions and ideologies in a roundabout way . They make utilization of resources that are provided by language , among which , politician can make use of the figurative language , particularly metaphors , which have long been considered as an outstanding characteristic of rhetoric . Politicians use metaphors to reproduce power , ideology , and many other discursive concepts , for metaphor can bring ideas by comparison with other ideas on the basis of cognitive knowledge that people have . effective speakers make frequent use of metaphor , an utterance without a metaphor is like a day without the . Second, the strategy of being defensive which involves establishing an argument to convince audience, one must attend to clarify , honesty, and emotional impact of the argument as well as to logic construction. Through using the “ Greek “ word “ Pathos “ , which means a feeling of pity or compassion . Emotional appeals can be vey powerful , though they work best in concert with rational appeals ; and can be especially effective in a conclusion . Through suggesting something better to the audience that Saddam Hussein must look at the situation from Bush’s point of view and thinks this may serve to help him. This is clear through the marker “Its up to him to make that decision ”, in sentence four clause(a), “him” refers to Saddam Hussein anaphorically .The use of this rhetorical device is for focusing attention on key words, ideas, and help enhance the persuasive power of speech, and also in sentence five clause(c) “it’s up to Saddam to make the decision”.

4.5.16.3. Policy

The policy used in this speech is the disarmament policy. The speaker demands Saddam Hussein to disarm *“he himself do that or the United State will do that by its own will”*. Collocates have also their share on the tongues of politicians where sets of words usually tend to co-occur as if their meanings are interdependent and inseparable. Politicians are active

collocate makers where the assemblage of words seems an easy task at their hands.

4 . 5 . 17 . Speech (17) 25 October 2002 : Press Conference with President Jian Zemin

“(1)(a) I made it clearly to the president of China (b)that I am interested in seeing to it (c)that the United Nations is effective . (d)effective in disarming Saddam Hussein. (2)(a)That’s what the United Nations has said for 11 years(b)that Saddam ought to disarm. (3)(a)And, therefore, any resolution that evolves must be one(b)which does the job of holding Saddam Hussein to account. (4)(a)That includes a rigorous , new and vibrant inspections regime, (b)the purpose of which is disarmament ,(c)not inspection for the sake of inspection ”.

4.5.17.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Clause Relations have at their basis the proposition as the abstract unity analysis . This speech has the following Clause Relations:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1)(a) + (b)	Temporal Overlap
• (1)(b) + (c)	Bonding/Statement Exemplification
• (1)(c) + (d)	Amplification/Predicate – Specification
• (1) + (2)	Amplification/Term - Specification
• (2)(a) + (b)	Amplification/Predicate – Specification
• (2) + (3)	Cause- Effect / Reason – Result

• (3)(a) + (b)	Cause- Effect / Means – Result
• (3) + (4)	Cause- Effect / Reason – Result
• (4)(a) + (b)	Cause- Effect / Reason – Result

4. 5 . 1 7.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

All clauses in sentence one appears that the speaker depends on the strategy of appealing to emotion which the speaker regards it to be more effective in its conclusion , because of its creating a certain disposition in audience such as a rouse hostility against opponent . This is clear in all sentence for example “I am interested in seeing, that the United Nations is effective in disarming Saddam Hussein.” The markers “I am interested, in seeing, disarming Saddam Hussein proves that the speaker a rouses hostility against opponent who is Saddam Hussein ”. 'I' here denotes authority and power which reflects institutional identity and personal experience.

In second sentence the speaker appeals to data and logic typically relies on the existing information. Political information selection goes beyond predicting political behavior to explaining how and why political communication influences cognitions , emotions , and behaviors of audiences . politicians are to a large extent keen in selecting the kind of information they transmit to their audiences in such a way that they put their main concentration on how to win the approval . In political discourse , speakers often display their opinions and ideologies in a roundabout way . They make utilization of resources that are provided by language , among which , politician can make use of the figurative language , particularly metaphors , which have long been considered as an outstanding characteristic of rhetoric . Politicians use metaphors to reproduce power , ideology , and many other discursive concepts , for metaphor can bring ideas by comparison with other ideas on the basis of cognitive knowledge

that people have . *This “what the United Nations has said for 11 years”, “that Saddam ought to disarm”.*

Third sentence show that the addresser uses the strategy of logic as an attempt to persuade his addressees. Persuasion through reasoning (about the veracity, logic or usefulness of the speaker's ideas). In an appeal to conscience the speaker is relying on shared values that is seen as in accord with these values. This signifies from the marker *“any resolution that involve must be one which does the job of holding Saddam Hussein to account.”* This indicates that he speaker as a source of authority or power, who provides orders. The logical arguments have the power to motivate people to respond and act though the use of series of clause relation denotes and result which appear in this sentence in both clause(a)and(b).

