



Kurdistan Regional Government
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Koya University
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of English Language

Covert and Overt Persuasion: A Rhetorical Analysis Approach to Advertising Language and Election Campaigns

**A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Koya
University as a partial fulfillment for the degree of
Masters of Arts (MA) in English Linguistics**

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AUGUST 2020

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Dedication

It is a genuine gratefulness and warm regard to dedicate this thesis to:

- My lovely parents, who were always there with me
- My beloved siblings
- My sweet nephew (Baran)
- The cutest niece ever (Yaran)
- My awesome friend (Elina)
- Whoever reads this thesis

Acknowledgement

For the very first beginning, I would like to thank Allah, the Almighty, for bestowing me with this golden opportunity to start MA and inspiring me to complete this study with a great determination.

I am extremely grateful to my supervisor and instructor Asst. Prof. Dr. Salah Mohammed for his enormous support, valuable guidance, highly productive advices and endless patience throughout the whole period of writing this thesis.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to all instructors who taught me during MA courses, Dr. Salah M. Salih, Dr. Hoshang Farooq, Dr. Lubna F. Ahmed and Dr. Ilham M. Qadir.

Special and warm thanks go to my parents and family members for their instrumental and relentless encouragement and support throughout my life, and especially during MA study.

Finally, I deem it necessary to grab this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to all my friends who supported and encouraged me even with a single word; the very special thanks go to Elina and Aso Ibrahim whose support and inspiration never wavered.

Abstract

The present study is an academic attempt to explore the status of persuasion, both overt and covert attempts; more precisely, it concentrates on identifying the rhetorical devices, persuasive techniques and strategies employed by politicians and advertisers. What is considered as a problem is the fact that most addressees are basically not aware of the way they are being persuaded by the persuader through utilizing linguistic elements. Hence, the current study aims at developing a taxonomy of rhetorical devices, functions, persuasive techniques and persuasive strategies employed by politicians and advertisers; exploring the functions of certain rhetorical devices in both election campaigns and advertising language; finding out whether politicians use more overt or covert persuasion method as compared to advertisers; identifying the persuasive techniques and persuasive strategies the politicians and advertisers employ.

There are still some questions of direct relevance to the field to be answered, including: How politicians and advertisers try to persuade the voters and consumers? Which method is more common, covert or overt persuasion? Which category (the trope or the scheme) is of great help for the persuader to persuade the voters or consumers through covert persuasion? Is it possible for a rhetorical device to function as a covert persuasion device in one text but as an overt persuasion device in another? Therefore; in accordance with the study questions, it is hypothesized that politicians and advertisers seek to persuade the voters and the consumers through both covert and overt persuasion methods; covert persuasion is more common than overt persuasion; the trope category best functions within covert persuasion, and is of great help for the politicians and advertisers to persuade the addressees; certain rhetorical devices can serve both covert and overt persuasion in different texts.

To verify the hypotheses and analyse the selected data, a broad-based model is adopted. Twenty samples are selected, ten for each political campaign speeches and advertisement texts. In addition, both qualitative and quantitative methods are employed in this study.

This study concludes that election campaign speeches include more covert persuasion attempts than the overt ones, while some limited overt attempts could be perceived made by politicians in their speeches. In addition, it has been found that covert persuasion best functions within the trope category (mainly metaphor, allusion, irony, paradox and rhetorical question). The researcher has also found that in advertising language overt persuasion takes a stronger position compared to political speeches.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem and Research Questions

Both election speeches and advertisement texts are context-bounded and addressee-oriented, which include the attempts and endeavors to persuade the voters and consumers to change attitude; this process involves overt and covert persuasion attempts made by the speaker or the advertiser. There seems to be a problem that most addressees are basically not aware of the way they are being persuaded by the persuader. Although there have been many investigations and academic research in the field of persuasion, there are still some questions of direct relevance to the field to be answered, some of these questions can be summarized as the following:

- 1- How do politicians and advertisers try to persuade the voters and consumers?
- 2- Which method is more common in both election campaign speeches and advertisement texts, covert or overt persuasion?
- 3- Which category (trope or scheme) is of great help for the persuader to persuade the voters or consumers through covert persuasion?
- 4- Is it possible for a rhetorical device to function as a covert persuasion device in one text but as an overt persuasion device in another?

1.2 Research Objectives

The current study is a thorough academic study aiming at the following aims:

- 1- Developing a taxonomy of rhetorical devices, functions, persuasive techniques and persuasive strategies employed by politicians and advertisers.
- 2- Exploring the functions of certain rhetorical devices in both election campaigns and language advertisement.
- 3- Identifying the persuasive techniques and persuasive strategies politicians and advertisers employ.
- 4- Finding out whether or not politicians use more overt or alternatively covert persuasion method as compared to advertisers.

1.3 Research Hypothesis

In accordance with the questions proposed in 1.1, it is hypothesized:

- 1- Both politicians and advertisers seek to persuade their voters and consumers through both covert and overt persuasion methods.
- 2- Covert persuasion is more common than overt persuasion in the political language and politicians desire to keep positive face.
- 3- Overt persuasion is more effective, and thereby more frequent in advertisements.
- 4- The trope category best functions within covert persuasion, and is of great help for the politicians and advertisers to persuade the addressees.
- 5- Certain rhetorical devices can serve both covert and overt persuasion in different texts.

1.4 Research Procedure

In order to arrive at the intended aims and verify the hypotheses, the researcher will follow the following procedures:

- 1- Presenting a precise and concise account of persuasion and the strategies and techniques that serve the process.
- 2- Highlighting the rhetorical devices proposed by some authors with a short amount of discussion.
- 3- Adopting a model out of all the rhetorical devices, persuasive techniques and strategies proposed by different authors and analyzing the data based on the adopted model.
- 4- Samples of English texts, both of election campaign speeches and advertisement slogans are selected; twenty texts are chosen, ten for each field, from internet sources. The political speeches are from United States and UK general elections. All the texts, political and advertisement texts are provided with transcripts, except for one advertisement slogan which is taken from YouTube.
- 5- Analyzing the samples both qualitatively and quantitatively based on the adopted model.
- 6- Analyzing and discussing results and findings of the research.
- 7- Based on the results and findings, the conclusions are drawn.

1.5 Research Scope

The scope of this research is limited to discourse analysis of the selected samples in accordance with the adopted model. For the purpose of finding the frequency and percentage of rhetorical devices, persuasive techniques and persuasive strategies employed by the politicians or the advertisers, the written transcripts of both political speeches and advertisement slogans are addressed in this study. The

samples, furthermore, especially the political speeches contain both United States and Britain election campaign speeches, but more space is dedicated to the speeches given by American politicians; as the researcher finds the American political language having enormous characteristics of rhetoric, which in return provides significance help to the study.

1.6 The Data

The data for this study is a number of texts available online. The researcher has made use of (20) samples, out of which (10) political speeches and (10) advertisement texts and slogans. Furthermore, the selected political speeches are from political leaders of America and Britain, while the advertisement texts are chosen randomly which best suits the agenda of this study.

The Value

This research is conducted with the hope of being a good source for those dealing with hidden meanings in discourse, critical discourse analysis and analysts of news reporters in news agencies as it shows how texts are formed and how intentions behind the texts are being implicitly embedded and explicitly presented.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORITICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter presents a general view of the concept and history of persuasion. It discusses rhetoric and its role in persuasion. In addition, this chapter lists all the persuasive strategies and techniques through which politicians and advertisers try to get voters and consumers. Advertising and political language along with the rhetorical devices employed in the texts occupy another section in this chapter. Moreover, the concepts of covert and overt persuasion are clearly illustrated.

2.1 What is Rhetoric?

Rhetoric is the art of persuasion, which along with grammar and logic, constitutes the three ancient arts of discourse. Rhetoric is concerned with the capacities of writers / speakers needed to inform, persuade, or motivate particular audiences in specific situations. Rhetoric is then the art of effective or persuasive speaking or writing, especially the exploitation of figures of speech and other compositional techniques.

Corbett and Connors state: "Rhetoric is the art or the discipline that deals with the use of discourse, either spoken or written, to inform or persuade or motivate an audience, whether that audience is made up of one person or a group of persons" (1999, 3). Put succinctly, then, rhetoric can be defined as the art of effective communication. In consideration of both logic and emotion, Aristotle noted that appeals should be advanced on three different levels: appeal to reason (logos), appeal to emotions (pathos), and appeal to personality or character (ethos). (ibid: 37).

The earliest works done on rhetorical communication or the writings in the field dates back several thousand years. The early texts held advices as to how to speak effectively, and it is, however, commonly agreed upon that the rhetorical communications tradition, as we know it today, was established in Greece a couple of thousand years after the earliest writings. McCroskey (2006, p. 5). It is in this period around 400 to 300 BC modern rhetorical communication start taking its roots. The word rhetoric originally comes from the Greek word *rhetor*, which was used as a term for a public speaker or a person arguing in courts cases (Andersen 2004, p. 11). It was in these areas rhetorical communication was originally used. It is nonetheless important to note that although these two areas were the primary focus of rhetorical communication, rhetoric is not bounded to these two areas and when defining rhetoric and rhetorical communication one also needs to take several other communicative situations into consideration. It is when trying to state what rhetoric and rhetorical communication is and things get complicated because even in its infancy, in the Greek period, rhetoric was perceived differently.

Rhetoric is associated with figurative and literary use of language, and both are then opposed to normal or literal language use. Habermas acknowledged that these two forms are not mutually exclusive. Furthermore, McCarthy noted “we are dealing with a continuum” (1987, xiii).

Lamb (1998, p. 108) adds that contemporary interpretations of rhetoric reflect controversies dating back to its very beginnings. Rhetoric began with Corax of Syracuse in fifth century B.C. as a means to help individuals reclaim confiscated property after warfare. As a democratic state, Athens welcomed the new art as a practical means to discover knowledge and truth in their public forums. Notable

rhetoricians were Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle, but the enduring philosophies of Aristotle, delineated in his treatise *Rhetoric* written in approximately 333 B.C has influenced the western culture.

This entire process of rhetorical analysis describes the essential elements of rhetoric which are applicable to both written composition and oratory discourse. When writers strive for optimum effectiveness in discourse, they should also include considerations of audience, human nature, and human emotions. (ibid: p. 109)

Jasinski (2001, p. xv) points out that literary or rhetorical discourse functions as a force of innovation or novelty; it reveals or discloses what previously had been concealed, and it identifies new possibilities of thought and action. It does so largely by way of the resources of linguistic style (e.g., metaphor) and is evaluated on the degree to which the word-disclosing function has been actualized (e.g., has the discourse produced any effects, and has it been successful in revealing new possibilities to people?).

2.2 History of Persuasion

Persuasion has always been an integral aspect of human interaction that operates in different professional and linguacultural settings; it is therefore inherently context-dependent and audience-oriented Virtanen & Halmari (2005, p.6-7).

According to Zollo (2014, p.15), the history of persuasion and its study dates back to the ancient times. Aristotle developed the first scientific approach to persuasion, and discovered the scientific elements of it. According to him, persuasion is based on three principles: the nature of the communicator, i.e. *ethos*; the emotional state of the audience, i.e. *pathos*; the message arguments, i.e. *logos*.

The classical rhetoric had an outstanding role in bringing the idea of persuasion into the world as a fundamental component of communication. For obvious reasons, modern studies of persuasion are informed by other disciplines too, notably social psychology, anthropology, marketing and advertisement studies, usability and IT design etc. (Christensen and Halse, 2007, p. 307).

The study of persuasion is conditioned by three shifts. First studies were held in ancient Greek and were focused only on the ability of how persuaders build their speech. The second shift studies, from the 16th up to the 19th century concentrated on the receiver rather than on persuader. On the contrary, the third wave of contemporary scholars, for instance, Richard Perloff believes that persuasion is a bilateral process, which involves both sides: the persuader as well as the receiver- the so-called 'persuadee' (Perloff 2003, p.452).

Rhetoric and its role in persuasion has been developed by some of the best minds of Western thought for a period of 2500 years. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) systematically observed speakers and speeches and thus identified the persuasive appeals. Broadly speaking, logos refers to the clarity and integrity of the argument Holt & MacPherson (2010, p.20). It stresses logic and the appeal to reason. Ethos is the appeal meant to establish plausibility, and pathos is the appeal to emotions.

Though persuasion techniques have been studied and observed since ancient times. It was not until the early 20th-century that social psychologists began formally studying these powerful techniques.

According to Perloff (2003, p.46), persuasion can be defined as "a symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behaviors regarding an issue through the transmission of a message in an atmosphere of free choice." Methods of transmitting persuasive messages can occur in a variety of ways,

including verbally and nonverbally via television, radio, internet or face-to-face communication.

As Charteris-Black (2011, p.13) says “persuasion refers to the intention, act and effect of changing an audience’s thinking”. Although, the art and science of persuasion has been of interest since the time of the Ancient Greeks, there are fundamental differences between the ways in which persuasion occurs today and how it has occurred in the past. Perloff (2003, p.6-15) outlines the five major ways in which modern persuasion differs from the past:

1) The number of persuasive messages have grown tremendously

According to various sources, the number of advertisements the average U.S. adult is exposed to each day ranges from around 300 to over 3,000.

2) Persuasive communication travels far more rapidly

Television, radio and the internet all help spread persuasive messages very quickly.

3) Persuasion is a big business

In addition to the companies that are in business purely for persuasive purposes (such as advertising agencies, marketing firms, public relations companies), many other business are reliant on persuasion to sell goods and services.

4) Contemporary persuasion is much more subtle

Of course, there are plenty of ads that use very obvious persuasive strategies, but many messages are far more subtle. For example, businesses sometimes carefully craft very specific image designed to urge viewers to buy products or services in order to attain that projected lifestyle.

5) Persuasion is more complex

Consumers are more diverse and have more choices, so marketers have to be savvier when it comes to selecting their persuasive medium and message.

2.3 Persuasive Discourse Analysis

Discourse, in general, refers to the process of interpreting meaning and intention provided in spoken or written situation. This implies the fact that communication is in dire need of discourse. In communication, utterances are employed by people to convey information and lead each other toward an interpretation of meaning and intention.

For Titscher et al. (2000, p. 25) discourse is a broad term with many definitions, which “integrates a whole palette of meanings” ranging from linguistics, through sociology, philosophy and other disciplines. Taking a primarily linguistic approach to the analysis of discourse, Brown and Yule (1983, ix) thoroughly study how language is being used by humans to communicate and, in particular, how addressers build their linguistic messages for addressees and how addressees try to arrive at a plausible interpretation of the given messages. They (ibid: 1) state that discourse analysis is fundamentally bound to the process of revealing what and how language is used for; which obviously means that it focuses primarily on language in use.

Daymon and Holloway (2002, p.141) point out that discourse analysis appreciates the language or discourse. They believe that discourse does not necessarily refer to a device to construct and convey messages. But, it is a powerful strategy used by people to attach a particular effect to their messages.

McCarthy (1991, p.5) asserts that discourse analysis studies language in use, which includes all kinds of written texts and spoken data, from highly institutionalized forms of talk. This suggests the fact that discourse analysis concerns itself with both spoken and written data.

Gee (1999. pp. 8-10) breaks down discourse analysis into basic approaches- one would be basically descriptive (largely linguistic), looking at the actual language details and how languages and their grammars work together to cohere and make things meaningful in a broad sense. The second basic approach would be critical, which refers to more applied understandings of that linguistic information and with particularly a political bent; understanding how power flows and operates within society through using language.

According to Renkema (1993, p.11) discourse analysis is the study which is concerned with spoken, written, and context discourse which is intended to influence people in order to create support, to convince that a given idea is true, and valid, and also to change attitude to make action.

Four basic types of discourse have been subsumed under discourse by Kinneavy (1971, p.61), and these are: expressive discourse, referential discourse, literary discourse and persuasive discourse. He further goes on and explains what each type means; in *Expressive discourse* language is used as a simple vehicle of expressions for some personality expressions by the encoder (the person who encodes the message), referential discourse is another type of discourse in which the use of language focuses on the ability of language to designate or reproduce reality, in a manner of speaking, then literary discourse refers to a type of discourse in which the text, the product or the work itself is the focus of the process as worthy of being appreciated in its own right,

the last is the persuasive discourse which focuses primarily on the decoder, that is the person involved in the process or the receiver of the message.

Based on the four types mentioned above, both advertisement and political campaigns can be subsumed under the term Persuasive Discourse; where both advertisers and politicians use all linguistic and non-linguistic means to persuade someone to do something, change their attitude and believe, or to have some effects on them.

2.4 Persuasive Strategies

The Greek Philosopher Aristotle developed three rhetorical devices which have been used as persuasive strategies for thousands of years. The rhetorical devices developed by Aristotle are (ethos, logos and pathos). More recently, however, persuasive strategies have broadly been based upon the theories of human psychology. Persuasive strategies like these have been employed and researched in communication for the role they play in marketing, politics, advertising and personal relationships. Persuasive strategies based on human psychology include (cognitive dissonance, negative and positive motivation, and appeals to need). Written persuasive discourse has been considered by Connor and Lauer (1985, p.309) to be 'that which integrates the rational, the credibility, and affective appeals (corresponding to logos, ethos, and pathos).

The logical appeal of the speaker which Aristotle referred to as 'logos' consists of two elements which are evidence and reasoning. In order to make a speaker's claim persuasive, these two elements work line by line with each. Lucas (2009, p.357) states that to prove or disprove something, the speaker needs to provide some materials as

evidences such as examples, statistics, testimony that can be used to prove or disprove something. Moreover, evidence is considered to be complementary to reasoning because reasoning is drawing conclusion based on evidence.

Lucas (2009, p.353) points out that two factors affect the credibility of the speaker i.e. ethos, these are: first, competence: refers to intelligence, expertise, sincerity and knowledge of the speaker, second, character: is about how audience regard speaker's sincerity, trustworthiness, reputation, and physical appearance.

Pathos refers to the feeling or passion a speaker conveys in his subject. The speaker needs to be committed to what he says and does, otherwise others wouldn't be committed. It implies that it is necessary for the orator to demonstrate his or her feeling and sympathy or suffering. Passion is the work of the heart (Thompson 1998, p.9).

According to Stiff and Mongeau (2003, p. 105), the most important persuasive strategies are categorized as the following:

2.4.1 Ethos: deals with the credibility of a speaker. Speakers resort to ethos by:

- Showing themselves as competent, trustworthy, and dynamic;
- sharing their credentials and/or relevant personal experience;
- presenting a balanced and non-strict argument;
- citing credible sources;
- making use of an appropriate language and grammar;
- being perceived as likable; and
- appearing engaged with the topic and audience through effective delivery.

To cite an **example** of Ethos, a speech delivered by Barack Obama in 2008 clearly shows how he appealed to the use of Ethos:

"I will end this war in Iraq responsibly, and finish the fight against al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. I will rebuild our military to meet future conflicts. But I will also renew the tough, direct diplomacy that can prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons and curb Russian aggression.

"I will build new partnerships to defeat the threats of the 21st century: terrorism and nuclear proliferation; poverty and genocide; climate change and disease. And I will restore our moral standing so that America is once again that last, best hope for all who are called to the cause of freedom, who long for lives of peace, and who yearn for a better future."

In this speech Obama is clearly perceived to be using Ethos, stating "I will restore our moral standing" since we are a free and powerful nation. He shows how competent and trustworthy is America in fighting terrorism and ending poverty and nuclear proliferation.

2.4.2 Logos: is about the reasoning and logic of an argument. Speakers appeal to logos by:

- presenting factual, objective information that serves as reasons to support the argument;
- presenting a sufficient amount of relevant examples to support an idea;
- drawing conclusions from known information; and
- using credible supporting materials like expert testimony, definitions, statistics, and literal or historical analogies.

To provide an **example** of Logos is a speech given by Donald Trump, June 22, 2018:

"So here are just a few statistics on the human toll of illegal immigration. According to a 2011 government report, the arrests attached to the criminal alien population included an estimated 25,000 people for homicide, 42,000 for robbery, nearly 70,000 for sex offenses, and nearly 15,000 for kidnapping. In Texas alone, within the last seven years, more than a quarter-million criminal aliens have been arrested and charged with over 600,000 criminal offenses. ... Sixty-three thousand

Americans since 9/11 have been killed by illegal aliens. This isn't a problem that's going away; it's getting bigger."

In his speech above, President Donald Trump frequently attempts to justify and apply logic to the creation of a border wall between Mexico and the United States. He also provides statistics on the number of crimes done since by illegal immigrants since 9/11.

2.4.3 Pathos: is of direct relevance to the arousal of emotion through speech. Speakers resort to pathos through:

- applying vivid language to paint word pictures for audience members;
- providing lay testimony (personal stories from self or others);
- using figurative language such as metaphor, similes, and personification; and
- using vocal variety, cadence, and repetition.

Politicians, advertisers or people around are continuously trying to get you persuaded, we encounter pathos on regular basis in our life. An example of Pathos would be:

A teenager who tries to convince his parents to buy him a new car, as the old one continually breaks down, by saying if they cared about their child's safety, they'd upgrade him.

2.4.4 Cognitive Dissonance

Cognitive dissonance as Festinger (1962, p.93) defines, is the mental discomfort which occurs when new information contradicts the current beliefs, ideas, or values. He states that it has never been easy to persuade people who hold contradictory and immutable beliefs, attitudes, or values.

James B. Stiff & Paul A. Mongeau (2003, p.105) point out that having cognitive dissonance used as a persuasive strategy depends on

three assumptions: (1) people need to be consistent in their thinking; (2) when inconsistency exists, they face psychological discomfort; and (3) this discomfort motivates people to address the inconsistency to restore balance.

Shampoo commercial is one of the fields where cognitive dissonance might be perceived. For example, if a person has a frizzy hair and uses a particular shampoo to fight it or at least make it more smooth; then s/he is exposed to another brand shampoo called '*Pantene Pro-V Smooth & Sleek*' where the underlying message of the shampoo is '*Now you can say goodbye to frizz.*'

Facing the advertisement of this shampoo, the person will definitely have cognitive dissonance; which means s/he believes if she does not start using '*Pantene Pro-V Smooth & Sleek*', and continue using the old one, they will never get rid of frizzy hair.

2.4.5 Positive and Negative Motivation

The strategy that is largely employed by teachers, politicians, public speakers, parents and business people is labelled a negative and positive motivation. On the one hand, audience motivation can be simply achieved when speakers relate the contents of their speech to their audiences' personal lives. On the other hand, however, a negative motivation will be the outcome of the failure to follow the speaker's speech.

"Obesity is Suicide" was the title of an Ad created by art designer Brandon Knowlden, who launched an ad campaign to fight obesity. Here, the designer negatively talks about the outcomes of obesity which could lead to the death of people. The ad pictures a man hanging himself with ropes made of sausages.

2.4.6 Appeals to Needs

Negative and positive motivation goes side by side with appeals to needs. In his book (Hierarchy of Needs), Maslow talks about three layers of needs that are being targeted by people. Maslow (1943, p.370). These needs include physiological, safety, social, self-esteem, and self-actualization needs respectively. Appeals to needs along with positive and negative motivation, which are often paired together, have the potentiality to increase the persuasiveness of the message. Speakers can promote the level of safety and security of the listeners by mixing appeals to safety with positive motivation.

In a speech delivered by Muhammadu Buhari, a candidate of Nigerian presidential election on Feb. 22, 2019, Buhari felt that the political situation was getting complicated and people were afraid of the tensions during the election campaigns, so he tried to appeal to the safety needs of the voters and delivered a message “Do not be afraid of rumors of violence and unrest. Our security agencies have worked diligently to ensure that adequate security measures are in place.” Through this messages, Buhari gave powerful words and tried to influence them to go to the ballot boxes and cast their votes.

2.5 Persuasive Techniques

Persuasive techniques can refer to a number of options from which a speaker selects in order to choose an appropriate tactic or a group of various tactics for persuasion in a given situation. Johnstone (1989, p.143). Persuasive techniques are employed as the strategy of the way of doing things, so that people reach their goals that one has freely chosen among several options. Hart et al (1983, p.260)

The technique of persuasion is very essential in persuasion process to make people influenced towards what the communicator said.

Keraf (1991, pp.124-131) provides seven techniques of persuasion as follows: rationalization, identification, suggestion, conformity, compensation, displacement, and projection.

2.5.1 Rationalization

Rationalization can be found when advertisers or persuaders use mind process to provide justification for a certain problem. When using this technique, only few statements are needed to be given by the persuader in order to justify the quality of the product. In addition, truth is used in this technique as the basic to influence people so that they change attitude according to what the persuader said. Although the truth which is said can be accepted by readers consciously and it is logic, but it has not been absolute yet.

Rationalization refers to a technique that can be used to influence others to believe that what is said or done was right. The advertiser should realize what the audience's or consumer's needs, their attitude and beliefs are.

An example of rationalization would be an excerpt of Saddam Hussein's speech given for the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait which was published in *The New York Times* Feb. 27, 1991:

"We rejoiced on the day of the call when it was decided that Kuwait should be one of the main gates for deterring the plot and for defending all Iraq from the plotters. We say that we will remember Kuwait on the great day of the call, on the days that followed it, and in documents and events, some of which date back 70 years."

In his speech above, Saddam Hussein legitimates Iraqi invasion of Kuwait once again, saying that Iraq attempted to secure its borders from enemies and protect Iraqi peoples through a land 'Kuwait' which

Saddam deemed it to be part of Iraq and the ninetieth province of Iraq. But the consequences of the invasion were deadly enough for Iraq which literally cost its future.

2.5.2 Identification

In order not to face any conflict situations and hesitant attitude, it is pivotal that the advertisers thoroughly analyze their viewers, readers or consumers and the situation. To put it another way, identification can mean to whom the advertisement was addressed. This technique contributes to a greater part that advertisers can promote the products that are sold in accordance with the criteria of potential buyers.

In politics, individuals may identify with one another when their interests are joined. As Ihlen and Heath (2018, p. 115) point out, some individuals join, at least partially, with others (to overcome estrangement). They argue that identification, internalized as self-persuasion, allows individuals to shape and align their interests and identifies with those of each other. In addition, according to Bruke (1969, p.20) identification is essential to being human and is facilitated through communication. He argued humans are born biologically separate and the need to identify with others arises out of the desire to overcome the feeling of being apart and disconnected.

Potential buyers can be men, women, or both; or consisting of parents, youth, etc. Once the readers or viewers are identified, the advertisers will be able to show their product to the consumer easily. **For example**, *“the advertising of baby diapers, the consumers are the parents who have a baby, not the baby although the product is used for baby.*

2.5.3 Suggestion

Suggestion can be described as an effort to persuade or influence people to accept the certain conviction without giving a principle or logical belief to the persuaded people. If the advertisers have the potential ability to master the language of advertising, the suggestion technique will run smoothly. The persuader will usually give suggestion by words and intonation.

In order to have the audience affected, they need to be addressed with a range of words that are attractive and convincing, with a tone full of dignity. The sentence which is used is about giving the advice to the audience or solution of certain problems. The process of suggestion, however, such as direction involves getting the consumer to accept the product without thinking an idea, belief or action. For example, “in the beauty advertisements, the words which are used such as "as a woman, self-care is much needed".

To cite **an example** of suggestion is the advertising of a shampoo called “*Kerastase Therapiste*”, on which a suggestion is written for solving the problem of those who have dry and damaged hair. The suggestion goes “*Give Your Hair a Second Life*”; which primarily tells the consumers that in order to have their hair as perfect and lively as before, they need to try this shampoo.

2.5.4 Conformity

Conformity is a desire or an action to make something similar with something else. In advertisement, it is a way of thinking to adapt or adjust the advertiser with the consumer’s condition. It involves attitude that is taken by the advertiser to adapt him with the condition (circumstances) or to do action for not arising strained situation.

Conformity is usually also considered as an action that will bring positive influence up to progress.

In conformity, the advertiser tries to imply that the audience will be capable of doing and acting like the famous person advertising the product only if they buy the product. For example, “the advertisers hire the famous soccer player in advertising their products, such as football players from famous clubs like Real Madrid, Barcelona etc.

In this advertisement of Nike, conformity is clearly shown. Because it says that we can be like Lebron James. It says “You will notice. You will scream.” Because you want it to happen. On the right side of Lebron James’s picture there is a Nike symbol with the slogan “Will to win”, which obviously tells people to buy their shoes, clothing and gear, then you can be pretty much like Lebron James.

2.5.5 Compensation

Compensation can be seen as an effort to find a substitute for something that is generally unacceptable anymore or for indefensible circumstances. In persuasion, the presenters can push the consumers to do an action that is wanted by the presenters by convincing them that they have the ability to do what the presenters have done. Advertisers use compensation to influence consumers that they will find new and better features by using the new product which is far different from the product before.

For example, when Apple Company released iPhone 3G in July 2008, the new product came with the slogan ‘*Twice as fast. Half the price*’. The new launched product ‘iPhone 3G’ had many distinguished features from the former product ‘iPhone 2G’. The most significant improvement in the new product was 3G connectivity which was faster and better than the product before. By releasing this new iPhone 3G, consumers are provided with a complete new product which is highly

different from what they had in the past. Having the features of being twice as fast and half the price, the advertiser tried to compensate what the consumers were seeking for.

2.5.6 Displacement

Displacement is a process that attempts displacing an intention or a matter that faces obstacles with the certain purpose or intention which also displaces the emotion of original hatred or sometimes the emotion of original affection at the same time. In this persuasion technique, the advertisers will try to convince the audience to divert an object or a particular purpose to another purpose. In this technique, the advertiser uses the usual language or the language that is still acceptable to the public in order to displace rude language or the language that can discriminate one group. For example, in an attempt to control birth and change public views of being pregnant and giving birth frequently in order to have more children, the Family Planning Association in London published a photo in the form of advertising for men and women to use contraception and warn men not to be that ambitious to have their wives pregnant. The slogan of the photo goes “*Would you be more careful if it was you that got pregnant?*” with a picture of a pregnant man!

This advertisement clearly tells parents not to have lots of children and if men were in women’s shoes, they would definitely use contraception and avoid getting pregnant.

2.5.7 Projection

It is a technique to make subject become the object. If someone is asked to describe somebody whom he hates, he will try to describe a good thing from himself. So, projection is a technique which presents

the advantages and disadvantages of the product to show the differences with others.

In this technique, the advertiser will make the actors in the advertising becoming the object seen by consumers. The advantages which are mentioned in the advertisement as the reflection of another product's disadvantages. For example, in advertising the product Nike Air Zoom 18, the advertiser says '*Stability has never been faster*' which means that the advertiser wants to imply that this product gives a more stable ride and feels faster all the way through their runs. It also means that stable does not refer to slow, but when people run stably, they get faster than running unstably.

2.6 Overt and Covert Persuasion

The process of persuasion can, of course, happen between interlocutors through direct speeches and explicit messages, or it can be achieved via implicit messages and intentions that receivers are highly impossible to perceive. This process includes Overt and Covert Persuasion, where overt persuasion implies the fact that the speakers convey their messages openly; while in covert persuasion, speakers forward their messages in a hidden and an unnoticeable way.

The real intention of the advertisers to buy their products is not obviously stated in every advertisements. Piller (2003, p.170) adds that there are many techniques used by advertisers to conceal such intentions: covert persuasion is one of the effective ways used by advertisers to get costumers to buy their products.

However, participants or receivers of a message are sometimes provided with an opportunity to recognize that persuasion is intended when the more overt tactics are used in persuasion, and sometimes it

might be of great help to let people know what one wants: ‘I want you all to come to dinner on Saturday.’ Mulholland (2005, p. xiii)

Contrary to overt persuasion, covert persuasion is a strategy, in which there are no direct verbal and written messages. Milewicz and Herbig (1997, p. 46), and the nature of the communication is not explicit to the consumers Campbell et al (2012, p. 483)

In “overt persuasion”, people are directly trying to make an argument to win someone over, or they are framing the options to get them to act in a way that they want. It is overt because you are directly influencing them in one way or another. For the vast majority of those tactics, you would be able to ask them if they thought you were trying to persuade them. They would be able to answer with a “Yes, I think so.” You are both aware of it and trying to outmuscle each other.

Covert persuasion, however, is about bypassing the critical factor of the human mind without the process being known to the receiver of the message. This is accomplished when one person sends a message and the message is received without significant critical thought or questioning on the part of the receiver. Hogan and Speakman (2006, p.3)

The notion of covert communication is not uncontroversial. It seems to be incompatible or even oxymoronic with a view of communication. Crook (2004, p.721). As Sperber and Wilson (1995) state, people might think that communication is a process which is done overtly; either your body gestures imply that you are communicating or else you are not truly communicating (p.35).

According to Crook (2004, p.718) communication is deemed to have an informative intention which is embedded within a second-order communication intention. Thus, Sperber and Wilson argue that *informative intention* implies that the addresser makes a set of

assumptions clearly enough to the audience; and *communicative intention* is to make these set of assumptions mutually manifest, which means to show obviously to the audience that the communicator has this informative intention (pp. 58-61).

Tanaka (1992, p. 42) points out that ‘overt communication’ is the process of uncovering of these two layers of information, while ‘covert communication’ holds the informative intention unknown to the audience through making assumptions more manifest, but not mutually so. To put it another way, when there is a feeling that revealing the informative intention will lead to a backfired result on the fulfilment of the process, speakers or advertisers will definitely hide their intentions.

Examples of Overt Persuasion

1- H. Sutrisno, an Indonesian politician delivered a speech encouraging people to vote for his party during Regent Election Campaign of Pasuruan, East Java-Indonesia, 2014, saying: *“Ladies and gentlemen, if you want Pasuruan Regent to be better than before, the only answer is choose the candidate pairs of number 2 or choose Dade Angga and Eddy Paripurna on 18th May, Right? The reason, both of them are the only candidates who have the bravery to make Pasuruan Regent better than before, nowadays. Give your applause!”*

Based on the speech example above, the speaker directly addresses his wishes to the audiences and asks them to choose their candidates for the elections. Thus, overtly persuading them into voting in the interests of his political party. The speaker used direct speech acts like ‘choose’ and gave supporting utterances to make the candidates more effective in the eyes of voters by saying ‘they are the only ones to make a better future for Pasuruan. In this case, the persuader did not conceal his intention towards the voters and openly and overtly demanded them to vote for his political party.

2- Another example of overt persuasion would be the car advertised by Chevrolet Company with the slogan of “**See the USA in a Chevrolet / Eye it – Try it – Buy it.**”

In this example, the Chevrolet company advertiser openly and directly addresses people to come and buy their product. The advertiser uses imperatives like ‘Eye, try and buy’ which implies the overtness of the company’s intention towards the audience.

Examples of Covert Persuasion

1- In a speech given by Barack Obama in 2008 election campaigns on May 5, he said these words against his rival Mitt Romney:

"Governor Romney doesn't seem to get that. He doesn't seem to understand that maximizing profits by whatever means necessary -- whether through layoffs or outsourcing or tax avoidance or union-busting -- might not always be good for the average American or for the American economy."

Here Obama tries to negatively put some points on his presidential election rival. He covertly tells the voters of his party and those of Republican Party that they would regret voting for Romney, as he has many flaws and cannot put the country forward economically. In this example, Obama does not tell voters whom they should vote for, neither him nor Romney; instead he talks about the negatives sides of his rival which can be interpreted as a covert persuasion technique to make voters vote in his interest.

2- ASICS Sports Equipment Company launched a campaign to inspire sportspeople and fitness enthusiasts to explore new territories and reasons to run. The slogan of the campaign was “**It is a big world. Go run it!**”

In this example of advertising their sports equipment, ASICS tells the audience that the world we live in is a huge place, it then encourages them and says “Go run it!” The company indirectly tells audiences that without their products and sneakers, it would be difficult to explore this world and walk into it. The advertiser covertly implies that it is by the virtue of their sports products that one can explore this big world; so in order to be one of those people, their products are ready to serve!

Another example of Covert Persuasion is a speech given by Barack Obama March 18, 2008:

“I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas. I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton's Army during World War II and a white grandmother who worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas. I've gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world's poorest nations. I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slave-owners — an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters. I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible.”

Looking at the text word by word thoroughly, one can perceive that Obama was indirectly trying to make himself a genuine member of the American society, to be seen equal especially by the white people. He says that his grandfather and grandmother were white to give the white American people a hint that Obama is just like them. Obama covertly tries to leave no room for white and black thoughts, and says that he has brothers, sisters, cousins and uncles of every race, his wife carries within her the blood of slaves and slave-owners. Thus, Obama covertly

gets himself involved with each and every single person in USA to make them believe that ‘Obama’ does not let anyone of any race down.

2.7 Concept of Advertising

The scope of this research primarily focuses on two major fields- Advertisement and Election Campaigns. The constant change of language obviously reflects changes in society, culture or media. Advertising is one of the spheres where language predominantly controls the ways of achieving certain effects on part of the addressees or audiences. Therefore, the language of advertising developed certain linguistic means to achieve the main goals of advertisement.

In its simplest sense, advertising is the endeavor to attract attention towards something or notify someone of something. Dyer (1988, p.2)

According to Vestergaard & Schrøder (1985, pp.7-8) there exist people who deem advertising as a piece of art “not only does advertising help make products appear as aesthetically pleasing as possible, the advert becomes an aesthetic object itself”. However, Cook (1992, p.13) points out that due to the fact that advertising is noticed everywhere, it is usually passed unnoticed in people’s daily life, and it is also seen as controversial. Literarily he says that “advertising is everywhere but nowhere”.

Advertisement is not only found in a single field which most people perceive it in business firms, but in a wide range of areas; as Keller and Kotler (2011, p.478) assert “any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods or services. Advertisers include not only business firms but also charitable, non-profit and governmental agencies”.

Based on what Janoschka (2004, p.125) states, some language rules are violated during the process of advertising; these violations can happen on the grammatical, lexical, or syntactic level, where the main

goal is to have the language in use more powerful and capable of creating effective meanings.

The language of advertising shows new words, spelling deviations, ellipsis, incorrect syntactic sentences, fronting, abbreviation of words and figures of speech in order to draw the attention of addressees.

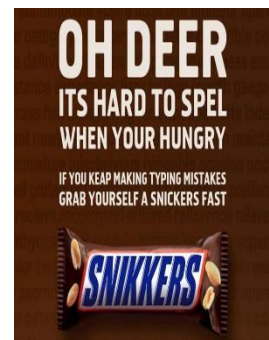
2.8.1 Functions of a Successful Advertisement

Leech (1996, p.123) categorizes four crucial functions which contribute to have a successful advertisement as follows:

2.8.1.1 Attention Value

In order to have a successful advertisement, adverts have to be able to draw attention of the addressees and arouse curiosity as well. To achieve this aim, on the linguistic level, adverts need to break the conventional use of language like using wrong spelling, puns, neologisms, rhymes, grammatical solecisms, semantic deviations and having language put in inappropriate or unconventional contexts.

For example, a lot of people get upset or irritated by the grammatical errors found in the messages of famous brands, but sometimes the grammatical errors are intentional, and it's up to us to understand the difference. Intentional grammatical errors can be used to build a successful business. You might even achieve real results doing so, like Snickers did with their hunger campaign.



2.8.1.2 Readability

After achieving the first goal of attracting the attention of the reader, this achievement needs to be maintained, ensuring that the reader continues to search for quick and simple information. As a result, the

style of adverts are mostly colloquial, the words used must be simple and familiar. This process of using of informal language incorporated with private contexts in public or business communication has been called “public colloquialism” by Leech (ibid).