It is obvious that sentence four is the continuous of sentence three in which the speaker is still depending on the logic argument in a series of clause –purpose to motivate the listeners to do something for him. This is clear through the clauses (a)(b)in four sentence *“...includes a rigorous , new and vibrant inspections .. ”*, *“the purpose of which is disarmament ”the means , new and vibrant inspections, the purpose is disarmament which audience to do for him.* The language of leadership needs to be effective , and metaphors can make language effective . Metaphors is" the use of language to refer to something other than what it was originally applied to , or what it literally means , in order to suggest some resemblance or make a connection between the two things "the theory holds that metaphor is central to thought ,and therefore to language . It aims at controlling the attitude then the behavior of the recipient.

4.5.17.3. Policy

The Policy used in this speech is the disarmament policy in order to force Saddam Hussein to disarm and stop developing the weapons of mass destruction . This is shown in the rigorous and vibrant inspection. Here, the semantic(or linguistic) context shows that prevention is not an option but

rather a necessity to maintain the world peace and secure stability. .
According to Danet et al (1980 : 183) , a threat is regarded to have been made when a speaker's statement was given as a serious threat under specific circumstance , whenever a certain person foreshows that the statement as a serious expression of an intention in order to conflict statement not be the result of mistake or coercion .

Speech (18) 20 November 2002 : Press Conference with President Havel

“ We did talk about Iraq. (2)(a)There is Universal recognition(b)that Saddam Hussein is a threat to world peace. (3)(a)There is clear understanding (b) that he must disarm in the name of peace (4)We hope he chooses to do so. (5)(Tomorrow we'll discuss the issue. (6)(a)We'll consider(b)what happens(c) if he chooses not to disarm. (7)(a)But one thing is certain ; (b)he'll be disarmed, (c)one way or the other in the name of peace.(Int.7)

4.5.18.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Clause relations may be situation –evaluation , and hypothetical –real . In situation –evaluation , the situation, what is we know, and it can predict basis or reason, while the evaluation, is what we think about what we know and predict justification . Hypothetical, is a hypothetical situation, real, is the evaluation of a reality . Winter believes that the “ clause “ is basis of discourse structure . Yet his use of the term is not simply that of traditional grammar . His “ clause relations “ are away of the information of one clause in the light of other clause , (Winter, 1974 : 59) . Speech (18) has the following Clause Relations:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1) + (2)	Bonding /Statement – Exemplification
• (2)(a) + (b)	Amplification /Predicate-Specification
• (2) + (2)	Bonding / Coupling
• (3)(a) + (2)	Amplification/Predicate - Specification
• (3) + (4)	Cause –Effect / Ground- Conclusion
• (4) + (5)	Bonding / Coupling
• (5) + (6)	Paraphrase/ Paraphrase
• (6)(a)+ (b)	Amplification / Predicate- specification
• (6)(b) + (c)	Cause- Effect / Condition- Consequence
• (6) + (7)	Bonding / Contrastive – Coupling
• (7)(a)+ (b)	Amplification / Predicate- Specification
• (7)(b)+ (c)	Matching /Simple - Contrast

4.5.18.2 . Strategies of Persuasion Used

This speech shows the following strategies:

In first and second sentence the speaker based on the strategy of shared antagonist in order to unity the goal. This is clear indicated in the marker “Universal recognition” which appears in clause(a)sentence two. The other marker also in sentence two, but in clause(b)that is “... World peace”. The speaker expresses that he can work together with the world to achieve peace. , the speaker is attempting to encounteract any future weakness , he already binds himself for the future , in order to reflect that no difficulties could weaken his resolve , A speaker wants his act to be

public ,therefore , his failure to keep and achieve what he is saying would also be public , and consequently would contain a public loss of face .