According to Shortis (2001, p.24), informal styles propose a flexible social relationship between reader and writer, and they are characterized by informal address terms, direct address to the reader, mostly with the second person pronoun you, casual colloquial expressions and a relative lack of politeness markers. For example, the AMX Company uses second person pronoun in its slogans for selling the products and says “*It’s Your World, Take Control!*” This is done in a more informal way and to indicate that the addressee has the privilege to better enjoy life!

Goddard (1998, p 41) suggests that in adverts even written language shows many features of spoken language and says “First, advertising language is characterized by a high level of redundancy due to a high degree of repetition and parallelism. Moreover, there is the frequent use of deictics referring either to the user as an exospheric referent or to endophoric references such as pictures and other sentences in the copy. Terms like this, that, those, it, here and there indicate items in the immediate context and occur very frequently in advertising copy. Elliptic sentence structures are another sign of spoken communication that are typical of advertising language. Moreover, phrasal verbs, idioms and contractions are characteristic features of advertising language bearing witness to its strong degree of colloquialism.”

2.8.1.3 Memorability

The third function would be memorability, this function puts much attention on how to keep the message remembered by the receiver of the message and recognize it as familiar.

Celebrities are excellent for grabbing people's attention and, instantaneously, a campaign is more memorable because of a famous face on the screen. **For example**, appearing Cheryl Cole, famous English singer and television personality advertising for *Casting Crème Gloss in 2018* of 'LOreal' company for cosmetics, hair color, skin care, sun protection, make-up, perfume, and hair care. The advertisement of the product will be kept in the consumers' mind for a long time due to the effectiveness of the celebrity to promote the product and let the consumers remember the product.

2.8.1.4 Selling Power

Finally, the ultimate goal is to have your products sold. As Leech (1966. P.141) asserts, in advertising language, imperatives are one of the most frequently used syntactic forms; which arises as a requirement for directing obvious instructions to the receivers to promote them in order to take the right action.

In addition, while giving a positive view about the product being advertised is more common, but prohibitions and negative forms are rarely used. Gieszinger (2001, p.154) emphasizes that adjectives particularly with a positive meaning have a crucial role in advertising language, claiming that the strategy to use positive forms also extends to the lexical level. Leech (1966, p.57) lists the following adjectives as the most prevalent ones used in advertising language: *best, delicious, new, sure, better, good, nice, free, nice*. It is highly important for advertisers not to use, when possible, headlines that possibly make the picture stained with a gloomy or negative side (Caples 1994, p.31). For example, Nike's famous '**Just Do It**' is one of the cases of using imperatives that leaves costumers no room for argument, no room even to back out or make a choice. It tells the costumers that they are one

step away of being the fastest runners ever, or to come first in a marathon. It tells the costumers that they don't need to know, they only need to '*Just Do It.*'

2.9 Persuasion in Politics and Election Campaigns

In politics, the art of persuasion has always been a central part ever since humanity started to be involved and organized into communities. Politicians use different strategies and resort to various techniques to sway their supporters and voters, as people are deemed to be holding diverse believes and attitudes.

According to Nimmo and Sanders (1981, p.12) for the very first beginning, the term political communication describes an intervening process by which "political institutions and citizens interact with each other and political influences are mobilized and transmitted. Kaid (2004, p.69)

"Political communication today is a broad term, it has been used to describe the communication involved in elections, governing a state, reporting on politicians' activity, gathering and determining public opinion. Trent and Friedensberg (2000, p.15). They further argue that political communication is deemed to be verbal or nonverbal, formal or informal but it still centers around one thing, which is to persuade, and to influence other people to interpret, to evaluate and to act accordingly.

According to Grasnovetter (1973) decisions are generally shaped by social influence; this means that those who people interact with have a leading role in persuading them and draw them to do certain actions (p.80). Influences like this which is exerted by friends, co-workers and other "discussants" will inevitably affect the decisions on whether and how we vote. Beck et al (2002, p.57)

Zaller (1992, p.249) refers to an important point and says that, in the area of politics, people are highly unaware of specific issues and thus the process of persuading them is susceptible high.

Political rhetoric centers around the strategies adopted to construct persuasive arguments in formal public debates and in everyday political disputes. As Kane and Patapan (2010, p. 372) observed, “because public discussion and debate are essential in a democracy, and because leaders are obliged to rule the sovereign people by means of constant persuasion, rhetoric is absolutely central”.

The language used by politicians is painstakingly chosen to persuade and impact upon audiences. Thomas et al (1999) point out that politicians throughout the ages have owed much of their success to their skilful use of rhetoric, whereby they attempt to persuade their audience of the validity of their views by their subtle use of effective and persuasive language. (p.39)

2.10 Rhetorical Devices Used in Advertisement and Election Speeches

According to Quinn (1993, p.6) rhetorical figures can be best defined as the intention to have the language being deviated from its ordinary usage. It has been considered as an effective way to use rhetorical figures in order to “strike that happy balance between ‘the obvious and the obscure’ so that the receivers can seize the ideas and be disposed to accept arguments. Corbett and Connors (1999, p.377). There exist many rhetorical devices through which advertisers and politicians are able to achieve and arrive at the intended goal. These devices basically aim at getting the consumers or the targeted audience to start action towards a particular point and change attitude.

Crystal (1992, p. 135) distinguishes two types of figurative language: Schemes (parallelism, alliteration, anaphora etc.) and Tropes (metaphor, metonymy, simile etc.).

2.10.1 Schemes

Having the outstanding features of regularity and repetition, schemes have been deemed as successful chunk of rhetorical devices in influencing the attention of the audience and consumers. These schemes, parallelism, alliteration, anaphora, epistrophe, antimetabole, antithesis, rhyme, anadiplosis, epanalepsis and personal pronouns, have been an important tool used by advertisers and politicians in persuading the consumers and voters.

2.10.1.1 Parallelism

Parallelism is one of the forms of schematic patterning. It is defined by Leech (1972, p. 186) as "repetition of formal patterns". Schematic patterning occurs in all levels of language. Parallelism means the parallel presentation of two or more than two similar or relevant ideas in similar structural forms. This rhetorical device, which is also referred to as "Parison" by Huhmann (2008, p.87), is the similarity of structure in a series of two or more related words, phrases, or clauses. For example, John F. Kennedy says *"Let every nation know, whether it wishes us **well** or **ill**, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty*

2.10.1.2 Alliteration

Huhmann (2008, p.87) describes alliteration as the repetition or occurrence of the same consonant sounds at the beginning of closely connected words.. There are 20 consonant sounds in English, but those that are made by stopping the air-stream completely (p, b, m,

n, t, d, k and g) are 9 according to Myers (1997, p. 124) most used, because they stand out more than others.

Wales (1989, p. 18) views alliteration, which is also referred to as “initial rhyme” as a very handy tool for foregrounding the initial sounds to achieve emphasis and to keep the message more memorable. Lea et al. (2008, p. 19) argue that alliterating strings helped to reactivate participants’ memories for previous information. In his acceptance speech, bill Clinton employs alliteration and says “*Somewhere at this very moment a child is **being born** in America. Let it be our cause to give that child a **happy home**, a **healthy family**, and a **hopeful future**.*”

2.10.1.3 Anaphora

The type of repetition when words or groups of words in successive clauses are repeated, is a rhetorical device called anaphora. Cuddon (1999, p. 37). It is used to appeal to the emotions of the audience in order to persuade, inspire, motivate and encourage them. The repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of successive clauses. Corbett (1999, p.390). For instance, Robert F. Kennedy says “***What we need in the United States is not division; what we need in the United States is not hatred; what we need in the United States is not violence or lawlessness, but love and wisdom, and compassion toward one another.***”

2.10.1.4 Epistrophe

Corbett (1999, p.391) defines epistrophe as the repetition of a word at the end of successive clauses or sentences. In case each sentence or clause ends with the same word, this type of repetition is called epiphora/epistrophe. Cuddon (1999, p. 279). For example, Nelson Mandela, in one of his speeches, says “*The time for the healing of the*

wounds has come. The moment to bridge the chasms that divides us has come.”

2.10.1.5 Antimetabole

Cuddon (1999, p. 44) states that Antimetabole is a rhetorical device which involves the repetition of words or phrases, in successive constructions, in transposed grammatical order. 'Antimetabole' comes from a Greek word meaning 'to turn around in the opposite direction'. The Greek 'anti' means 'against' or 'opposite' and 'metabole' translates to 'turn about'. Ellis-Christensen (2005, p. 3). For instance, Bounce Fabric Softener slogan uses antimetabole which reads “*STOPS STATIC BEFORE STATIC STOPS YOU.*”

2.10.1.6 Antithesis

Antithesis is basically contrasting ideas which can be practised by the use of opposite or noticeably different meanings. Cuddon (1999, p. 46). Antithesis relates to words, clauses or sentences. It is based on antonyms (words of opposite meaning or opposite ideas. Corbett (1999, p. 382) argues that antithesis is a rhetorical device in which two opposite ideas are combined together in a sentence to achieve a contrasting effect. Thus, antithesis is a figure of speech, which uses the same or similar structure to express two opposite ideas so as to achieve various effects upon the audience or the consumers.

Furthermore, Fengjie (2016, p. 144) states that antithesis can be defined as “a figure of speech involving a seeming contradiction of ideas, words, clauses, or sentences within a balanced grammatical structure. Barack Obama, for example, utilizes antithesis in one of his speeches and says “*We need to show our kids that you’re not strong by putting other people down – you’re strong by lifting them up.*”

2.10.1.7 Rhyme

One of the dominant sound techniques in English advertising slogans is rhyme, which, according to Cuddon, is “the formalized consonance of syllables” (1999, p. 750). It should be noted that rhyme refers to the way the word is pronounced, not spelled. In Leech’s (1972) view, rhyme makes the slogans and headlines appear striking and easier to remember. Huhmann (2008, p. 87) defines rhyme as repeating sounds at the end of words or phrases. For instance, a slogan for Kitchen Aid Refrigerator uses rhyme and goes “*KitchenAid. For the way it’s made.*”

2.10.1.8 Anadiplosis

Anadiplosis is a figure of speech in which the final word or words of a clause or sentence are repeated as the first word or words of the next clause or sentence. Blake (1990, p. 79). An example of anadiplosis can be found in an advertisement of Kleenex Facial Tissue which reads “*Kleenex Ultra. Ultra softness is all you want.*”

2.10.1.9 Epanalepsis

Epanalepsis as a rhetorical device is the repetition of the initial part of a clause or sentence at the end of that same clause or sentence. Corbett (1999, p.392). AT & T Telecommunications Company, for instance, employs epanalepsis in a slogan “*Smart phone smarts.*”

2.10.1.10 The Use of Personal Pronouns

Wilson (1990, p.46) asserts that many studies have shown that the employment of pronouns has contributed to serve communicatively to reveal various aspects of the speaker’s attitude, social status, gender, motivation and so forth.

Brown and Gilman (1960) argue that the power dynamics and solidarity of a relationship between the speaker and the addressee can be shaped or confirmed by the exchange of the pronouns. (p.256)

Helmbrecht (2002, p.31) states that the use of the first person plural pronouns consist of at least three important operations. First, the speaker refers to a set of human individuals which were introduced in some way or another in the previous discourse. He identifies this set of people as a group, and thirdly; he explicitly includes himself as a member of that group, and meanwhile excludes other from the right to be a members of that group. He furthers goes on and says “the employment of the first person plural pronoun (**We**) is closely associated with the linguistic establishment of social groups. Speakers publicly demarcate social groups with regard to their hearers by using this pronoun. (ibid, p.42)

Gastil (1992, p.484-485) proposed that there can be four reasons why politicians strategically and wisely use their pronominal references. Firstly, politicians make use of pronouns to forward their ideological views on specific issues. Secondly, the selection of the pronouns facilitates to the way of revealing how close or distant is to the topic under discussion or the participants involved. Thirdly, politicians are capable of getting the hearers involved in their discussion through using the pronoun (**We**) to have them included in the topic. Fourthly, the choice of personal pronouns can indicate the attribution of responsibility. In this regard, Wilson (1990, p.48) argues that the use of pronouns like (**I and We**) in the same sentence will lead to different distribution of responsibilities.

According to Karapetjana (2011, p.43), the way politicians speak and present themselves is a part of their personality and a way to show themselves as individuals. The same could be said about their

preference of choosing a personal pronoun. The use of personal pronouns can create an image of a politician both negative and positive.

Politicians use the pronoun **(I)** to present themselves as individuals and speak from their own perspective, preferably highlighting one's good qualities and accomplishments. Bramley (2001, p.259). The studies claim that the personal pronoun we can be used by the politician if he or she wishes to share the responsibility, and also to create involvement with the audience Karapetjana (2011, p.43). The plural form of the pronoun **(We)** is used when the decisions are controversial, to give a sense of collectivity and sharing responsibility.

However, **(You)** is more complicated, because it is also a generic pronoun that can be used in a very general way, where you is referring to anyone. Bramley (2001, p.261). **(We)** can be used to invoke a group membership or a collective identity, and create a separation between us and them (ibid, p.260). The pronoun **(You)** is used by the speaker to address parts of, or the entire audience. It can mean the speaker as well as others without the speaker.

As for **(They)**, it is used in political speeches to create an image of others and to divide people in groups (ibid, p.262). Bramley suggests that a politician's pronominal choice indicates his or her varied identity, more specifically his or her individual or collective identity (ibid, p.263).

Pronominal choices in political speeches differ depending on whether the politician who makes the utterance wants to share the responsibility with other people or colleagues or not. The choice of pronouns can also vary depending on how confident the speaker is that others will share his views and opinions. Beard (2000, p. 46).

Examples:

- 1- “**I** oppose amnesty, because it would encourage further illegal immigration and unfairly reward those who break our laws” (Bush 2004).
- 2- “Now, **I**’m proud that we passed a recovery plan free of earmarks, and **I** want to pass a budget next year that ensures that each dollar we spend reflects only on our most important national priorities” (Obama 2009).
- 3- “Many of **you** have talked about the need to pay down our national debt. I listened and I agree” (Bush 2001).
- 4- “For 7 years, **we** have been a nation at war. No longer will **we** hide its price” (Obama 2009).
- 5- “**They** talk about teaching to the best. But let’s put that logic to the test” (Bush 2001).

2.10.2 Tropes

A trope is a word or phrase that is basically used in a way that is different from its usual meaning to create a particular mental image or effect. It is a figurative expression. In this part, there is a list of most important tropes used in advertising language and election campaigns including metaphor, simile, metonymy, pun, allusion, ellipsis, rhetorical question, epanorthosis, hyperbole, paradox and irony.

2.10.2.1 Metaphor

According to Lakoff and Johnson (2004, p.11) ‘Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, it is found not just in language but in thoughts and actions’.

‘Metaphor is a trope in which one thing is spoken of as if it were some other thing, and it is an ubiquitous feature of natural language’ Kittay (1987, p.4). He further goes on and claims that ‘ability to understand metaphors is characteristic of mature linguistic competence.’

According to Stanojević (2009, p.341) the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing or phenomenon in

terms of another. This means that, conceptual (target) domain A is understood in terms of conceptual (source) domain B. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 3-5)

However, In terms of the functions metaphors have in political speeches, Charteris-Black (2011, p.28) states that the major function of using metaphors in political rhetoric is to formulate our view of political issues by getting rid of alternative points of view. Thus, politicians resort to using metaphors for positive self-representation and negative presentation of their political opponents attacking their ideas.

In addition, many political issues are deemed to be complex and abstract for voters to understand them; therefore, metaphors can be of great help for voters to understand abstract entities via more concrete ones. Mio and Katz (1997, p.113). Facing this issue, Brukholder and Henry (2009, p.97) claim that politicians use metaphors to pave the way for persuasive arguments which explicitly demonstrates their ability to think logically and rationally. They shed more light on this issue and point out that, the context and the audience are firmly taken into account by politicians when they choose metaphors and metonymies to address them; this result from the complexity of the nature of metaphors, for which voters may provide various interpretations and add their own meanings to them. (ibid: 114)

This sheds light on the fact that the political discourse is beyond understanding if one does not have a sufficient account of metaphor, this in turn makes it easier why metaphors determine primarily linguistic utterances made by the speakers and produced by the audiences.

Regarding the study of political discourse, it is worth mentioning that when dealing with metaphors as a linguistic phenomenon, both users and recipients are expected to know:

- How metaphors are used in speech situations.
- What is literally said is primarily different from what is intended to be understood.

One of the examples of metaphors used in political speeches is the case of Ronald Reagan Inaugural Address (Washington D.C., January 21, 1985) saying: “*But there are **many mountains** yet to climb. We will not rest until every American enjoys the fullness of freedom, dignity, and opportunity as our birth-right.*”

Ronald Reagan was aware of the problems facing the United States in the mid-1980s. Tax problems, inequality, AIDS virus and the rise of communism were all major issues at that time in USA. So, he compared these problems to high mountains that United States should focus on for the next four years.

2.10.2.2 Simile

Simile is a comparison between two different things that resemble each other in at least one way. In formal prose the simile is a device both of art and explanation, comparing an unfamiliar thing to some familiar thing (an object, event, process, etc.) Chetia (2015, p. 980). A simile is a figure of speech that directly compares two things through some connective, usually "like," "as," "than," or a verb such as "resembles". A simile differs from a metaphor in that the latter compares two unlike things by saying that the one thing is the other thing. An example of simile is an excerpt of Martin Luther King, Jr. saying: “We will not be satisfied until justice rolls down *like waters*, and righteousness *like a mighty stream*.”

2.10.2.3 Metonymy

According to Nasciscione (2001, p.108) metonymy is considered to be a rhetorical device that is based on some kind of association connecting two concepts.

A metonymy is when an idea or a concept is replaced by a single word or feature that is connected to it. As Gibbs (1993) states, the foundation of metonymies is conceptual, as it is the case with metaphors. (p.259)

Beard (2000, p.26) says that metonymies can be of great help in political speeches as they can contribute to reduce or increase responsibility. He provides an example of using the metonymy of *The White House* instead of President's name which, in this case, reduces the president's personal responsibility; in contrast, the personal responsibility is increased by using the State President's name when referring to the government or all the citizens of a country. Thus, the boundary between the leader and the nation is lifted, and the voice of the nation is represented by the views of their leader. Charteris-Black (2011, p.175)

Lakoff (2009, pp.5-19) refers to a type of metonymy which called THE RULER STANDS FOR THE STATE, in which the whole state is represented by its ruler, as in the case of the both Gulf Crises where the name of Saddam Hussein was often used to refer to Iraq.

Another example to illustrate such a metonymy is when the 11th September attacks were responded by George W. Bush's government. THE RULER STANDS FOR THE STATE was used and had the role of justifying the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Charteris-Black (2011, p.175) explicates that here there exist a connection between the abstract noun *terrorism* and the proper noun *Iraq*, claiming that Iraq is a state which sponsored terrorism.

2.10.2.4 Pun

A pun is a play on words that produces a humorous effect by using a word that suggests two or more meanings, or using words that sound alike but differ in meaning. Huhmann (2008, p.88). It has been called 'a humorous device', 'a riddle'. Van Mulken et al. (2005, p. 708), "a short lived layer of the language" Hickey and Puppel (1997, p. 10) and a very common form of 'speech play' Tanaka (1992, p. 91). In the pun, the message carries at least two different meanings or interpretations. Both meanings may be relevant to an audience or only one may be relevant Van Mulken et al. (2005, p. 715). For instance:

- Atheism is a non-prophet organization. **in George Carlin's Comedy**

2.10.2.5 Allusion

Considering allusion as a linguistic phenomenon which usually carries an implicit reference from the speaker/ author to the audience/ reader, Coombs (1984) describes allusion as a figure of speech which is considered as an economical device that typically makes use of a relatively short space to draw upon ready common ideas, cultural memes or emotion already related to the reader/ audience's thought. (p.475)

Bloom (1975, p.126) states that the word 'allusion' can actually be perceived in different senses and the broadest sense in which it may appear may refer to any brief or passing reference, either explicit or implicit.

As Perri (1978, p.289) clarifies, allusion can also be used in political speeches to mean an indirect reference or hint.

Lennon (2004, p.15) sees allusion as an elusive phenomenon by its very nature. Political speeches will basically try to allude to those parts of knowledge or experience previously known to their audience or readers.

Allusion can be both covert and overt, thus, Perri (1979, p.295) stresses that the traditional definition of allusion is exclusively covert; which involves any implied, indirect, or hidden reference. On the other hand, allusion is sometimes overt, as, for a humble cause, allusions must be overt: unless the hearer knows the allusion has failed, because the motivation of the meaning formed by the alluded-to and alluding texts or speech can only happen with the hearer or reader's contribution. Pasco (1994, p. 9).

Whenever the reference is made by the author/ speaker which is usually indirect, Perri (1979, p.300) claims that it is then the role of the audience/ reader to be a crucial factor to make the allusion to come into effect. Thus, whenever the allusion is provided by the author/ speaker/, it is only the audience/ reader who can initiate it into an interpretive process; which practically means connecting the old and new texts or speeches to arrive at the intended purpose of the speaker.

The audience should comprehend the literal meaning of the allusion, remember aspects of the source text's meaning, recognize that further interpretation is needed, realize it as a reference to a source text, and attaches these features to the alluding text to widespread the allusion's meaning, (ibid, p.301).

In his speech, Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream", he alluded to Abraham Lincoln by saying: "I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation. **Five score years ago a great American** in whose symbolic shadow we stand today signed the Emancipation Proclamation."

King Martin avoided choosing Lincoln's name and thus alluded to him through imitating the opening of the historic "Gettysburg Address" ("four score and seven years ago..."). By using this allusion, King makes a link between his perspective on liberty and that of Lincoln's.

2.10.2.6 Ellipsis

In advertising, ellipsis is associated with the 'brevity principle' which helps the advertiser to be economical with words and to focus on features of the message which the advertiser targets Cook (2001, p. 171). Ellipsis belongs to cohesive devices and it is defined as "the omission of part of a structure." Goddard (1998, p.123). The use of ellipsis in advertisements has a 'discourse function', i.e., creating an atmosphere of proximity and intimacy. According to Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 143), ellipsis can be regarded as substitution by zero it is divided into three kinds, namely nominal ellipsis, verbal ellipsis, and clausal ellipsis. In the following example, ellipsis is clearly perceived:

- I Keep My Hands Clean! Why Can't He? **Lava Soap**

2.10.2.7 Rhetorical Question

Quirk et al. (198, p. 825) state that these are questions which have an interrogative structure, but display the force of a strong assertion, i.e. are syntactically interrogatives, but semantically statements. Questions which have the form of questions but which do not expect an answer. Leech (1972, p. 84). Huhmann (2008, p.88) asserts that this device is used for asking a question, but the purpose of asking is not for getting information, i.e. the question is not meant to be answered. Ronald Regan, in one of his speeches uses rhetorical question and says: "Can anyone look at the record of this Administration and say, "Well done"? Can anyone compare the state of our economy when the Carter Administration took office with

where we are today and say, "Keep up the good work"? Can anyone look at our reduced standing in the world today say, "Let's have four more years of this"?

2.10.2.8 Epanorthosis

Making a claim to call that claim into doubt. Huhmann (2008, p.88).

For example:

- Chances are, you'll buy a Ranger for its value, economy and quality. Yeah, right. **Ford pickup truck**

2.10.2.9 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is "a figure of speech which contains an exaggeration for emphasis" (ibid, p. 406). Corbett (1999, p. 403) defines hyperbole as the use of exaggerated terms for the purpose of emphasis or highlighting the effect. For instance:

- Laser beams move at the speed of light. Fortunately, our engineers move somewhat faster. **Uniden Laser and Radar Detector**

2.10.2.10 Paradox

Paradox is based on "an apparently self-contradictory (even absurd) statement which, on closer inspection, is found to contain a truth reconciling the conflicting opposites. Cuddon (1999, p. 634). According to Corbett (1999, p. 408) paradox is a statement that, despite apparently valid reasoning from true premises, leads to an apparently-self-contradictory or logically unacceptable conclusion. To illustrate, the following example employs hyperbole which reads:

- This picture was taken by a person who didn't bring a camera. **Kodak Film**

2.10.2.11 Irony

Irony is the expression of one's meaning by using language that normally implies the opposite of the literal meaning of the words used, typically for humorous or emphatic effect. (ibid, p.405). Ironic speakers are more efficient in influencing and manipulating an audience than those avoiding irony. Self-irony helps to prevent possible criticism or discourage opponents. Ironic statesmen know how to use this tool: “Politicians use jokes as a strategy aiming to embarrass their opponents in the eyes of other politicians. They joke to avoid discussions of pressing issues” Fialkova and Yelenevskaya (2013, p. 218).

- We spent years developing this incredibly comfortable contact lens, and this is how you treat it (with a picture of a finger flicking a lens away). **Accuvue disposable contacts**

As McQuarrie and Philips (2008, p.260) clarify, these rhetorical figures vary in terms of the degree of violation they have, and based on this, they are classified into two categories as put into the following table:

Table (1) Rhetorical Figures by McQuarrie and Philips

Figuration	All rhetorical figures (artful deviation)							
Figurative mode	Scheme (excess regularity)				Trope (irregularity)			
	Less COMPLEX more				Less COMPLEX more			
Rhetorical operation	Repetition		Reversal		Substitution		Destabilization	
	1	Rhyme, alliteration	1	antimetabole	1	hyperbole	1	metaphor

		2	Anaphora, epistrophe, Epanalepsis Anadiplosis	2	antithesis	2	Ellipsis	2	pun
		3	Parallelism			3	Epanorthosis, Rhetorical question	3	Irony
						4	Metonym	4	Paradox
Lower			Gradient of Deviation				Higher		

As it has been clearly shown that the rhetorical figures are classified into the two categories of Scheme and Trope; those put in Scheme are realized through the repetition of sounds such as rhyme and alliteration, or repetition of words like anaphora, or repetition of structure such as parallelism. And those of the trope category are primarily realized through the mediation of semantic meaning which include metaphor, paradox or linguistic means such as rhetorical question, or meaning and form like pun.

2.11 Previous Studies

Due to its effective and powerful role in social, political and business affairs, persuasion has gained a strong position in today's academic area; therefore, many studies have been conducted about persuasion and its role in the above mentioned fields, the techniques and strategies used

to persuade people, how do politicians and advertisers sway their voters and customers to vote for them and promote their product sales.

A study entitled **‘Persuasive Strategies Used in Obama’s Political Speech’** was previously carried out and published in (2015). This paper investigates the persuasive strategies of Obama’s public speech and the incognito belief system in his inaugural location. This research is based on Norman Fairclough’s presumptions in critical discourse analysis (CDA), and aims at uncovering Obama’s influential methods. One of the conclusions of this paper to be noted here is, the results of the keyword analysis have demonstrated that the most noticeable words utilized by Obama are country, new and America, and a general strength of the individual pronoun We, which is a proof of Obama's comprehensive impression of the American culture and a requirement for solidarity as essential factor in the season of national danger.

Another research is a thesis carried out in (2016) under the title of **‘Persuasive Techniques Used in Nike Advertisement’** which primarily focused on two points: 1) What are the types of persuasive strategies used in Nike Advertisement and, 2) The mechanism of using these strategies in its advertisement. The researcher has found that Nike Advertisers used all the types of Persuasive techniques referred by Gorys Keraf (1991) to persuade people and to be interested in the service or product they are exposed to. The research also found out that all persuasive techniques by Aristotle are used in Nike Advertisement. And athletes take the major portion of Nike Advertisement.

‘Persuasive Strategies Used in Hillary Clinton’s Political Campaign Speech’ is another study which was conducted in (2016). In this paper, the persuasive strategies used by Hillary Clinton in her campaign speeches are thoroughly examined. The researcher uses the theory of persuasion proposed by Aristotle to better understand and

analyze the data found from the speeches. The result of the study shows that Hillary Clinton used all persuasive strategies proposed by Aristotle i.e. Ethos, Pathos, and Logos.

It is worth mentioning that many other studies and research have been conducted regarding persuasion in advertisement or political campaigns. What distinguishes the current research from the others, however, is the quest for the underlying overt and covert or hidden strategies adopted by different advertising agencies and political figures or parties. In addition, some strategies come in a 'hidden form' by which advertisers and politicians influence their customers and voters to change attitude in their interest; therefore, the covert persuasion strategies serve the interests of the hidden purposes of politicians and advertisers. Previous studies in the concerned field have concentrated on the strategies and techniques of persuasion, how language is related to power? And what are the linguistic elements used by politicians and advertisers to get their voters and costumers' attention. The current thesis focuses meticulously on the overt and covert attempts and endeavors by politicians and advertisers who employ various plain and hidden or vague techniques to persuade people and serve their concealed intentions. Besides, this research attempts to find all the possible functions that rhetorical devices assume in political speeches and advertising slogans.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter is basically devoted to present the adopted model of the analysis in this study. Thus, to analyze the data, the researcher puts forward an adopted model based on the classifications and taxonomies made by different authors in the field concerned. Furthermore, method of analysis is thoroughly presented to illustrate how the data are analyzed. Regarding the data for analysis, this section shows how and where the data are collected and how many texts are selected for the analysis.

3.1 Model of Analysis

Analyzing the persuasive strategies used by politicians and advertisers in the data collected is based on the classification put forward by James & Paul (2003, p.105) as illustrated in table (2). They argue that these strategies are of vital importance which politicians and advertisers seek to impose while trying to get their voters or costumers in one way or another.

Table (2)
Classification of Persuasive Strategies by James & Paul (2003)

Persuasive Strategies	Ethos	
	Logos	
	Pathos	
	Cognitive Dissonance	
	Positive and Negative Motivation	
	Appeals to Needs	

When it comes to the analysis of the corpus in terms of Persuasive Techniques, the researcher uses the taxonomy provided by Keraf (1991, p.124-131), who proposes seven techniques as shown in table (3)

Table (3)

Taxonomy of Persuasive Techniques proposed by Keraf (1991, p.124-131)

Persuasive Techniques	Rationalization	
	Identification	
	Suggestion	
	Conformity	
	Compensation	
	Displacement	
	Projection	

With regard to functions which political speeches and advertisement texts have, the researcher makes use of the classifications suggested by Leech (1996, p.123). Table (4) illustrates all four functions which are found in political speeches and advertisement slogans as follows:

Table (4)

Classification of functions of successful political speeches and advertisement proposed by Leech (1996)

Functions	Attention Value	
	Readability	
	Memorability	
	Selling Power	

Finally, for the purpose of analyzing the corpus where the rhetorical devices used by both politicians and advertisers, the researcher utilizes the classification put forward by McQuarrie (2008, p.260) who suggests a taxonomy of the rhetorical devices used in advertisement which, he believes, vary in terms of the degree of

violation they have, and based on this, they are classified into two categories –Scheme and Trope- and he claims that the rhetorical operation goes through four processes including Repetition, Reversal, Substitution and Destabilization.

Furthermore, Galperin (1997, p.125) provides classifications of rhetorical devices that politicians regularly resort to and many of them overlap with devices used in advertisement. Table (5) demonstrates rhetorical devices proposed by McQuarrie (2008, p.260) and Galperin (1997, p.125).

Table (5)

Classification of Rhetorical Devices provided by McQuarrie (2008, p.260) and Galperin (1997, p.125).

Figuration		All rhetorical figures (artful deviation)							
Figurative mode		Scheme (excess regularity)				Trope (irregularity)			
Rhetorical operation		Repetition		Reversal		Substitution		Destabilization	
		1	Rhyme, alliteration	1	antimetabole	1	hyperbole	1	metaphor
		2	Anaphora, epistrophe, Epanalepsis Anadiplosis	2	Antithesis	2	Ellipsis	2	pun
		3	Parison			3	Epanorthosis, Rhetorical question	3	Irony

		4	Personal Pronouns			4	Metonym	4	Paradox
							Allusion	5	
Lower			Gradient of Deviation				Higher		

To conclude, table (6) shows the model of analysis prepared by the researcher through adopting all the classifications, taxonomies, functions and rhetorical devices introduced by (James B. Stiff & Paul A. Mongeau 2003; Keraf 1991; Leech 1996, McQuarrie 2008 & Galperin 1997).

**Table (6)
Adopted Model**

Text	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
	Tropes		Schemes				
	Rhetorical Operation						
	Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
	Alliteration	Antimetabole	Ellipsis	Metaphor	Rationalization	Attention Value	Ethos
	Anadiplosis	Antithesis	Hyperbole	Irony	Identification	Readability	Logos
	Anaphora		Allusion	Pun	Suggestion	Memorability	Pathos
	Epanalepsis		Metonymy	Paradox	Conformity	Selling Power	Cognitive dissonance
	Epistrophe		Rhetorical question	Simile	Compensation		Positive and Negative Motivation
	Parallelism		Epanorthosis		Displacement		Appeals to Needs
	Rhyme				Projection		
	Personal Pronouns						

3.2 Method of Analysis

The current study attempts to analyse a certain number of political speeches and advertisement texts as its corpus of the data analysis. As the first step of the analysis, the researcher goes meticulously through the texts selected to pinpoint what is considered as the rhetorical devices in both areas of election campaigns and advertisements, and then categorizes them based on the adopted model. Moreover, the researcher goes deeper down to the texts to identify the strategies resorted to by politicians and advertisers in their campaigns and business, techniques employed and the functions these selected texts assume.

Moreover, and for the purpose of the data analysis, both quantitative and qualitative approaches are adopted which aims at providing a thorough analysis of the corpus chosen.

With regard to the qualitative method, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) imply that qualitative research is "multi-method in its focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter". This means that the qualitative researcher studies things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, and phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them." (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p. 2). Maanen (1983) in Borg and Gall (1989), defined the qualitative method as "an array of interpretative techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world" (Maanen, 1983, p. 9).

However, quantitative research is structured, logical, measured and carried out on a wider scale than qualitative research which is more intuitive, subjective and carried out in a more intense manner on fewer subjects. Therefore, as Bouma and Atkinson (1995, p. 208) state: "Some

subjects are best investigated using the quantitative approach whilst for others, qualitative approaches will give better results. However in some cases both methods can be used."

When it comes to the analysis, the researcher goes through each text one by one. Each text is categorized into certain numbered paragraphs; and each paragraph is analysed one by one. In addition, the selected lines in each paragraph which come in bold forms in the model indicate the rhetorical device, the strategy, the technique or the function these lines include. Furthermore, rhetorical devices like simile, metaphor, alliteration and rhyme are underlined along with coming in bold forms.

3.1 Data for Analysis

Online resources make a lion's share contribution as data for analysis of this study. This study sets (20) online samples as its object of analysis found in different websites in both political campaigns and advertising projects. Moreover, out of these (20) samples, (10) of which is about political speeches in election campaigns, and the selected examples in the field of advertising language cover (10) samples as well.

The collection of all these data from both political speeches and advertising projects then branching down to the rhetorical devices they resort to, is deemed to be a precise analysis of how, on the one hand, politicians use several strategies and employ various techniques to sway their voters and end the campaign successfully; on the other hand, how advertisers and companies resort to linguistic means and devices to make their products more favorable in the eyes of their customers.

This way, the present study gives a clear insight as to how addressees and customers are influenced by politicians and advertisers through linguistically powerful devices.

CHAPTER FOUR DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter is designed to the analysis of the collected data, both political speeches and advertisement slogans. In this chapter (20) texts are analysed, in which (10) political speeches are analysed first and then the other (10) texts of advertisement slogans are analysed in accordance with the adopted model referred to in the preceding chapter.

4.1 Analysis of Political Election Speeches

As mentioned above, (10) political speeches are collected to be analysed. All the speeches come from British and American politicians who gave their speeches during election campaigns. In addition, in the analysis persuasive techniques and functions employed in advertisements are also applied for the political speeches.

4.1.1 Analysis of Donald Trump’s Election Campaign Speech 2016

Table (7) Analysis of “Donald Trump’s Election Campaign Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 3	We are one nation. When one state hurts , we all hurt – and we must all work together to lift each other up. Working, building, restoring together.	Personal Pronoun				Identification	Emphasis	Pathos
		Epistrophe						Appeals to needs
Par. 5	We are one country, one people , and we will have together one great future .	Anaphora				Identification	Emphasis	Positive motivation
		Personal pronoun						Pathos
Par. 7	Last week, I laid out my plan to bring jobs back to our country. On Monday, I laid out my plan to defeat Radical Islamic Terrorism . On Tuesday, in Wisconsin, I talked about how we are going to restore law and order to this country.	Anaphora				Compensation	Selling power	Ethos
		Personal pronoun					Emphasis	Pathos
Par. 9	The chaos and violence on our streets, and the assaults on law enforcement, are an attack against all peaceful citizens. If I am elected President, this chaos and violence will end – and it will end very quickly.	Personal pronoun		Ellipsis		Rationalization	Selling power	Ethos
							Attention value	Positive motivation
Par. 19	I speak the truth for all of you, and for everyone in this country who doesn’t have a voice. I speak the truth on behalf of the factory worker who lost his or her job. I speak the truth on behalf of the Veteran who has been denied the medical care they need – and so many are not making it. They are dying. I speak the truth on behalf of the family living near the border that deserves to be safe in their own country but is instead living with no security at all.	Anaphora*	Antithesis			Identification	Emphasis*	Pathos
		Personal* pronoun					Warning	Logos

Table (7) Analysis of “Donald Trump’s Election Campaign Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 24	Every day I think about how much is at stake for this country. This isn’t just the fight of my life, it’s the fight of our lives – together – to save our country.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Identification	Warning	Positive motivation Pathos
Par. 25	I refuse to let another generation of American children be excluded from the American Dream. Our whole country loses when young people of limitless potential are denied the opportunity to contribute their talents because we failed to provide them the opportunities they deserved. Let our children be dreamers too. Our whole country loses every time a kid doesn’t graduate from high school, or fails to enter the workforce or, worse still, is lost to the dreadful world of drugs and crime.	Anaphora				Suggestion	Emphasis	Ethos Pathos
		Personal pronoun				Rationalization	Selling power	Appeals to needs
Par. 27	I have no patience for injustice, no tolerance for government incompetence, no sympathy for leaders who fail their citizens.	Parallelism				Projection	Emphasis	Pathos
		Personal pronoun					Selling power	Ethos
Par. 30	Aren’t you tired of a system that gets rich at your expense? Aren’t you tired of the same old lies and the same old broken promises? And Hillary Clinton has proven to be one of the greatest liars of all time. Aren’t you tired of arrogant leaders who look down on you, instead of serving and protecting you?		Antithesis	Rhetorical question		Projection	Warning	Cognitive dissonance Pathos
Par. 33	In this journey, I will never lie to you. I will never tell you something I do not believe. I will never put anyone’s interests ahead of yours. And, I will never , ever stop fighting for you.	Personal pronoun				Rationalization	Emphasis	Ethos
							Selling power	Pathos