Third sentence shows that the speaker is being defensive rather than aggressive , through the strategy of being defensive. This clear indicated in clause(b) of the sentence in the marker “.....*in the name of peace*”. Which world, not standing against anyone. Politicians are active collocates makers where the assemblage of words seems an easy task at their hands
Politicians are active collocates makers where the assemblage of words seems an easy task at their hands.

Rhetorical techniques are no exception in being heavily used in the language of politics where politicians can attain evasiveness not through decoration but through well-calculated exploitation so that strategic goals are successfully reached and effectively operated. Through metaphor, contrast, citing, number-game,...etc., politicians can arouse their audience's feelings and attain them on their sides.

Sentence four indicates that the speaker appeals to emotion strategy in which he tries to use the display of piety through the marker “hope” which is appeared in this sentence. Semantic, pragmatic as well as rhetorical aspects are almost always used in pragmatic, rhetorical tools and heavily depended on semantics in this analyses.

In sentence five the speaker resorts to more clarification of reorganized information through the strategy of logic and data in an attempts to persuade his audience. The Appeal to Ethics and Emotions Rhetorician have established that appeal to ethics and emotions constitutes a strategy that many support appealing to reason but never to be a substitute for it .This is clear significant from the marker “*Tomorrow we’ll discuss a previous issue*” that is the disarmament of Saddam Hussein. Implicit meanings of various types also constitute a means of diverting at "Persuaders" use variety of techniques to grasp our attention to establish credibility and trust, to stimulate desire for the product, or policy, and to motivate us to act. These techniques are called principles .It refers to the tendency to employ

positive politeness forms, highlighting closeness between speaker and hearer. This may be the principal operating strategy among a whole group or it may be option used by an individual speaker on a particular occasion. Linguistically, such a strategy will include personal information, Frequently, a solidarity strategy will be marked via inclusive terms such as 'we'. Through the use of present tense (indicating future time) , the speaker seems more superior than the addressee. , the higher the power degree of the addressee will result in the greater of the speaker's capability to perform the threatening action .

Sentence six the speaker uses the strategy of logic which is called the induction strategy. The speaker uses the conditional relation in clause(a)and (b) "*we'll consider* ", "*what happens*". The results indirectly refers to the threaten the speaker refers to it . Then they clarify that the speaker's utterance obligates himself to carry out a course of events , which is based on the condition that the hearer wants the speaker to do something , this is from one way , and the intention that the hearer believes that the speaker's utterance is sincere and obligates him to do that offering action. The condition is "*if he choose not to disarm*" in clause (c). the speaker employs *if-clause* to create a counterfactual presupposition. Through the *if-clause* construction, the speaker initiates a presupposition to reflect the fact that there are needs which should be faced as soon as possible. Counterfactual suppositions are created through the use of *If-clause*. The use of such conditional structure by the speaker indicates that what is supposed is not only not true but also *contrary to facts*. This condition is a kind of threaten which is regarded to have been made when a speaker's statement was given as a serious threat under specific circumstance , whenever a certain person foreshows that the statement as a serious expression of an intention in order to conflict statement not be the result of mistake or coercion . the speaker gives the hearer possible reason to fear him.

In sentence seven the audience can catch the strategy of emotion through which the speaker requires state of emotion in the hearers to

persuade them. This is clear in clause(c)that refers to live peacefully in the world and disarm Saddam the marker is “*he’ll be disarmed*” “*on one or the other in the name of peace*”. Emotions and connotations in the hearts and minds of the audience through the selection of connotative words, by doing so audience will often be more easily and ready to accept, believe and act upon the speech information without thorough checking.

4.5.18.3 Policy

The Policy used in this speech is again the policy of disarmament. The international society should disarm in one way or the other using the name of peace to do that. These needs and challenges couldn't be confronted without understanding that they are dangers facing us all (as humans) and their consequences affect us all. This presupposition is highly important because it enables the speaker to keep maintaining that the future is shared and the failure of anyone is inevitably a failure of all. Consequently, President Bush implicitly indicates that all countries are targeted by these challenges and have to be aware of that and to work collectively on solving them together.