Table (7) Analysis of “Donald Trump’s Election Campaign Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 35	So while sometimes I can be too honest, Hillary Clinton is the exact opposite: she never tells the truth. One lie after another, and getting worse each passing day.		Antithesis			Projection	Warning	Cognitive dissonance Ethos
Par. 37	Tell me, has Hillary Clinton ever apologized for lying about her illegal email server and deleting 33,000 emails? Has Hillary Clinton apologized for turning the State Department into a pay-for-play operation where favours are sold to the highest bidder? Has she apologized for lying to the families who lost loved ones at Benghazi? Has she apologized for putting Iran on the path to nuclear weapons? Has she apologized for Iraq? For Libya? For Syria? Has she apologized for unleashing ISIS across the world? Has Hillary Clinton apologized for the decisions she made that have led to so much death, destruction and terrorism?	Personal pronoun		Rhetorical question		Projection	Attention value	Logos Pathos
Par. 45	But where was the Sanctuary for Kate Steinle? Where was the Sanctuary for the children of Laura, Michelle, Sabine and Jamiel? Where was the Sanctuary for every other parent who has suffered so horribly?	Anaphora*		Allusion		Displacement	Emphasis* Memorability	Pathos
Par. 49	Please remember this: I will never put personal profit before national security. I will never leave our border open to appease donors and special interests. I will never support a trade deal that kills American jobs. I will never put the special interests before the national interest. I will never put a donor before a voter, or a lobbyist before a citizen. Instead, I will be a champion for the people.	Personal pronoun* Anaphora*	Antithesis			Projection	Emphasis* Selling power	Appeals to needs Pathos

Table (7) Analysis of “Donald Trump’s Election Campaign Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 57	We will use military, cyber, and financial warfare and work with any partner in the world and the Middle East that shares our goal in defeating terrorism. I have a message for the terrorists trying to kill our citizens. We will find you, we will destroy you and we will absolutely win and we will win soon.	Parallelism				Identification	Emphasis	Ethos
		Personal pronoun					Selling power	Logos
								Appeals to needs
Par. 59	If you want to join our society, then you must embrace our society. Our values, and our tolerant way of life. Those who believe in oppressing women, guys, Hispanics, African-Americans, and people of different faiths are not welcome to join our great country.	Epistrophe				Suggestion	Emphasis	Positive motivation
		Personal pronoun					Directive	Cognitive dissonance
		Parallelism						
Par. 66	On education, so important, we are going to give students choice and allow charter schools to thrive. We are going to end tenure policies that reward bad teachers and hurt our great, good teachers. My opponent wants to deny student choice and opportunity, all to get a little bit more money from the education bureaucracy. She doesn't care how many young dreams are dashed or destroyed and they are destroyed. Young people are destroyed before they even start. We are going to work closely with African-American parents and children. We are going to work with the parents' students. We are going to work with everybody in the African-American community, in the inner cities, and what a big difference that is going to make. It's one of the things I most look forward to doing.	Anaphora				Identification	Selling power	Logos
								Appeals to needs
		Personal pronoun						Pathos

Table (7) Analysis of “Donald Trump’s Election Campaign Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 67	This means a lot to me and it's going to be a top priority in a Trump administration. On healthcare, we are going to repeal and replace the disaster called Obama Care . Countless Americans have been forced into part-time jobs, premiums are about to jump by double digits yet again and just this week, and ETNA announced it is pulling out of the exchanges all over but also in North Carolina. We are going to replace this disaster with reforms that give you choice and freedom and control in healthcare at a much, much lower cost. You will have much better healthcare at a much lower cost and it will happen quickly.	Anaphora*			Metaphor	Compensation	Emphasis*	Logos
		Persona* pronoun					Attention value	Pathos
		Alliteration*						
Par. 70	Finally, we are going to bring our country together . It is so divided. We are going to bring it together. We are going to do it by emphasizing what we all have in common as Americans. We're going to reject bigotry and I will tell you the bigotry of Hillary Clinton is amazing. She sees communities of colour only as votes and not as human beings. Worthy of a better future. It's only votes. It is only votes that she sees. And she does nothing about it. She has been there forever and look at where you are. If African-Americans voters give Donald Trump a chance by giving me their vote, the result for them will be amazing.	Anaphora			Identification	Emphasis	Logos	
		Personal pronoun				Attention value	Pathos	

Table (7) Analysis of “Donald Trump’s Election Campaign Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 71	Look how badly things are going under decades of Democratic leadership. Look at the schools. Look at the poverty. Look at the 58 percent of young African-Americans not working. Fifty eight percent. It is it is time for a change. What do you have to lose by trying something new? I will fix it watch, I will fix it. We have nothing to lose. Nothing to lose. It is so bad. The inner cities are so bad, you have nothing to lose. They have been playing with you for 60, 70, 80 years, many, many decades. You have nothing to lose. I will do a great job.	Personal pronoun				Projection	Emphasis	Pathos
		Epistrophe					Selling power	Ethos
Par. 73	In my administration every American will be treated equally , protected equally and honoured equally . We will reject bigotry and hatred and oppression in all of its forms and seek a new future built on our common culture and values as one American people.	Epistrophe				Projection	Emphasis	Ethos
							Selling power	
Par. 75	Seventy two percent of voters say our country is on the wrong track. I am the change candidate. Hillary Clinton is for the failed status quo to protect her special interests, her donors, her lobbyists, and others. It is time to vote for a new American future. Together, we will make America strong again. We will make America proud again, we will make America safe again.	Personal pronoun				Suggestion	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
		Parallelism						Ethos
		Epistrophe						Logos

In accordance with the analysis of Donald Trump's speech as shown in table (7), there are (38) occurrences of rhetorical devices under Repetition category which is primarily used by the speaker to put emphasis on what he says, and to make the message reverberate in the mind of the audience and have them focused on some significant points the speaker says or is going to do. Under Reversal category there are (5) occurrences of antithesis device which are used by the speaker to warn the audience and the voters about the deadly consequences if they vote not for him but for his opponent. In addition, under Substitution category, there comes (2) occurrences of rhetorical question and (1) occurrence of allusion and (1) occurrence of ellipsis. Via using rhetorical questions, the speaker tries to attract the attention of the voters and get them not to answer the question but to think about a particular point and go through it thoroughly. Donald Trump utilizes allusion here to make the message memorable, to have a memorable phrase and to have the audience kept the speech in their mind. Metaphor, which comes under the category of Destabilization of the devices is found to be available in only (1) instance in this speech, through which the speaker attempts to get the voters' attention, here he draws their attention by comparing a health project proposed by his opponent candidate as a catastrophic one.

As it comes to the techniques of persuasion, the above text includes (7) occurrences of identification, (3) occurrences of suggestion, (7) occurrences of projection and (2) occurrences for both rationalization and compensation and (1) occurrence of displacement. Through using these techniques, Donald Trump seeks every possible ways to get the audience to his own election benefits. In other words, the speaker in this text endeavours to make the audience feel that the he is part of them, understands their problems and is basically one of their social and

political member, which is done through identification technique. Via using suggestion, the speaker wants to provide the audience with plausible suggestions and tell them the ways they could achieve their aims through electing the right person for the right position. As table (7) illustrates, Trump resorts to projection technique to show the negative sides of his opponent and to make himself more desirable in the eyes of voters as compared to his election opponent. When it comes to compensation technique, the speaker wants to tell the voters that in order to get their aims and dreams back on the right track and to make up for what they think have lost previously, it is the right time and the right leader is in front of them to vote for. Furthermore, in this speech, the speaker wants to show the plausible reasons why he runs for the election, why he is going to do something before and after the election via providing logical reasons which is rationalization.

With regard to persuasive strategies, the speaker uses pathos as one of his most common strategies with (16) occurrences, ethos (10) occurrences, logos (10) occurrences, appeals to needs (7), cognitive dissonance (3) and positive motivation (4) and negative motivation with only (1) occurrence. In order to achieve his goals and persuade the audience, the speaker employs the abovementioned strategies; through using pathos, he tries to arouse the emotion of the audience and to get them entirely invoked with his speech. He attempts to show his credibility and ability to lead the country through using ethos. Moreover, with the use of logos, the speaker tries to give some statistics and facts so as to serve his cause and change the minds of the audience to his own interests. As a persuasive strategy, appeals to needs utilized by Donald Trump serves the interests of appealing to the safety needs of Americans, their security and health needs. Then through positive

motivation, the speaker attempts to relate the content of the speech to the audience and motivate them to work together.

Generally speaking, the speaker covertly attempts to make an impression on the audience and indirectly get them to vote for him. Thus, all the devices and techniques employed in this speech serve the concealed intention of the speaker to sway the voters. There exist, however, only four cases where the speaker overtly tells the audience to vote for him in paragraphs (9, 25, 70 and 75).

4.1.2 Analysis of Obama's Election Campaign speech, Ohio May 5, 2012

Table (8) Analysis of "Obama's Election Campaign speech, Ohio"

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 1	I want to thank so many of our Neighbourhood Team Leaders for being here today. You guys will be the backbone of this campaign. And I want the rest of you to join a team or become a leader yourself , because we are going to win this thing the old-fashioned way -- door by door, block by block, neighbourhood by neighbourhood.	Personal pronoun				Suggestion	Emphasis	Pathos
	Epanalepsis				Readability		Ethos	
Par. 4	We came together because we believe that in America, your success shouldn't be determined by the circumstances of your birth. If you're willing to work hard, you should be able to find a good job. If you're willing to meet your responsibilities, you should be able to own a home, maybe start a business, give your children the chance to do even better -- no matter who you are, or where you come from, or what you look like, or what your last name is.	Anaphora				Suggestion	Emphasis	Positive motivation
	Personal pronoun				Readability		Pathos	
Par. 7	It was a house of cards that collapsed in the most destructive crisis since the Great Depression . In the last six months of 2008, even as we were campaigning, nearly three million of our neighbours lost their jobs . Over 800,000 more were lost in the month I took office alone.	Personal pronoun		Allusion*	Metaphor	Projection	Memorability*	Logos
					Attention value		Pathos	

Table (8) Analysis of “Obama’s Election Campaign speech, Ohio”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 8	It was tough. But I tell you what, Ohio -- the American people are tougher. All across this country, people like you dug in. Some of you retrained. Some of you went back to school. Small business owners cut back on expenses, but did everything they could to keep their employees. Yes, there were setbacks. Yes, there were disappointments. But we didn’t quit. We don’t quit. Together, we’re fighting our way back.	Anaphora				Identification	Emphasis	Positive motivation
		Epistrophe					Selling power	Pathos
		Personal pronoun						
Par. 10	OBAMA: "Of course not. Too many of our friends and family are still out there looking for work. The housing market is still weak, deficits are still too high, and states are still laying off teachers, first responders. This crisis took years to develop, and the economy is still facing headwinds. And it will take sustained, persistent effort -- yours and mine -- for America to fully recover. That’s the truth. We all know it.	Parallelism*			Metaphor	Identification	Emphasis*	Pathos
								Attention value
Par. 14	OBAMA: "But to borrow a line from my friend Bill Clinton, now their agenda is on steroids. This time, they want even bigger tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans. This time, they want even deeper cuts to things like education and Medicare, and research and technology." AUDIENCE: "Booo."	Anaphora*			Metaphor	Projection	Emphasis*	Cognitive dissonance
		Personal* pronoun						Attention value

Table (8) Analysis of “Obama’s Election Campaign speech, Ohio”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 15	OBAMA: "This time, they want to give banks and insurance companies even more power to do as they please. And now, after a long and spirited primary, Republicans in Congress have found a nominee for President who has promised to rubber-stamp this agenda if he gets the chance. " AUDIENCE: "Booo."	Personal pronoun			Metaphor	Projection	Warning	Cognitive dissonance
								Pathos
Par. 16	OBAMA: "Ohio, I tell you what: We cannot give him that chance. Not now. Not with so much at stake. This is not just another election. This is a make-or-break moment for the middle class, and we’ve been through too much to turn back now. "	Personal pronoun	Antithesis*			Identification	Warning*	Ethos
							Selling power	Cognitive dissonance
								Pathos
Par. 18	OBAMA: " We have come too far to abandon the change we fought for these past few years. We have to move forward, to the future we imagined in 2008, where everyone gets a fair shot, and everyone does their fair share, and everyone plays by the same rules. That’s the choice in this election, and that’s why I’m running for a second term as President of the United States. "	Parallelism				Rationalization	Emphasis	Ethos
		Personal pronoun					Appeals to needs	
							Selling power	Pathos
Par. 19	"Governor Romney is a patriotic American who has raised a wonderful family, and he has much to be proud of. He’s run a large financial firm, and he’s run a state. But I think he has drawn the wrong lessons from those experiences. He sincerely believes that if CEOs and wealthy investors like him make money, the rest of us will automatically prosper as well." AUDIENCE: "Boo."	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Projection	Attention value	Logos
								Pathos

Table (8) Analysis of “Obama’s Election Campaign speech, Ohio”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 22	Why else would he want to spend trillions more on tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans? Why else would he propose cutting his own taxes while raising them on 18 million working families? Why else would he want to slash the investments that have always helped the economy grow, but at the same time, stop regulating the reckless behaviour on Wall Street that helped the economy crash?	Personal pronoun	Antithesis*	Rhetorical question	Projection	Warning*	Pathos	
						Attention value	Cognitive dissonance	
Par. 24	Well, Ohio, I’m here to say that we were there, we remember, and we are not going back. We are moving this country forward.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis		Identification	Attention value	Ethos	
Par. 26	We measure prosperity not just by our total GDP; not just by how many billionaires we produce, but how well the typical family is doing -- whether they can go as far as their dreams and hard work will take them.	Anaphora*	Antithesis		Rationalization	Emphasis*	Positive motivation	
		Personal* pronoun				Attention value	Pathos	
Par. 30	Look, we don’t expect government to solve all our problems, and it shouldn’t try. I learned from my mom that no education policy can take the place of a parent’s love and affection. As a young man, I worked with a group of Catholic churches who taught me that no poverty program can make as much of a difference as the kindness and commitment of a caring soul. Not every regulation is smart. Not every tax dollar is spent wisely. Not every person can be helped who refuses to help themselves.	Anaphora			Rationalization	Emphasis	Negative motivation	
		Personal pronoun					Pathos	

Table (8) Analysis of “Obama’s Election Campaign speech, Ohio”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 33	We built railroads and highways; the Hoover Dam, the Golden Gate Bridge -- together . We sent my grandfather’s generation to college on the GI Bill -- together . We instituted a minimum wage and worker safety laws -- together . Together, we touched the surface of the moon, unlocked the mystery of the atom, and connected the world through our own science and imagination . We did these things together -- not because they benefited any particular individual or group, but because they made us all richer. Because they gave us all opportunity. Because they moved us forward together -- as one people, as one nation.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Identification	Emphasis	Logos
	Epistrophe				Selling power		Pathos	
	Parallelism				Attention value		Positive motivation	
Par. 35	I’m running to make sure that by the end of the decade, more of our citizens hold a college degree than any other nation on Earth. I want to help our schools hire and reward the best teachers, especially in math and science. I want to give two million more Americans the chance to go to community colleges and learn the skills that local businesses are looking for right now. In the 21st century, higher education can’t be a luxury -- it is an economic imperative that every American should be able to afford. That’s the choice in this election. That’s why I’m running for President.	Anaphora				Rationalization	Emphasis	Ethos
					Appeals to needs			
	Personal pronoun				Selling power		Pathos	

Table (8) Analysis of “Obama’s Election Campaign speech, Ohio”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 36	I’m running to make sure the next generation of high-tech manufacturing takes root in places like Columbus and Cleveland and Pittsburgh and Richmond. I want to stop rewarding businesses that ship jobs and profits overseas, and start rewarding companies that create jobs right here in the United States of America. That’s the choice in this election.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Rationalization	Emphasis	Pathos
						Suggestion	Selling power	Ethos
Par. 38	"So now is not the time to cut these investments to pay for another \$4 billion giveaway to the oil companies. Now is the time to end the subsidies for an industry that’s rarely been more profitable. Let’s double down on a clean energy future that’s never been more promising -- for our economy, and for our security, and for the safety of our planet. That’s why I’m running for President. That’s the choice in this election, Ohio."	Parallelism*	Antithesis			Suggestion	Emphasis*	Appeals to needs
						Rationalization	Attention value	Pathos
Par. 48	And as long as I’m President of the United States, I will never allow Medicare to be turned into a voucher that would end the program as we know it. We will not go back to the days when our citizens spent their golden years at the mercy of private insurance companies. We will reform Medicare -- not by shifting the cost of care to seniors, but by reducing the spending that isn’t making people healthier. That’s what’s at stake in this election. That’s what’s at stake, Ohio.	Personal pronoun*	Antithesis		Metaphor		Emphasis*	Ethos
		Anaphora*					Attention value	
							Selling power	Pathos

Table (8) Analysis of “Obama’s Election Campaign speech, Ohio”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 49	On issue after issue, we can’t afford to spend the next four years going backward. America doesn’t need to refight the battles we just had over Wall Street reform and health care reform. On health care reform, here is what I know: Allowing 2.5 million young people to stay on their parents’ health insurance plan -- that was the right thing to do. Cutting prescription drug costs for seniors -- that was the right thing to do. I will not go back to the days when insurance companies had unchecked power to cancel your policy, or deny you coverage, or charge women differently from men. We’re not going back there. We’re going forward.	Personal pronoun*	Antithesis			Identification	Emphasis*	Cognitive dissonance
	Epistrophe*	Attention value					Pathos	
	Parallelism*	Selling power					Appeals to needs	
Par. 50	We don’t need another political fight about ending a woman’s right to choose, or getting rid of Planned Parenthood -- or taking away access to affordable birth control. I want women to control their own health choices, just like I want my daughters to have the same opportunities as your sons. We are not turning back the clock. We are moving forward.	Personal Pronoun	Antithesis		Metaphor	Identification	Attention value	Pathos
							Appeals to needs	
Par. 52	This should be the last election where multimillion-dollar donations speak louder than the voices of ordinary citizens. We need more checks on lobbyists and special interests, not less.		Antithesis			Suggestion	Attention value	Pathos
							Directive	Positive motivation

Table (8) Analysis of “Obama’s Election Campaign speech, Ohio”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 53	We’re not going to eliminate the EPA. We’re not going to roll back the bargaining rights that generations of workers fought for. It’s time to stop denying citizenship to responsible young people just because they’re the children of undocumented immigrants. This country is at its best when we harness the God-given talents of every individual; when we hear every voice; when we come together as one American family, striving for the same dream.	Personal pronoun				Identification	Emphasis	Pathos
	Anaphora				Directive		Appeals to needs	
Par. 54	That’s what we’re fighting for. That’s what we’re fighting for , Ohio. A bold America. A competitive America. A generous America. A forward-looking America , where everybody has a chance to make of their life what they will. That’s what made us the envy of the world. That’s what makes us great. That’s why I’m running again for President of the United States.	Parallelism				Identification	Emphasis	Pathos
		Anaphora						Appeals to needs
		Epistrophe						
Par. 58	We’ve seen that play before. But you know what? The real question -- the question that will actually make a difference in your life and in the lives of your children -- is not just about how we’re doing today. It’s about how we’ll be doing tomorrow.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis	Rhetorical Question	Metaphor	Identification	Attention value	Pathos
Par. 59	Will we better off if more Americans get a better education? That’s the question. Will we better off if we depend less on foreign oil and more on our own ingenuity? That’s the question. Will we better off if we start doing some nation-building right here at home? That’s the question.	Personal pronoun		Rhetorical question		Identification	Emphasis	Pathos
		Epistrophe			Positive motivation			
		Anaphora			Attention value		Appeals to needs	

Table (8) Analysis of “Obama’s Election Campaign speech, Ohio”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies	
		Tropes		Schemes					
		Rhetorical Operation							
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization				
Par. 61	But if there is one thing that we learned in 2008, it’s that nothing is more powerful than millions of voices calling for change. When enough of you knock on doors, when you pick up phones, when you talk to your friends, when you decide that it’s time for change to happen, guess what? Change happens. Change comes to America.	Personal pronoun				Suggestion	Emphasis	Positive motivation	
		Parallelism					Directive	Pathos	
Par. 62	And that’s the spirit we need again. If people ask you what this campaign is about, you tell them it’s still about hope. You tell them it’s still about change. You tell them it’s still about ordinary people who believe that in the face of great odds, we can make a difference in the life of this country.	Personal pronoun				Projection	Emphasis	Positive motivation	
		Anaphora					Attention value	Pathos	
		Parallelism							
Par. 63	Because I still believe, Ohio. I still believe that we are not as divided as our politics suggest. I still believe that we have more in common than the pundits tell us; that we’re not Democrats or Republicans, but Americans first and foremost. I still believe in you, and I’m asking you to keep believing in me. I told you in 2008 that I wasn’t a perfect man, and I would never be a perfect President. But I promised that I would always tell you what I thought. I would always tell you where I stood. And I would wake up every single day fighting for you as hard as I know how.	Personal pronoun*	Antithesis			Identification	Emphasis*	Appeals to needs	
		Anaphora*						Selling power	Ethos
								Attention value	Pathos
Par. 64	And I have kept that promise. I have kept that promise , Ohio. And I will keep it so long as I have the honour of being your President. So if you’re willing to stick with me, if you’re willing to fight with me, and press on with me; if you’re willing to work even harder in this election than you did in the last election, I guarantee you -- we will move this country forward.	Personal pronoun				Suggestion	Emphasis	Positive motivation	
		Anaphora					Selling power	Ethos	

Based on the analysis of the speech delivered by Barack Obama as shown in table (8), the speaker employs personal pronouns in (26) cases, antithesis (15), anaphora (13), parallelism (8), epistrophe (5) and epanalepsis (1). These devices all serve under the category of Repetition through which the speaker attempts to emphasize the points he delivers to the audience, he tries to give special importance or value to his words and put more focus on specific issues. Antithesis as a rhetorical device has been used (14) times by the speaker to hit two targets; first to draw the attention of the audience towards particular issues and subjects related to their political, social and economic situation, the second aim is to warn the audience about similar issues and situations. Allusion which is found in (2) cases in this speech serves the function of making the message memorable and sticking the ideas to the mind of the voters not to forget what the speaker said in the campaign. Then via using rhetorical question (3) instances and metaphor (7) instances, the speaker seeks to call the attention of the audience towards particular issues related to their future life.

With regard to techniques employed by Barack Obama, identification takes the lion's share with (15) occurrences, rationalization (7), projection (8), and (6) occurrences of suggestion. The speaker relentlessly attempts to identify himself with the American people, with their cultural, social and economic background to be perceived as one of the members of the audience through using identification technique. When it comes to rationalization, Barack Obama tries to give plausible and logical reasons why he is running for the second term of presidential elections, claiming to work for securing the stability of the country, boosting the economy and have all the citizens provided with fair shares. Through projection technique, the speaker wants to promote his position in the eyes of the voters and

audience via relegating or underestimating the position and abilities of his opponent i.e. showing the negative sides of his opponent to serve his own interests. The speaker resorts to suggestion as a technique to show and tell the audience the ways they would develop their country, get fair shares and have their country completely secured, both politically and economically.

Coming to the persuasive strategies, the most frequent strategy used is pathos with (26) occurrences, then ethos (11) occurrences, logos (5), appeals to needs (19), positive motivation (9), cognitive dissonance (5) and negative motivation (1) occurrence. With the use of pathos, the speaker attempts to arouse the emotion of the audience, and appeal to their emotions in order to evoke their feelings about certain issues. Furthermore, employing ethos in his speech can be generally thought as an effort to show the potential abilities, the credibility and the wisdom Obama has in the field of politics and leading the country. The speaker utilizes cognitive dissonance as a method to change the mind of the voters by telling them that if they do not start thinking differently to change their attitude or if they vote for his opponent, they may face social, economic or even political problems in the future. Then he makes use of both positive and negative motivation to urge the audience to start action towards specific issues.

Throughout the whole speech, the speaker does not spear any bid to indirectly persuade the voters and reach his concealed intention. All the devices, techniques and strategies employed in the speech fall into the category of covert persuasion, except for the first and the last paragraphs where the speaker tries to get the audience join his campaign and persuade them to vote for him in an apparent attempt, and the paragraphs are (1 and 64).

4.1.3 Analysis of Obama's Campaign Speech, Springfield, 10th Feb 2007

Table (9) Analysis of "Obama's Campaign Speech, Springfield"

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 2	<p>We all made this journey for a reason. It's humbling, but in my heart I know you didn't come here just for me, you came here because you believe in what this country can be. In the face of war, you believe there can be peace. In the face of despair, you believe there can be hope. In the face of a politics that's shut you out, that's told you to settle, that's divided us for too long, you believe we can be one people, reaching for what's possible, building that more perfect union.</p>	Anaphora*	Antithesis			Rationalization	Emphasis*	Pathos
		Parallelism*					Attention value	Positive motivation
		Personal pronoun*						
Par. 6	<p>It was here, in Springfield, where I saw all that is America converge - farmers and teachers, businessmen and labourers, all of them with a story to tell, all of them seeking a seat at the table, all of them clamouring to be heard. I made lasting friendships here - friends that I see in the audience today.</p>	Personal pronoun				Identification	Emphasis	Pathos
		Anaphora						
Par. 8	<p>That's why we were able to reform a death penalty system that was broken. That's why we were able to give health insurance to children in need. That's why we made the tax system more fair and just for working families, and that's why we passed ethics reforms that the cynics said could never, ever be passed.</p>	Anaphora*				Rationalization	Emphasis*	Ethos
		Personal pronoun*					Appeals to needs	
							Selling power	Pathos

Table (9) Analysis of “Obama’s Campaign Speech, Spring field”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 10	And that is why, in the shadow of the Old State Capitol, where Lincoln once called on a <u>divided house</u> to stand together, where common hopes and common dreams still, I stand before you today to announce my candidacy for President of the United States. I recognize there is a certain presumptuousness - a certain audacity - to this announcement. I know I haven't spent a lot of time learning the ways of Washington. But I've been there long enough to know that the ways of Washington must change.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis*		Metaphor	Rationalization	Selling power*	Ethos
							Attention value	Pathos
Par. 11	The genius of our founders is that they designed a system of government that can be changed. And we should take heart, because we've changed this country before. In the face of tyranny , a band of patriots brought an Empire to its knees . In the face of secession, we unified a nation and set the captives free. In the face of Depression, we put people back to work and lifted millions out of poverty. We welcomed immigrants to our shores, we opened railroads to the west, we landed a man on the moon, and we heard a King's call to let <u>justice roll down like water</u> , and <u>righteousness like a mighty stream</u> .	Personal* pronoun			Simile	Identification	Emphasis*	Ethos
		Anaphora*					Selling power	Appeals to needs
							Attention value	Pathos
Par. 13	That's what Abraham Lincoln understood. He had his doubts. He had his defeats. He had his setbacks. But through his will and his words, he moved a nation and helped free a people. It is because of the millions who rallied to his cause that we are no longer divided, North and South, slave and free. It is because men and women of every race, from every walk of life.	Anaphora*	Antithesis	Allusion			Emphasis*	Positive motivation
		Personal pronoun*					Attention value	
							Memorability	Pathos

Table (9) Analysis of “Obama’s Campaign Speech, Spring field”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 15	<p>What's stopped us from meeting these challenges is not the absence of sound policies and sensible plans. What's stopped us is the failure of leadership, the smallness of our politics - the ease with which we're distracted by the petty and trivial, our chronic avoidance of tough decisions, and our preference for scoring cheap political points instead of rolling up our sleeves and building a working consensus to tackle big problems.</p>	Anaphora	Antithesis			Projection	Emphasis	Pathos
							Warning	Cognitive dissonance
Par. 16	<p>For the last six years we've been told that our mounting debts don't matter, we've been told that the anxiety Americans feel about rising health care costs and stagnant wages are an illusion, we've been told that climate change is a hoax, and that tough talk and an ill-conceived war can replace diplomacy, and strategy, and foresight. And when all else fails, when Katrina happens, or the death toll in Iraq mounts, we've been told that our crises are somebody else's fault.</p>	Personal pronoun				Displacement	Emphasis	Pathos
		Anaphora						
Par. 17	<p>And as people have looked away in disillusionment and frustration, we know what's filled the void. The cynics, and the lobbyists, and the special interests who've <u>turned our government into a game</u> only they can afford to play. They write the checks and you get stuck with the bills, they get the access while you get to write a letter, they think they own this government, but we're here today to take it back. The time for that politics is over. It's time to turn the page.</p>	Personal pronoun	Antithesis*		Metaphor	Compensation	Selling power*	Ethos
							Attention value	Pathos

Table (9) Analysis of “Obama’s Campaign Speech, Spring field”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 20	<p>Let us be the generation that reshapes our economy to compete in the digital age. Let's set high standards for our schools and give them the resources they need to succeed. Let's recruit a new army of teachers, and give them better pay and more support in exchange for more accountability. Let's make college more affordable, and let's invest in scientific research, and let's lay</p>	Anaphora				Suggestion	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
							Directive	Pathos
Par. 21	<p>And as our economy changes, let's be the generation that ensures our nation's workers are sharing in our prosperity. Let's protect the hard-earned benefits their companies have promised. Let's make it possible for hardworking Americans to save for retirement. And let's allow our unions and their organizers to lift up this country's middle class again.</p>	Anaphora				Suggestion	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
							Directive	Pathos
Par. 22	<p>Let's be the generation that ends poverty in America. Every single person willing to work should be able to get job training that leads to a job, and earn a living wage that can pay the bills, and afford child care so their kids have a safe place to go when they work. Let's do this. Let's be the generation that finally tackles our health care crisis.</p>	Anaphora				Suggestion	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
							Directive	Pathos
Par. 23	<p>We can harness home-grown, alternative fuels like ethanol and spur the production of more fuel-efficient cars. We can set up a system for capping greenhouse gases. We can turn this crisis of global warming into a moment of opportunity for innovation, and job creation, and an incentive for businesses that will serve as a model for the world.</p>	Personal pronoun				Identification	Selling power	Ethos
		Anaphora					Emphasis	Pathos

Table (9) 4.1.3 Analysis of “Obama’s Campaign Speech, Spring field”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 24	Most of all, let's be the generation that never forgets what happened on that September day and confront the terrorists with everything we've got. Politics doesn't have to divide us on this anymore - we can work together to keep our country safe. I've worked with Republican Senator Dick Lugar to pass a law that will secure and destroy some of the world's deadliest, unguarded weapons. We can work together to track terrorists down with a stronger military, we can tighten the net around their finances, and we can improve our intelligence capabilities.	Personal pronoun				Identification	Emphasis	Ethos
		Anaphora					Selling power	Positive motivation
Par. 28	That is why this campaign can't only be about me. It must be about us - it must be about what we can do together. This campaign must be the occasion, <u>the vehicle</u> , of your hopes, and your dreams. It will take your time, your energy, and your advice - to push us forward when we're doing right, and to let us know when we're not. This campaign has to be about reclaiming the meaning of citizenship, restoring our sense of common purpose, and realizing that few obstacles can withstand the power of millions of voices calling for change.	Anadiplosis*	Antithesis		Metaphor	Compensation	Emphasis*	Appeals to needs
							Attention value	Pathos
Par. 30	But the life of a tall, gangly, self-made Springfield lawyer tells us that a different future is possible. He tells us that there is power in words. He tells us that there is power in conviction. That beneath all the differences of race and region, faith and station, we are one people. He tells us that there is power in hope.	Personal pronoun				Identification	Emphasis	Positive motivation
		Anaphora						

Table (9) 4.1.3 Analysis of “Obama’s Campaign Speech, Spring field”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies		
		Tropes		Schemes						
		Rhetorical Operation								
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization					
Par. 32	That is our purpose here today. That's why I'm in this race. Not just to hold an office, but to gather with you to transform a nation. I want to win that next battle - for justice and opportunity. I want to win that next battle - for better schools, and better jobs, and health care for all. I want us to take up the unfinished business of perfecting our union, and building a better America.	Personal pronoun*	Antithesis			Rationalization	Emphasis*	Ethos		
		Anaphora*					Selling power	Appeals to needs		
							Pathos			
Par. 33	And if you will join me in this improbable quest, if you feel destiny calling, and see as I see , a future of endless possibility stretching before us; if you sense, as I sense, that the time is now to shake off our slumber, and slough off our fear , and make good on the debt we owe past and future generations, then I'm ready to take up the cause, and march with you , and work with you .	Personal pronoun				Suggestion	Emphasis	Appeals to needs		
		Parallelism								Ethos
		Epistrophe								Pathos
					Identification	Directive				

According to the analysis of the speech delivered by Barack Obama as shown in table (9), anaphora takes the lion's share of usages as a rhetorical device appearing in (14) instances, personal pronouns (13), parallelism (2), Epistrophe (1) and anadiplosis (1) instance. With the use of these devices which all contain an element of repetition, the speaker attempts to add emphasis and stress to some topics related to the life of the audience. Furthermore, Obama uses antithesis in (7) instances in a bid to warn the audience that the inability to solve the problems and facing the challenges is not due to lack of plans, but is the failure of leadership. The same device, antithesis, assumes other functions in this speech, notably attracting the attention of the audience to particular points and subjects and then showing credibility of the speaker to face and overcome any problems in the country. With metaphor (3) instances and simile (1) instance, the speaker seeks to get the voters concentrated, with their full attention, on some ideas he is trying to elaborate.

As for the use of persuasive techniques, identification technique (7) occurrences is the most used technique in the above speech aiming at creating a kind of affinity between the speaker and the audience as the speaker tries to make the voters believe that he shares the same ideas and beliefs with them. With rationalization (5) occurrences, Obama attempts to find or invent reasonable explanations and justifications as to why he runs in this election and to give plausible reasons for specific things done or talked about in the speech. In addition, through employing suggestion technique (4) occurrences, Obama directs the audience towards the most possible ways to work together and suggest them to start action together for building a new America, an America where nearly all challenges are met. Via utilizing projection technique (1) occurrence, the speaker tries to exploit the negative points attached

to his opponents and inform the audience about their faults and deficiencies in order to get more votes and support for himself. Compensation appearing in (2) instances helps the speaker to show his intention to the audience that he is going to restore what they have previously lost under the leadership of others. Finally through displacement (1) occurrence, Trump displaces the emotion of the audience to the negative sides of his opponent.

With respect to persuasive strategies used in the above speech, the most common strategy is the use of pathos (18) occurrences through which, Obama works on influencing the emotion of the voters and arouse their curiosity about the topics discussed in his speech. Moreover, the use of appeals to needs (8) occurrences, is an effort made by the speaker to inform the audience that his priority is to provide them with safety, security, economic and military needs to build a better and stronger America. Through using ethos (8) occurrences, the speaker shows his ability and credibility to be a trusted leader to lead America to a brighter future. Resorting to positive motivation strategy (5) occurrences, Obama wants to tell the audience that since there is hope, there could be a stronger America, that since there is willingness, there could be a better America for all. He then utilizes cognitive dissonance in only (1) instance, to tell the audience that giving a chance to his opponents would result in not solving or meeting the challenges, but in more deadly consequences.

Regarding covert and overt persuasion, the speaker seeks to persuade the audience not overtly but rather indirectly getting them to vote for him. The whole speech contains only three paragraphs (20, 21, and 22) in which the speaker plainly attempts to persuade the voters.

4.1.4 Analysis of Paddy Ashdown's Speech, 29th April 1997

Table (10) Analysis of "Paddy Ashdown's Speech"

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 2	A campaign which John Major hoped would uncover the holes in his opponent's policies – but which has served only to expose the divisions in his own Party. A campaign in which the Labour Party told us it's time for a change – then promised that it would change nothing at all. A campaign in which the media pundits said the Liberal Democrats would be swept aside. But in which we have instead swept forward.	Anaphora*	Antithesis			Projection	Emphasis*	Pathos
							Attention value	
							Selling power	Ethos
Par. 4	And so we end this campaign, not with a whimper, but with the <u>full-blown clarion call of a Party</u> which has struck a true note, a <u>clear, consistent note</u> , a note which has found a resonance in the national mood, reflecting the nation's needs.	Epistrophe*			Metaphor	Identification	Emphasis*	Pathos
		Alliteration*					Attention value	Ethos
		Anadiplosis*						
Par. 6	Not the Labour tax <u>bombshell</u> we were threatened, but an even bigger Tory tax explosion instead. The biggest tax hike in British peacetime history.		Antithesis*		Metaphor	Projection	Warning*	Logos
							Attention value	Pathos
Par. 7	They said they had no plans to increase VAT – then put VAT on our fuel bills. They said they would put a thousand more police officers on our streets – then cut the numbers by a thousand. They said they would give our children a better education – and instead they have cut budgets and increased class sizes.	Personal pronoun*	Antithesis			Projection	Emphasis*	Cognitive dissonance
		Anaphora*					Attention value	Pathos
							Logos	

Table (10) Analysis of “Paddy Ashdown’s Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 8	They promised strong leadership – and have given us weak leadership. They promised strong government – and have given us a government paralysed by divisions. They promised us government that listened – and have grown completely out of touch. They promised us economic recovery – and immediately plunged us into economic recession, costing thousands of people their jobs. Well, it is now time for the Government to lose their jobs.	Personal pronoun*	Antithesis			Suggestion	Emphasis*	Pathos
	Anaphora*				Projection	Warning		
Par. 11	It is quite clear that the Conservative Party needs time to sort themselves out. But let them do that in opposition, not in government. At their own expense, not at everyone else’s expense.	Epistrophe*	Antithesis			Suggestion	Emphasis* Directive	Pathos
Par. 14	Emma Nicholson and Peter Thurnham joined our Party, not because their principles have changed, but because the Conservative Party has changed.	Epistrophe*	Antithesis			Projection	Emphasis* Selling power	Pathos
Par. 18	To everyone who values education and despairs at another year of cuts in our schools – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it. To everyone who worries about beds being closed in our hospitals, services being cut, operations cancelled – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it. To everyone who wants more police officers on our streets – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it.	Anaphora				Suggestion	Emphasis	Ethos
		Personal pronoun						
		Alliteration					Selling power	Pathos
		Epistrophe						

Table (10) Analysis of “Paddy Ashdown’s Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 19	<p>To everyone who worries about the divisions and poverty in our society, and who believes in asking the super-rich to pay a little more to help the very poor – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it.</p> <p>To everyone who worries about threats to our civil liberties and who want reform and modernisation in our politics – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it.</p> <p>To everyone who wants clean air and clean water, <u>safe food and a secure environment</u> for our children and grandchildren – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it.</p>	Personal pronoun				Suggestion	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
		Epistrophe						
		Anaphora						
		Alliteration						
Par. 20	<p>To everyone who has been <u>hammered</u> by our <u>boom and bust</u> economy – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it.</p> <p>To everyone who wants strong, positive leadership in Europe – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it.</p> <p>And to everyone who wants a referendum on future change in Europe – I say: join our crusade and you will get that referendum. To everyone in Britain – from north to south, from left to right.</p>	Epistrophe*			Metaphor	Emphasis	Appeals to needs	
		Personal pronoun						
		Anaphora*					Attention value	Ethos
Par. 21	<p>For this is now much, much more than a campaign. It is a crusade. A crusade to make Britain the best-educated nation in the world. A crusade to build a Health Service our families can rely on. A crusade to preserve our environment for future generations. A crusade to build a country fit for our children and grandchildren.</p>	Anadiplosis			Projection	Emphasis	Appeals to needs	
		Anaphora						
		Parallelism						Ethos

Table (10) Analysis of “Paddy Ashdown’s Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 23	There has to be a change in the whole way we do things in this country. It will be a disaster for Britain if the only thing that changes this week is the nameplate on Number Ten. And that is why I have found Labour’s campaign so disappointing. Their approach has been timid; their promises, unbelievable.	Personal pronoun				Rationalization	Emphasis	Cognitive dissonance
		Parallelism					Warning	Pathos
Par. 24	Labour’s waiting for Growth policy is the economic equivalent of <u>Waiting for Godot</u> – and as everyone knows, Godot never came.				Simile	Displacement	Attention value	Cognitive dissonance Pathos
Par. 28	Put bluntly, our message has been that if you want better services, better education and better healthcare, then you have to pay for them. And we have won support for that message, because in the real world, everyone knows you don’t get something for nothing.	Personal pronoun					Emphasis	Ethos
		Parallelism						Pathos
Par. 29	It’s not a question of whether the other two parties will break their promises. It’s a question of which promise they will break: their promise to maintain decent public services, or their promise to cut taxes.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Projection	Warning	Cognitive dissonance
Par. 32	Unless we start giving education the priority it deserves; unless we invest in nursery education to give our children the best possible start in life; unless we invest in new books and equipment and smaller classes in our schools; unless we invest in training later on, Britain faces disaster in the years ahead.	Anaphora				Suggestion	Emphasis	Appeals to needs Cognitive dissonance
		Persona pronoun					Directive	Pathos

Table (10) Analysis of “Paddy Ashdown’s Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 40	But we will never make the most of that enormous individual potential unless we invest. If we don’t, it will be like having a <u>stretch of rich and fertile land</u>, but refusing to invest in <u>seed to sow</u>, or <u>tools to till the soil</u>.	Alliteration*			Simile	Suggestion	Emphasis* Attention value Warning	Cognitive dissonance Pathos
Par. 42	‘ Give us the tools and we’ll finish the job’, cried Churchill in the face of a different kind of threat more than half a century ago. Today the same cry goes up from our schools and colleges and universities. Give us the resources and we will give you a generation of skill and ingenuity and talent as bright as any in our history . That is the heart of our message.	Anaphora* Personal pronoun				Suggestion Compensation	Emphasis* Selling power	Appeals to needs Ethos
Par. 44	If we, as a political leadership, refuse that challenge, then we face, not brave new opportunities for talent to flower and flourish, but the management of genteel decline . That is why the task before our Party in the next three days is so urgent .	Alliteration*	Antithesis			Rationalization	Emphasis* Warning Attention value	Cognitive dissonance Pathos
Par. 55	The effective vote is for investment in a better education for your children and grandchildren. The effective vote is for a Health Service your family can rely on.. The effective vote is to strengthen our economy and get people back to work. The effective vote is to clean up our politics.. The effective vote is not just to kick out this discredited Government, but for something fresh and clear and strong to put in its place .	Anaphora*	Antithesis			Rationalization	Emphasis Attention value	Appeals to needs Pathos

According to the analysis of the speech delivered by Paddy Ashdown as shown in table (10), rhetorical devices employed by the speaker are as follows:

Anaphora and personal pronouns take the largest portion with (10) occurrences for each, antithesis (9), metaphor (6), epistrophe (6), alliteration (5), parallelism (3), allusion (1) and anadiplosis (2).