4. 5 . 19 . Speech(19) 28 January 2003: State of the Union Address

“(1)(a) In all these efforts, however, (b)the American's purpose is more than to follow a process, (c)it is to achieve a result :(d)the end of terrible threats to the civilized world. (2)All free nations have a state in preventing sudden and catastrophic attacks. (3)(a)And we’re asking them to join us, (b)and many are doing so. (4)Yet the course of this nation does not depend on the decision of others. (5)(a)whatever action is required, (b)whenever action is necessary , (c) I will defend the freedom and security of the American people. (Int.7)

4.5.19.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Clause Relations are based upon the assumption that any two communicative sentences when put together only function as a unified message by virtue of their compatibility in meaning or the consensus of the expected meaning between sentences. Winter , (1994 : 50) believes that the two dominant ways of relating clauses are those of matching and logical sequence , matching is “ characterized by a high degree of systematic repetition between its clause , and by the semantics of compatibility or incompatibility .We can find the following Clause Relations in the following speech:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1)(a) + (b)	Truth-Value / Concession / Contraexpectation
• (1)(b) + (c)	Bonding /Statement – Exemplification
• (1)(c) + (d)	Amplification/Predicate - Specification
• (1) + (2)	Cause- Effect/ Ground – Conclusion
• (2) + (3)	Bonding / Coupling
• (3)(a) + (b)	Matching / Simple contrast
• (3) + (4)	Truth–Value/Conclusion/ Contraexpectation
• (4) + (5)	Cause – Effect / Ground – Conclusion
• (5)(a) + (b)	Bonding / Coupling
• (5)(b)+ (c)	Temporal / Temporal overlap

4.5.19.2. Strategies of Persuasion Used

The main strategy used in this speech is the strategy of appealing to emotion which is used in four sentences of this speech, namely they are : sentence one, clause (d) “*the end of terrible threat to the civilized world*” . The use of violent emotions expressions in this case , the speaker gives the

hearer “ possible reason “ to fear him in order to be embarrassed by him this allows the speaker to express overtly about the precise state of affairs which he wants the addressee to carry out , a threat is regarded to have been made when a speaker’s statement was given as a serious threat under specific circumstance , whenever a certain person foreshows that the statement as a serious expression of an intention in order to conflict statement not be the result of mistake or coercion .Elaborately , the speaker wants the addressee to do something according to the speaker’s wish.

Sentence two “*preventing sudden and catastrophic attack*”, . The verb *prevent* simply means *to stand against(or stop) doing something by someone*,. Here, the semantic (or linguistic) context shows that prevention is not an option but rather a necessity to maintain the world peace and secure stability. Positive face” which refers to the approach – based , which indicating that the speaker wants the hearer’s wants because in this case , he will treat him as a friend , a member of an ingroup this is minimized to ensure that the speaker wants at least some of the hearer’s wants .

Sentence four “... *this nation does not depend on the decision of others*”, the speaker expresses his commitment to maintain and support freedom , democratically elected governments worldwide, and sentence five clause(c) The personal experience is emphasized in “where the speaker tells how he has seen. This premeditated and skillful use of “I” which reflects the speaker’s very own experience “*I will defend the freedom and security*” *Freedom* is on the same semantic scale of *liberty, self-determination, interdependence, choice, free will,...etc.* All these words can be synonymous with *freedom* and all have semantic positiveness . This use of emotion strategy by the speaker is to produce generous return to the speaker from his audience in an attempt of appeal the viewing public. The speaker is threatening to lead a war on terrorism to defend the freedom and security of the American people , but in emotional persuasive way. Since the speaker seeking to establish security and stability, those who do not stand

by it will be directly or indirectly supporting non-stability and non-security and thus standing by outlaws and extremists.

Sentence three strategy's of persuasion is different from the strategies used in the rest of this speech which is the strategy of logic through which the speaker expresses general knowledge in an attempt to persuade his listeners. The speaker depends on how much background knowledge does the receiver have, and what is his attitudes? How involved is the listener with the topic. This is clear in clause(a) "*we are asking them to join us*". The words' *we* "and" *us*" have special case of interpretation. The uses of *our* –the possessive form of *We*- to refer to the international community. This is not only a mere reference but rather a kind of invitation that other nations have to share in maintaining their political and moral responsibility and not to keep themselves in the position of a spectator. Implicit meanings of various types also constitute a means of diverting at "Persuaders" use variety of techniques to grasp our attention to establish credibility and trust, to stimulate desire for the product, or policy, and to motivate us to act. It refers to the tendency to employ positive politeness forms, highlighting closeness between speaker and hearer. This may be the principal operating strategy among a whole group or it may be option used by an individual speaker on a particular occasion. Frequently, a solidarity strategy will be marked via inclusive terms such as 'we'.