Anaphora, parallelism, alliteration, epistrophe, personal pronoun and anadiplosis which all include the process of repeating a phrase, a word or sound are used by the speaker in order to put focus on some certain issues, emphasizing the subjects in question and pinpointing particular thoughts with particular emphasis. Antithesis, however, is employed by the speaker to warn the audience of the possible disastrous outcomes if they vote for his opponent, while in some other cases antithesis is used to attract the attention of the audience which, in this case, goes line in line with metaphor. Having allusion in his speech, the speaker attempts to make the messages of the speech more memorable and stick the words to the mind of the voters.

Regarding the persuasive techniques, suggestion is the most common technique used by Paddy Ashdown with (8) occurrences, rationalization (4), projection (7) compensation (1) and displacement (1) occurrence. Through using suggestion, the speaker attempts to provide possibilities for the voters or opponents to join his party and vote for him, claiming to better serve the country. Rationalization is of great help for the speaker to provide plausible reasons as to why he disproves his opponents' political acts and chooses his party's policies over his opponent policies. Via projection, Paddy exploits the disadvantages of his opponent to serve his own purposes.

As for the use of persuasive strategies, pathos is the most common persuasive strategy used by the speaker with (13) occurrences, ethos (9),

appeals to needs (7), cognitive dissonance (7) and logos with only (2) occurrences. Utilizing pathos in this speech helps the speaker to get to the emotion of the audience and arouse curiosity about what is going to happen in their life if they vote for the speaker or his opponent. With ethos, Paddy endeavours to sell his power or his political party's power and prove their credibility to be trusted to lead the country. The speaker resorts logos to provide factual and objective information to gain support for his argument.

All in all, the speaker endeavours to persuade the voters implicitly and does not show any apparent attempts to sway their votes except for three instances in paragraphs (18, 19 and 20) successively where he says "*I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it*". In another sense, all the devices, technique and strategies serve the purpose of covertly persuading the audience except for the three paragraphs mentioned above with the use of (anaphora).

4.1.5 Analysis of Hilary Clinton’s Speech, Reno, 25th Aug. 2016

Table (11) 4.1.5 Analysis of “Hilary Clinton’s Speech, Reno”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 7	Poverty. Rejection. Horrible education. No housing. No homes. No ownership. Crime at levels nobody has seen... Right now, you walk down the street, you get shot. Those are his words. Donald Trump misses so much. He doesn’t see the success of black leaders in every field.	Anaphora				Projection	Emphasis	Pathos
		Parallelism					Readability	
								Warning
Par. 10	Trump’s lack of knowledge or experience or solutions would be bad enough. But what he’s doing here is more sinister. Trump is reinforcing harmful stereotypes and offering a dog whistle to his most hateful supporters.				Metaphor	Projection	Attention value	Pathos
							Warning	Cognitive dissonance
Par. 12	A man with a long history of racial discrimination, who traffics in dark conspiracy theories drawn from the pages of supermarket tabloids and the far reaches of the internet, should never run our government or command our military. If he doesn’t respect all Americans, how can he serve all Americans?			Rhetorical question		Projection	Warning	Pathos
							Attention value	Cognitive dissonance
Par. 35	Now, some people will say that his bluster and bigotry is just over-heated campaign rhetoric – an outrageous person saying outrageous things for attention. But look at the policies Trump has proposed. They would put prejudice into practice. And don’t be distracted by his latest attempts to muddy the waters.	Alliteration*			Metaphor	Projection	Emphasis*	Pathos
							Attention value	Cognitive dissonance

Table (11) 4.1.5 Analysis of “Hillary Clinton’s Speech, Reno”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 44	But look at who he’s put in charge of his campaign. Trump likes to say he only hires the “best people.” But he’s had to fire so many campaign managers it’s like an episode of the Apprentice.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis		Simile	Projection	Warning*	Pathos
							Attention value	Cognitive dissonance
Par. 60	He says he wants to “make America great again,” but his real message remains “Make America hate again.” This isn’t just about one election. It’s about who we are as a nation. It’s about the kind of example we want to set for our children and grandchildren. Bullying and harassment are on the rise in our schools, especially targeting students of colour, Muslims, and immigrants.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Projection	Warning	Appeals to needs
								Logos
								Appeal to needs
Par. 62	We wouldn’t tolerate that kind of behaviour in our own homes. How can we stand for it from a candidate for president? This is a moment of reckoning for every Republican dismayed that the Party of Lincoln has become the Party of Trump. It’s a moment of reckoning for all of us	Personal pronoun*				Rhetorical question	Identification	Emphasis*
		Anaphora*						Attention value
Par. 66	Every day, more Americans are standing up and saying “enough is enough”. I’m honoured to have their support. And I promise you this: with your help , I will be a President for Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. For those who vote for me and those who don’t. For all Americans. Because I believe we are stronger together.	Personal pronoun				Ellipsis	Identification	Attention value
								Selling power
Par. 69	When I was growing up, Simone Manuel wouldn’t have been allowed to swim in the same public pool as Katie Ledecky. Now they’re winning Olympic medals as teammates. So let’s keep moving forward together.		Antithesis				Identification	Attention value
							Suggestion	Directive

In accordance with the analysis of the speech delivered by Hilary Clinton as illustrated in table (11), rhetorical devices take a lion's share to sway the voters. The speaker uses personal pronouns (4) instances, anaphora (2), parallelism (1) and alliteration (1) instance, to put emphasis on her speech and thoughts to create certain kinds of feelings towards particular ideas. Via antithesis (4) instances, the speaker wants to notify and warn the audience about the deadly consequences in the mind of the audience if they vote for her opponent candidate. However, in order to draw the attention of the voters and catch their full attention, the speaker uses rhetorical devices like ellipsis (1) instance, rhetorical question (2) instances, metaphors (2) and simile (1) instance.

Furthermore, the speaker also employs some persuasive techniques to achieve her goals. With the use of projection (6) instances, she mentions some negative sides of her opponent candidate to achieve a certain aim of getting the voters to vote for her. Through identification (3) instances, the speaker tries to identify herself with the audience, and she wants to be thought of as a member of the targeted voters. Then she makes a suggestion (1) instance, to the American people that the time has come to move forward and make America great again.

Finally, Cognitive dissonance is the most common persuasive strategy utilized by the speaker with (8) occurrences, pathos (6), appeals to needs (2), ethos (1), logos (1) and positive motivation (1) occurrence. Through cognitive dissonance Hilary aims at creating contradictory feelings in the heart of the voters that if they do not change their mind and vote for her, they will not get what they dream about. In order to affect the emotion of the audience and arouse their curiosity she uses pathos. In addition, Hilary resorts to ethos to talk about what she could do for the voters and American people if she is elected i.e. what makes her politically credible to take office. With logos, the speaker provides

plausible and factual information to make herself and the message more truthful. Via the strategy of appeals to needs, Hilary attempts to relate the content of her speech to the safety, security and asocial needs of the audience.

To conclude, there cannot be found many instances where the speaker tries to overtly influence the audience and persuade them i.e. all the attempts made by the speaker are covert attempts to sway their votes, except for one instance found in paragraph (66) with the use of anaphora.

4.1.6 Analysis of Bill Clinton’s Acceptance Speech, July 17, 1992

Table (12) Analysis of “Bill Clinton’s Speech 1992”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 1	<p>We meet at a special moment in history, you and I. The Cold War is over; Soviet communism has collapsed, and our values - freedom, democracy, individual rights, free enterprise - they have triumphed all around the world. And yet just as we have won the Cold War abroad, we are losing the battles for economic opportunity and social justice here at home. Now that we have changed the world, it's time to change America.</p>	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Suggestion	Warning	<p>Pathos</p> <p>Cognitive dissonance</p>
Par. 7	<p>That's why I'll fight to create high-paying jobs so that parents can afford to raise their children today. That's why I'm so committed to making sure every American gets the health care that saved my mother's life. And that women's health care gets the same attention as men's. That's why I'll fight to make sure women in this country receive respect and dignity - whether they work in the home, out of the home or both. You want to know where I get my fighting spirit? It all started with my mother. Thank you mother</p>	<p>Personal pronoun*</p> <p>Anaphora*</p>		Rhetorical question		Rationalization	<p>Emphasis*</p> <p>Attention value</p> <p>Selling power</p>	<p>Pathos</p> <p>Appeals t needs</p> <p>Ethos</p>

Table (12) Analysis of “Bill Clinton’s Speech 1992”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 13	<p>I was raised to believe that the American dream was built on rewarding hard work. But we have seen the folks in Washington turn the American ethic on its head. For too long, <u>those who play by the rules and keep the faith have gotten the shaft</u>. And those who cut corners and cut deals have been rewarded. People are working harder than ever, spending less time with their children, working nights and weekends at their job instead of Little League or the Scouts or PTA. But their incomes are still going down, their taxes are going up and the costs of housing, health care and education are going through the roof. Meanwhile, more and more of our best people are falling into poverty - even though they work 40 hours a week.</p>		Antithesis*		Metaphor	Projection	Warning	Pathos
							Attention value	Cognitive dissonance
								Logos
Par. 17	<p>He won't take on the big insurance companies to control health costs and give us affordable health care for all Americans. But I will. He won't even implement the recommendations of his own commission on AIDS. But I will. He won't streamline the federal government, and change the way it works; cut 100,000 bureaucrats, and put 100,000 new police officers on the streets of American cities. But I will.</p>	Personal pronoun*	Antithesis	Ellipsis		Projection	Emphasis*	Ethos
		Epistrophe*					Appeals to needs	
		Anaphora*						Attention value
							Selling power	

Table (12) Analysis of “Bill Clinton’s Speech 1992”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 18	He's never balanced a government budget. But I have. Eleven times. He won't break the stranglehold special interests have on our elections and lobbyists have on our government. But I will. He won't give mothers and fathers a simple chance to take some time off from work when a baby's born or a parent is sick. But I will.	Personal pronoun*	Antithesis	Ellipsis	Projection	Emphasis*	Ethos	
		Epistrophe*				Selling power	Appeals to needs	
		Anaphora*				Warning		
Par. 20	And George Bush won't guarantee a woman's right to choose. I will. Hear me now: I am not pro-abortion. I am pro-choice , strongly. I believe this difficult and painful decision should be left to the women of America. . . . I am old enough to remember what it was like before Roe v. Wade, and I do not want to return to the time when we made criminals of women and their doctors.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis	Ellipsis*	Projection	Warning	Cognitive dissonance	
						Selling power*	Appeals to needs	
							Ethos	
Par. 29	An America in which health care is a right, not a privilege. An America in which middle class incomes, not middle class taxes, are going up.	Anaphora*	Antithesis		Compensation	Emphasis*	Appeals to needs	
						Warning	Pathos	
Par. 30	An America where we end welfare as we know it. An America with the world's strongest defence; ready and willing to use force, when necessary. An America at the forefront of the global effort to preserve and protect our common environment - and promoting global growth. An America that will not coddle tyrants, from Baghdad to Beijing. An America that champions the cause of freedom and democracy , from Eastern Europe to Southern Africa, and in our own hemisphere in Haiti and Cuba.	Anaphora*	Antithesis		Metaphor	Compensation	Emphasis	Ethos
							Selling power	Appeals to needs
							Attention value	Pathos

Table (12) Analysis of “Bill Clinton’s Speech 1992”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 31	And so we must say to every American: Look beyond the stereotypes that blind us. We need each other. All of us, we need each other. We don't have a person to waste. And yet for too long politicians have told the most of us that are doing all right that what's really wrong with America is the rest of us. Them. Them the minorities. Them the liberals. Them the poor. Them the homeless. Them the people with disabilities. Them the gays. We've gotten to where we've nearly <u>them-ed</u> ourselves to death. Them and them and them.	Epistrophe				Identification	Emphasis	Positive motivation
		Personal pronoun					Attention value	Pathos
		Parallelism						
Par. 32	But this is America. There is no them; there is only us. One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty, and justice, for all. But I can't do this alone. No president can. We must do it together. It won't be easy and it won't be quick. We didn't get into this mess overnight, and we won't get out of it overnight. But we can do it. With commitment, creativity, diversity and drive, we can do it. We can do it. We can do it.	Anaphora*	Antithesis	Ellipsis		Identification	Emphasis*	Appeals to needs
		Epistrophe*					Positive motivation	
		Alliteration*					Attention value	Pathos
		Personal pronoun*						
Par. 35	Somewhere at this very moment, a child is <u>being born</u> in America. Let it be our cause to give that child a happy home, a healthy family and a hopeful future. Let it be our cause to see that that child has a chance to live to the fullest of her God-given capacities.	Alliteration				Suggestion	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
		Parallelism					Directive	Pathos

Based on the analysis of the speech given by Bill Clinton as illustrated in table (12), antithesis, among rhetorical devices, is the most common device employed by Clinton in (9) paragraphs which aims at warning the voters. Rhetorical question is found in only (1) instance where the speaker seeks to attract the attention of the audience, this function of rhetorical question goes line in line with the function of metaphor (2) occurrences and ellipsis (3) occurrences in the above speech. Furthermore, with the use of anaphora (7) instances, personal pronouns (7), parallelism (4), epistrophe (4) and alliteration (3), the speaker seeks to attach particular significance to some ideas, thoughts and actions so as to emphasize the importance of what he delivers in his speech through repetition.

With regard to persuasive strategies, Clinton resorts to appeals to needs as the most common strategy used in his speech with (11) instances, intending to appeal to the social, political, economic and almost every aspects of life needs of the audience. The speaker utilizes pathos in (10) instances where he attempts to influence the emotion of the audience towards particular aspects. Ethos is found in (6) paragraphs, through which Clinton strives to show his credibility and potential abilities required to be a president of the United States. With cognitive dissonance (2) instances, the speaker tries to tell the audience of the catastrophic effects of the election if his opponent gets elected. Clinton uses the strategy of positive motivation in (4) instances to positively encourage the audience to change the course of their life through voting for the right political party.

For the persuasive techniques employed by Bill Clinton in his speech, there are (4) instances of suggestion technique used by the speaker to invite all voters to work together and seek every possible ways to better serve the country. Via projection technique (4) instances,

the speaker tries to highlight some negative points and characteristics of his opponent and gain even the support of his opponent party's voters. Clinton resorts to identification technique in (2) instances to make himself completely accepted as one of the audience members and provides them with the possibility of working together as a one team. Compensation technique in his speech with (2) instances, serves the speaker's purpose to stick some ideas in the mind of the audience that under his presidency, women, children and people in general will all enjoy fair rights and shares in America. Then the speaker utilizes rationalization technique in (1) instance to justify the reasons why he runs for the presidency and why he is after the audience's votes.

As it comes to the persuasion method, Clinton makes use of the majority of devices, techniques and strategies to covertly persuade the audience. In other words, throughout the speech, there could not be perceived any apparent or vivid attempt made by the speaker to persuade the voters.

4.1.7 Analysis of Jeremy Corbyn’s Speech, 20 April 2017

Table (13) Analysis of “Jeremy Corbyn’s Speech 2017”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 3	Much of the media and establishment are saying that this election is a foregone conclusion. They think there are rules in politics, which if you don’t follow by <u>doffing your cap</u> to powerful people, accepting that things can’t really change, then you can’t win.	Personal pronoun			Metaphor	Projection	Warning	Cognitive dissonance Pathos
Par. 4	But of course, they do not want us to win. Because when we win it is the people, not the powerful, who win. The nurse, the teacher, the small trader, the carer, the builder, the office worker, the student, the carer win. We all win.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Identification	Attention value	Pathos
Par. 6	We don’t fit in their cosy club . We ’re not obsessed with the tittle-tattle of Westminster or Brussels. We don’t accept that it is natural for Britain to be governed by a ruling elite, the City and the tax-dodgers, and we don’t accept that the British people just have to take what they’re given, that they don’t deserve better.	Personal pronoun*			Metaphor	Identification	Emphasis*	Ethos Pathos
		Anaphora*					Attention value Selling power	
Par. 11	Don’t be angry at the privatisers profiting from our public services, they whisper, be angry instead at the migrant worker just trying to make a better life. Don’t be angry at the government ministers running down our schools and hospitals, they tell us, be angry instead at the disabled woman or the unemployed man.	Anaphora*	Antithesis		Irony	Projection	Emphasis Warning Attention value	

Table (13) Analysis of “Jeremy Corbyn’s Speech 2017”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 13	So many people in modern Britain do what seems like the right thing to do. They get jobs, they spend all day working hard, they save to buy their own home, they raise children, and they look after elderly or sick relatives. And yet, at the end of it, they get almost nothing left over as a reward.	Persona pronoun	Antithesis*		Irony	Projection	Warning*	Pathos
							Attention value	Cognitive dissonance
Par. 17	It was their wealthy friends in the City who crashed our economy. How dare they ruin the economy with their recklessness and greed and then punish those who had nothing to do with it? It was not pensioners, nurses, the low or averaged paid workers or carers who crashed the economy.		Antithesis*		Rhetorical question	Projection	Warning*	Pathos
							Attention value	
Par. 26	We will focus on giving people real control over their own lives and make sure that everybody reaps a just reward for the work that they do. We will no longer allow those at the top to leach off of those who bust their guts on zero hours contracts or those forced to make sacrifices to pay their mortgage or their rent.	Personal pronoun*			Metaphor	Identification	Emphasis*	Appeals to needs
		Anaphora*					Attention value	
								Selling power
Par. 27	Instead of the country’s wealth being hidden in tax havens we will put it in the hands of the people of Britain as they are the ones who earned it.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Identification	Selling power	Appeals to needs
								Ethos

Based on the analysis of the speech delivered by Jeremy Corbyn as shown in table (13), personal pronouns and antithesis take the largest number of occurrences as rhetorical devices (6) occurrences for personal pronouns and antithesis (5) occurrences. Anaphora (3) occurrences, metaphor (3), irony (2) and rhetorical question (1) occurrence. With the use of personal pronouns and anaphora, the speaker aims at emphasizing some ideas and perceptions about some related topics to the audience. Antithesis in his speech in most instances (5) serves the function of warning the audience regarding aspects related to their life. Via using metaphor (3) instances, irony (2) instances and rhetorical question with only (1) instance, the speaker attempts to draw the attention of the audience and have their mind focused on the issues in question.