Thus, we may affirm that by means of solidarity strategy the speaker intends to build close relationship, and create common ground by reducing the social distance between the addresser and the addressee with the ultimate goal of persuasion. rightly asserts that "when analyzing the language of a political text, it is important to look at the way the language reflects the ideological position of those who have created it, and how the ideological position of the readers will affect their response .

4.5.19.3. Policy

Again the policy used here is the policy of disarmament, but this time through the Unilateral action , to arouse a high sense of collectivity and sharedness with some kind of moral responsibility and authority.

4.5 . 20. Speech(20) 26 February 2003 : On the Future of Iraq,AE1

“(1)(a) The danger posed by Saddam Hussein and his weapons cannot be ignored (b)or washed away . (2)The danger must be confronted . (3)(a)We hope (b)that the Iraqi regime will meet the demands of the United Nations (c)and disarm, (d)fully and peacefully . (4)If it does not, we are prepared to disarm Iraq by force. (5)Either way, this danger will be removed .

(6)The safety of the American people depends on ending this direct and growing threat. (7)(a) Acting against the danger will also contribute greatly(b)to the long-term safety and stability of our world. (8)(a)The current Iraqi regime has shown the power of tyranny(b)to spread discord and violence in the Middle East. (9)(a) A liberated Iraq can show the power of freedom to transform that vital region , (c)by bringing hope and progress into the lives of millions. (10)(a)American’s interests in security, (b)and American’s belief in liberty , (c)both lead in the same direction , (d)to a free and peaceful Iraq (Int.7).

4.5.20.1. Types of the Clause Relations

Clause Relations connect elements of a text at all levels by persuasive meaning which centers around the four basic metastructures of “ *Situation – Problem – Solution – Evaluation* “. Possible combinations of the items of metastructure have been demonstrated depending on the writer’s purpose and the reader’s knowledge . The following Clause Relations are found:

No. of Clause Relation	Specification
• (1)(a) + (b)	Alternation/Supplementary – Alternation
• (1) + (2)	Cause – Effect / Ground – Conclusion
• (2) + (3)	Bonding / Coupling
• (3)(a) + (b)	Amplification/ Predicate –Specification
• (3)(b) + (c)	Bonding / Coupling
• (3)(c) + (b)	Setting conduct / Event – Manner
• (3) + (4)	Cause – Effect /Reason – Result
• (4)(a) + (b)	Cause – Effect / Condition – Consequence
• (4) + (5)	Alternation/Supplementary – Alternation
• (5) + (6)	Cause – Effect / Ground – Conclusion
• (6) + (7)	Bonding / Coupling
• (7)(a) + (b)	Setting conduct / Event – direction
• (7) + (8)	Cause – Effect / Ground – Conclusion
• (8)(a) + (b)	Setting conduct / Event – direction
• (8) + (9)	Bonding / Contrastive – Coupling
• (9)(a) + (b)	Amplification/ Predicate –Specification
• (9)(b) + (c)	Cause – Effect /Reason – Result
• (9) + (10)	Cause – Effect / Ground – Conclusion
• (10)(a) + (b)	Bonding / Coupling
• (10)(b) + (c)	Setting conduct / Event – direction
• (10)(c) + (d)	Amplification / Term – Specification

4. 5. 20 . 2 . Strategies of Persuasion Used

the structure of an argument and the way a good argument draws to support a conclusion is the logic strategy which is appeared clearly in first and second sentence , in which the speaker is putting the ground or base for his discussion and then draws the conclusion . Both sentence one clause (a and two are linked together with the same option that the confrontation of danger, . This is obvious through the marker "*danger*" which is used at the beginning of the two sentences has led to arousing a sense of *fear* and *anger* against the offenders. Since America has been traumatized by these attacks, it is natural that the reaction –even if it is no good- is completely justifiable.

The speaker considers this danger as a ground or base which leads to conclusion of disarming the target who is Saddam Hussein. This is clear in sentence two "*the danger must be confronted*" in order to achieve his aim which is the disarming of the Iraqi regime. The speaker wants to say that each and everyone of us is responsible for every dying child. and we will all share responsibility in the case of an upcoming humanitarian disaster in Iraq.

In sentence three the defensive strategy is very clear through the lexical items "*hope*" in clause (a) , "*peacefully*" in clause(d). But this kind of defensive is conditioned by the lexical item "*disarm*" which is clear in clause (c) .Then they clarify that the speaker's utterance obligates himself to carry out a course of events , which is based on the condition that the hearer wants the speaker to do something , this is from one way , and the intention that the hearer believes that the speaker's utterance is sincere and obligates him to do that offering action . "These values are created through a complete semantic network where attractive words and expressions are used to serve the ideopolitical ends of the speaker. Persuasion through the arousal of emotion . When the audience is lacking some quality product or service- worth, power, safety, health that the speaker may be able to 'provide.

Sentence five is the extension of the idea of the previous sentence to work together to remove the danger in a shared antagonist strategy .Persuasion through personality and stance that the speaker is honest, interesting and worthy of attention and respect. view persuasion as that transmitted symbolic act which intends to modify, form, or strengthen the opinions, beliefs, values, attitudes, and/or behaviour of oneself or others.

In sentence six the speaker uses the strategy of being defensive. This is clear through the lexical item "*safety of the American people*" America is the center around which President Bush creates a semantic horizon of attractive attributes and values through using semantically positive words and expressions. America is associated with safety , and *freedom*, which means that the speaker is seeking for safety and peace to persuade his audience to confront the growing threat . Words have power, and great influence to persuade.. Persuasion through reasoning (about the veracity, logic or usefulness of the speaker's ideas)

In sentence seven the speaker again resorts to the strategy of being defensive , the one who is seeking for safely and stability or the world . This is clear in the lexical item, "*safety and stability of our world*" in clause (b) . Words are the target through the labels he uses. Language provides its users with a variety of sources in such a way that enables them to encode their messages dexterously and flexibly yet they require tactful mastery to be at the hands of their users. In sentence eight the speaker is still with the defensive strategy to persuade his audience to do something against the power of the tyranny. This is shown in clause(a).

In sentence nine and ten the speaker depends on the strategy of being defensive which involves establishing on argument through suggesting something better to the people Political usually and repeatedly talk about certain issues of wide range concerns to create a political picture of the society. This is clear through the lexical items in both sentences like "*liberated*" , "*freedom*" in clause (a) nine sentence, "*bringing hope*" in

clause(c)in the same sentence, “security” in clause (a) sentence ten, “liberty” in clause (b)in the same sentence and finally “free and peaceful” in clause (d) sentence ten . The speaker uses the word *freedom* in association with America -his country- and this word carries semantically mild connotations. *Freedom* is on the same semantic scale of *liberty*. These Factoids are also used to create social reality, and to construct certain beliefs of the world.

The main lexical item in this speech is “*danger*” which is repeated four times in different sentences to show that the speaker is in a defensive status and seeking for peace and safety .This means that the speaker resorts to the Repetition device , which requires the politician to repeat the same idea recurrently. The political actor believes that if he repeats a word, a phrase, or a clause many times, his propositions would be more highlighted, acceptable and memorabl. . The lexical item “*danger*” is also used by the speaker in sentence one clause(b) implicitly, but its function is so important . In other words, the ellipses of this item emphasizes on the topic of washing away the danger. The speaker tries to put the image of washing away the big danger in front of his audience .

In this speech Bush also have another rhetorical technique , the contras which is utilized by language users to shed light on aspects of two situations, states of affairs, characters,...etc through a contrastive comparison. This contrastive comparison is very overt and it can be exploited by speakers to emphasize safety of one side and danger of the other.

This speech is also depends on a directive Speech Act in which the speaker insist on removing all kinds of danger in the with this kind of speech acts, the world is assumed to fit the words being uttered and the psychological state is that of a want (or wish or desire).

Loaded words have their position in political discourse too .They are semantically suggestive and manipulatively exploited by politicians to serve

certain ends. The word *liberated* , “*freedom safety and stability of our world*” seems to be very loaded with positive implications so that its use triggers off lots of good connotations in association with those with whom it is associated.

4.5.20.3. Policy

In this speech the speaker refers to the change of the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein and disarm him either peacefully or by the force of the United Nations. So the policy is the Disarmament and Regime change .

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSIONS ,
RECOMMENDATIONS,
AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THE
FURTHER STUDIES

5.1. Conclusions

The general conclusions concerning the role and nature of clause relations in presidential persuasive texts can be summarized in the following points :

1. Persuasion is a conscious symbolic act made by one individual or a group of individuals. It is the process of guiding people towards the adoption of an idea, attitude, or action by rational and logical means. It relies on “appeals” rather than on force.
2. There are four components involved in the act of persuasion: They are: Situation, Source, Message and Receiver in a given situation. Persuasion begins with the communication of a verbal or non-verbal message by a source. This message consists of an idea discrepant from the receivers ordinary beliefs.
3. The purpose of persuasion is to change , form , modify or strengthen the beliefs , opinions , values , attitudes and / or behaviours of another individual or a group of individuals and sometimes of ourselves. The goal of persuasion is meant to benefit one or more parties in the end.
4. There are different strategies that the persuader may take in order to influence the target audience . The speaker in his argument has

used all types of strategies of persuasion in order to convince the audience for a war against Iraq. Therefore he has manipulated varied types of clause relations and markers to achieve his goal. The strategies are mainly pointed out between one sentences and another whereas their developments are exemplified between the clause of the involved sentences. This validates hypothesis No. 1 which reads that G.W. Bush makes use of persuasion strategies in his speeches as justification for a war against Iraq during the period from January, 20th 2001, to February, 26th 2003.

5. Lexical markers in persuasive texts gain an extra significance manifested in their contribution signaling the way persuasive action is structured and developed , that is lexical markers are one significant means whereby the logic of persuasion is constructed . This validates hypothesis No. 2 which reads the use of persuasion strategies as embedded in a series of clause relation is very noticeable and heavily used in delivering the main intended messages President G.W. Bush wanted to convey to his audience .
6. The role of a given cataphoric signal is setting up a particular expectation as to the nature of the coming clause relation, whereas the role of an anaphoric signal is to provide a means whereby this expectation is verified. At the same time , the anaphoric signal serves as a basis for further prediction of what the writer is going to say next.

7. Elements of a given clause relations may not all be signaled in a text; one lexically signaled member may serve as a possible key to the communicative value of the second unsignaled member.
8. The analysis has shown that persuasive texts are hierarchically structured. By hierarchical structure means the underlying network of interrelated discourse level. The upper most is that the strategies of persuasion that govern the way argument develops, whereas the lexical marker taken as the lowest level within this hierarchy . A sentence may consist more than strategy, each clause may expose a strategy that is different from the other clause in the same sentence.

5.2. Recommendations

In the light of the results of the study, some recommendations can be suggested . These recommendations can be useful for human life in general and the politicians life in particular.

1. Politicians in general and the heads of parties in particular should be acquainted with the strategy of persuasion .
2. Officers who work in public relations and who work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should be provided with the courses of the strategies of persuasion.

3. Because of the importance of the persuasion in general, and in order to enhance the abilities of the Iraqi learners, it is an important imperative to incorporate the strategies of persuasion in the teaching of discourse especially at the University level in both Arabic and English language.

5. 3. Suggestions for the further Studies

The present study has provided the reader with a complete survey of persuasive strategies used by President Bush as justifications for a war against Iraq during the period from January, 20th 2001 to February, 26th 2003 . In other words, the study aims at highlighting the persuasion strategies employed in a political discourse. Besides, there can be further studies that can be conducted on a variety of discourse, tackling other aspects of political discourse.

1. A comparative study can be carried out in both Arabic and English language to investigate the persuasion in the political discourse employed in the election speeches.
2. A further investigation can also be conducted to explore the persuasion used in politicians debates that precede the presidential election period in any Arabic country (such as Iraq) and the United States. The investigation can highlight the strategies of persuasion in these speeches in order to figure out the similarities and differences among Arabic quality of persuasion and /or English quality of persuasion.

3. A further investigation can be approached to conduct a comparative analysis of persuasion in other types of register, in speeches used by President G.W. Bush and Tony Blair at the same period and on the issue (speeches on justifications for a war against Iraq 2003), to figure out the similarities and differences which exist in such speeches.
4. A contrastive study which involves the use of persuasion strategies in the past and present in both languages is also recommended, since this will shed light on whether such strategies have undergone any change quality and /or frequency use.

Appendix & References

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