With regard to persuasive techniques, projection technique is the most common technique used by Corbyn in order (4) occurrences, to describe some negatives sides of his opponents and to show the differences between himself and the others. Moreover, the speaker also uses identification technique (4) occurrences, so as to identify himself with the audience and to strengthen his position among the audience to be seen as a politician came from the same root with the audience.

As for the use of persuasive strategies, pathos appears in (5) instances with the purpose of evoking certain feelings and emotions of the audience about particular issues. Through using ethos (3) instances, Corbyn seeks to sell his credibility and power to change the course of life in America for its citizens. Employing cognitive dissonance (3) occurrences, helps the speaker to clarify to the audience that choosing his opponents will help them in no way to have a better life they dream about. With appeals to needs (2) occurrences, the speaker wants to show that he will be definitely working to provide the audience with best

standards of life and to ensure that every citizen in every class gets his or her own rights.

Regarding the attempts made by Jeremy to persuade the voters, he does not show any apparent bid to get their votes; all the attempts are done indirectly in order not to serve the concealed intentions of the speaker.

4.1.8 Analysis of Donald Trump's Election Speech, 16th Aug. 2016

Table (14) Analysis of "Donald Trump's Election Speech"

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 2	Last week, I laid out my plan to bring jobs back to our country. Yesterday, I laid out my plan to defeat Radical Islamic Terrorism. Tonight, I am going to talk about how to make our communities safe again from crime and lawlessness.	Personal pronoun				Compensation	Emphasis	Ethos
		Anaphora					Selling power	Appeals to needs
Par. 4	The violence, riots and destruction that have taken place in Milwaukee is an assault on the right of all citizens to live in security and peace. Law and order must be restored. It must be restored for the sake of all, but most especially the sake of those living in the affected communities.	Personal pronoun				Compensation	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
		Anaphora						Pathos
Par. 5	The main victims of these riots are law-abiding African-American citizens living in these neighbourhoods. It is their jobs, their homes, their schools and communities which will suffer as a result.	Persona pronoun				Displacement	Emphasis	Cognitive dissonance
		Anaphora					Warning	Pathos
Par. 8	More law enforcement, more community engagement, more effective policing is what our country needs. Just like Hillary Clinton is against the miners, she is against the police. You know it, and I know it.	Parallelism				Projection	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
		Personal pronoun						
		Anaphora					Warning	Pathos
Par. 12	How are we serving these American victims by attacking law enforcement officers? The war on our police must end. It must end now.	Anaphora*		Rhetorical question	Paradox	Displacement	Emphasis*	Pathos
				Ellipsis			Attention value	
							Directive	Appeals to needs

Table (14) Analysis of “Donald Trump’s Election Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 14	Our job is not to make life more comfortable for the rioter, the looter, the violent disruptor. Our job is to make life more comfortable for the African-American parent who wants their kids to be able to safely walk the streets. Or the senior citizen waiting for a bus. Or the young child walking home from school.	Rhyme*	Antithesis			Projection	Emphasis*	Pathos
							Attention value	Appeals to needs
Par. 16	Hillary Clinton-backed policies are responsible for the problems in the inner cities today, and a vote for her is a vote for another generation of poverty, high crime, and lost opportunities. I care too much about my country to let that happen. We all care too much about our country to let that happen.	Personal pronoun				Identification	Emphasis	Ethos
		Anaphora					Selling power	Pathos
Par. 22	The Democratic Party has failed and betrayed the African-American community. Democratic crime policies, education policies, and economic policies have produced only more crime, more broken homes, and more poverty.	Parallelism				Projection	Emphasis	Cognitive dissonance
		Anaphora					Warning	Pathos
Par. 26	To every voter in Milwaukee, to every voter living in every inner city, or every forgotten stretch of our society, I am running to offer you a better future.	Personal pronoun				Rationalization	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
							Selling power	Ethos
Par. 30	I am running to listen to your voice, to hear your cries for help. The quiet voices in our society, not the loudest demonstrators, need to have their demands heard. Jobs. Safety. Opportunity. Fair and equal representation.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Rationalization	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
							Attention value	Ethos
		Parallelism					Selling power	Pathos

Table (14) Analysis of “Donald Trump’s Election Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 31	We reject the bigotry of Hillary Clinton which panders to and talks down to communities of colour and sees them only as votes, not as individual human beings worthy of a better future. She doesn’t care at all about the hurting people of this country, or the suffering she has caused them.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Projection	Warning	Cognitive dissonance Negative motivation
Par. 32	The African-American community has been taken for granted for decades by the Democratic Party. It’s time to break with the failures of the past – I want to offer Americans a new future. It is time for rule by the people, not rule by special interests.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Suggestion	Attention value Directive	Appeals to needs Ethos Pathos
Par. 36	I wear their opposition as a badge of honour. Because it means I am fighting for REAL change, not just partisan change. I am fighting – all of us across the country are fighting – for peaceful regime change in our own country. The media-donor-political complex that’s bled this country dry has to be replaced with a new government of, by and for the people.	Personal pronoun	Antithesis			Identification	Attention value Selling power	Ethos Appeals to needs Pathos
Par. 39	Aren’t you tired of a system that gets rich at your expense? Aren’t you tired of big media, big businesses, and big donors rigging the system to keep your voice from being heard? Are you ready for change? Are you ready for leadership that puts you, the American people, first? That puts your country first? That puts your family first?	Personal pronoun		Rhetorical question			Emphasis Attention value	Negative motivation Pathos

Table (14) Analysis of “Donald Trump’s Election Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 43	This is the future offered by Hillary Clinton. More poverty, more crime, and more of the same. The future she offers is the most pessimistic thing I can possibly imagine. It is time for a different future. Here is what I am proposing.	Anaphora				Projection	Emphasis	Cognitive dissonance
		Personal pronoun						
Par. 57	Most importantly, she has bad judgment. Bad judgment on terrorism, bad judgement on foreign policy, bad judgment on trade. The only individuals she’s ever delivered for is her donors – not the people.	Anaphora*	Antithesis			Projection	Emphasis*	Pathos
							Warning	Cognitive dissonance
Par. 59	I will fight to ensure that every American is treated equally, protected equally, and honoured equally. We will reject bigotry and hatred and oppression in all of its forms, and seek a new future of security, prosperity and opportunity – a future built on our common culture and values as one American people.	Personal pronoun				Projection	Emphasis	Ethos
		Rhyme						Appeals to needs
		Anaphora						Pathos
Par. 60	I am asking for your vote so I can be your champion in the White House. We will once again be a country of law and order, and a country of great success.	Personal pronoun				Identification	Emphasis	Ethos
		Anaphora						Appeals to needs
Par. 61	To every parent who dreams for their children, and to every child who dreams for their future, I say these words to you tonight: I’m with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you.	Parallelism				Identification	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
		Personal pronoun						Ethos
		Anaphora						Pathos
Par. 62	Together, We Will Make America Strong Again. We Will Make American Safe Again. And We Will Make America Great Again.	Personal pronoun				Identification	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
		Anaphora						Pathos
		Epistrophe						
		Parallelism						

Based on the analysis of the above speech delivered by Donald Trump as indicated in table (14), the most common rhetorical device used by the speaker is personal pronouns (16) occurrences, anaphora (13), parallelism (5), rhyme (2) and epistrophe (1) occurrence. As these rhetorical devices include the element of repetition, they have been used by the speaker to give special importance and put emphasis on particular issues and messages with the purpose of having these messages properly attached to the mind of the audience and remember them easily. However, with antithesis (6) occurrences, Trump attempts to warn the audience about the possible dangers and discontentment if they vote for his opponent, while in some other cases he uses antithesis to sell power and show his credibility to take office, and also to attract the attention of the audience. In addition, rhetorical question is utilized in (2) instances, ellipsis (1) and paradox (1) instance to draw the attention and feelings of the audience towards specific points.

Regarding the persuasive techniques, projection is employed in (8) instances aiming at showing all the positive sides of the speaker's attitudes, beliefs and policies to serve the country in comparison with his opponent's policies. Via identification technique (5) occurrences, the speaker tries to find a place within the audience community, to be accepted as one of their members, to be trusted as one of their candidates through triggering some messages that will identify him with the audience. Moreover, through the technique of rationalization (1) occurrence, the speaker seeks to justify as to why he runs for this presidency and what has driven him to try to be the president of the country. Furthermore, displacement technique is used by the speaker in (2) instances in order to displace the intention of the audience to divert a particular purpose to another purpose. Trump utilizes compensation technique in (2) instances to tell the audience that he is fighting to

restore the normal life, bring jobs back, restore law and order, and make the country safe again. With suggestion technique (1) occurrence, the speaker provides the audience with a suggestion that the time has come to break the barriers of the past and new opportunity is ahead to have the country led by the people.

As it comes to persuasive strategies, the most common strategy used by the speaker is pathos (17) occurrences, through which the speaker works on the emotion of the audience and arouses their curiosity towards some topics of direct relevance to the life of the audience. Then appeals to needs (13) occurrences, helps the speaker to try to show them that he is doing his best to provide all the needs the country and the people want including social, political and security needs. With the use of ethos (9) occurrences, Trump endeavours to manifest his ability, credibility and trustworthiness to solve the problems the people and the country face; he seeks to show that he has got the skill, the talent and all the necessary things to change the course of life in America. Through cognitive dissonance (5) instances, however, Donald trump strives to warn the audience that letting his opponent and the opposite party to lead the country will change nothing in the life of American people, but even worsens the situation. Via using negative motivation (2) occurrences, the speaker attempts to inform the audience that the failure to follow his suggestions and instructions will result in deadly consequences.

Finally, throughout the whole speech, there could not be perceived many apparent attempts made by the speaker to overtly persuade the voters and all the attempts were done indirectly except for paragraphs (32, 60) via using the rhetorical device (personal pronoun).

4.1.9 Analysis of David Cameron's General Election Speech, 11th, May 2010

Table (15) Analysis of "David Cameron's General Election Speech 2010"

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 5	I believe that is the right way to provide this country with the strong, the stable, the good and decent government that I think we need so badly. Nick Clegg and I are both political leaders that want to put aside party differences and work hard for the common good and for the national interest. I believe that is the best way to get the strong government that we need , decisive government that we need today.	Anaphora				Rationalization	Emphasis	Pathos
		Personal pronoun						
		Alliteration					Attention value	Appeals to needs
		Parallelism						
Par. 6	I came into politics because I love this country. I think its best days still lie ahead and I believe deeply in public service. And I think the service our country needs right now is to face up to our really big challenges, to confront our problems, to take difficult decisions, to lead people through those difficult decisions, so that together we can reach better times ahead.	Anaphora				Suggestion	Emphasis	Pathos
		Parallelism						
		Personal pronoun				Identification	Directive	Positive motivation
Par. 7	One of the tasks that we clearly have is to rebuild trust in our political system. Yes that's about cleaning up expenses, yes that is about reforming parliament, and yes it is about making sure people are in control - and that the politicians are always their servant and never their masters.	Anaphora*	Antithesis			Compensation	Emphasis*	Pathos
							Attention value	Appeals to needs
								Positive motivation

Table (15) Analysis of “David Cameron’s General Election Speech 2010”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 8	But I believe it is also something else. It is about being honest about what government can achieve. Real change is not what government can do on its own - real change is when everyone pulls together , comes together , works together , where we all exercise our responsibilities to ourselves, to our families, to our communities and to others.	Anaphora*	Antithesis			Identification	Emphasis*	Appeals to needs
		Epistrophe*					Attention value	Pathos Positive motivation
Par. 9	And I want to help try and build a more responsible society here in Britain. One where we don't just ask what are my entitlements, but what are my responsibilities. One where we don't ask what am I just owed, but more what can I give. And a guide for that society - that those that can should, and those who can't we will always help. I want to make sure that my government always looks after the elderly, the frail the poorest in our country.	Personal pronoun*	Antithesis			Identification	Emphasis*	Ethos
		Anaphora*					Attention value	Pathos
Par. 10	We must take everyone through with us on some of the difficult decisions we have ahead. Above all it will be a government that is built on some clear values. Values of freedom, values of fairness, and values of responsibility.	Parallelism				Projection	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
		Anaphora					Selling power	Pathos

Table (15) Analysis of “David Cameron’s General Election Speech 2010”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 11	<p>I want us to build an economy that rewards work. I want us to build a society with stronger families and stronger communities. And I want a political system that people can trust and look up to once again. This is going to be hard and difficult work. A coalition will throw up all sorts of challenges.</p>	Anaphora				Suggestion	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
		Personal pronoun					Directive	Positive motivation
Par. 12	<p>But I believe together we can provide that strong and stable government that our country needs based on those values - rebuilding family, rebuilding community, above all, rebuilding responsibility in our country.</p>	Anaphora				Compensation	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
		Parallelism						
		Epistrophe						
		Personal pronoun						

Based on the analysis of the speech given by David Cameron as indicated in table (15), the most common rhetorical device used by the speaker is anaphora (8) instances, then personal pronoun (5), parallelism (4), alliteration (2) and epistrophe (1). These repetition devices help the speaker to emphasize and give special significance to some particular messages, through which David Cameron seeks to have these messages stuck to the mind of the audience and make them more memorable. Via antithesis in (3) instances, the speaker attempts to draw the attention of the audience, influence their beliefs and show them what is a real change and how competent the audience are in taking the responsibilities and serving the country.

Highlighting the persuasive techniques utilized in the above speech, the speaker uses identification in (3) instances for the purpose of showing the audience that he and the audience are fighting for the same cause, together they face the challenges and together they march towards a better future. Employing suggestion technique in (2) instances, David Cameron endeavours to show the audience and direct them to start action and face the challenges, make decisions and build a stronger society with a stronger economy. Via compensation technique in (2) instances, the speaker tries to tell the audience how to make up for the needs of the country, to restore trust, reform the system, rebuild family and community as well. In addition, David Cameron uses rationalization technique in (1) instance aiming at justifying his efforts to form a proper and full coalition between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats. With projection technique (1) instance, the speaker tries to show the positive sides of the government he wants to form, which is based on values of freedom, fairness and responsibility. In other words, through projection technique, he attempts to compare his

government with the previous ones led by others where he mentions some great policies of his government.

As for persuasive strategies, David Cameron employs appeals to needs in (7) instances with the purpose of indicating that the needs of the people will be the priority of his government, building a stronger government, reforming the parliament and serving the people, the community and the society all come in his agenda. He resorts to pathos in (7) instances to work on the emotion of the audience and evoke certain feelings in them. Through the use of positive motivation strategy, the speaker seeks to encourage the audience to work relentlessly towards their goals and the changes they want to see in their life and society. Via ethos in (1) instance, David Cameron attempts to show his credibility and trustworthiness in dealing with the problems and how his government will be capable of providing the audience with all the needs they fight for.

Finally, there found no cases where David Cameron openly tries to persuade the voters and applied no overt procedures to get them persuaded.

4.1.10 Analysis of Theresa May's General Election Speech, 18th April, 2017

Table (16) 4.1.10 Analysis of "Theresa May's General Election Speech"

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 3	Last summer, after the country voted to leave the European Union, Britain needed certainty, stability and strong leadership, and since I became Prime Minister the Government has delivered precisely that.	Alliteration				Compensation	Emphasis	Ethos
							Selling power	Appeals to needs
Par. 8	That means we will regain control of our own money, our own laws and our own borders and we will be free to strike trade deals with old friends and new partners all around the world. This is the right approach , and it is in the national interest. But the other political parties oppose it.	Parallelism*	Antithesis			Rationalization	Emphasis*	Cognitive dissonance
	Personal pronoun*				Selling power		Ethos	
							Warning	Appeals to needs
Par. 10	At this moment of enormous national significance there should be unity here in Westminster, but instead there is division. The country is coming together, but Westminster is not.		Antithesis			Projection	Warning	Cognitive dissonance
Par. 15	Our opponents believe that because the Government's majority is so small, our resolve will weaken and that they can force us to change course. But, They are wrong.		Antithesis			Projection	Selling power	Ethos
Par. 16	They under-estimate our determination to get the job done and I am not prepared to let them endanger the security of millions of working people across the country.	Personal pronoun				Projection	Selling power	Appeals to needs
								Ethos
Par. 18	If we do not hold a general election now their political game-playing will continue, and the negotiations with the European Union will reach their most difficult stage in the run-up to the next scheduled election.				Metaphor	Rationalization	Warning	Cognitive dissonance

Table (16) 4.1.10 Analysis of “Theresa May’s General Election Speech”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
Par. 22	Since I became Prime Minister I have said that there should be no election until 2020, but now I have concluded that the only way to guarantee certainty and stability for the years ahead is to hold this election and seek your support for the decisions I must take.	Personal pronoun*	Antithesis			Rationalization	Emphasis*	Pathos
	Alliteration*				Warning		Appeals to needs	
Par. 25	So I have a simple challenge to the opposition parties, you have criticised the Government's vision for Brexit, you have challenged our objectives, you have threatened to block the legislation we put before Parliament. This is your moment to show you mean it, to show you are not opposing the Government for the sake of it, to show that you do not treat politics as a game.	Parallelism				Suggestion	Emphasis	Pathos
		Anaphora			Directive			
Par. 26	Let us tomorrow vote for an election, let us put forward our plans for Brexit and our alternative programmes for government and then let the people decide.	Anaphora				Suggestion	Emphasis	Pathos
Par. 28	Every vote for the Conservatives will make it harder for opposition politicians who want to stop me from getting the job done. Every vote for the Conservatives means we can stick to our plan for a stronger Britain and take the right long-term decisions for a more secure future.	Anaphora				Rationalization	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
								Pathos
Par. 30	So, tomorrow, let the House of Commons vote for an election, let everybody put forward their proposals for Brexit and their programmes for Government, and let us remove the risk of uncertainty and instability.	Anaphora				Suggestion	Emphasis	Appeals to needs
							Directive	

In the light of the analysis of the speech as represented in table (16), the rhetorical devices used in the above speech, antithesis occupies the largest quantity of the devices employed by the speaker with (4) instances. Through antithesis, the speaker attempts to warn the audience that her opponents oppose policies that are in the national interest, they create divisions and negatively affect national unity and their political game-playing will endanger their stability and security. With the use of personal pronoun (3), anaphora (4), alliteration (2) and parallelism (1), Theresa May wants to emphasize her thoughts and visions concerning certain issues in Britain. Through using metaphor (1) and simile (1), the speaker warns the audience about possible risks and dangers they may face if they trust her opponents.

With regard to persuasive techniques, the speaker employs rationalization in (4) instances to justify the reasons for holding an early election and in what way does this election and the results affect Britain. Via using suggestion strategy (3) instances, the speaker seeks to provide the audience with some directions and instruction to start action towards certain issues. With the use of projection in (3) instances, Theresa May pinpoints every characteristics and policies of the opponents which are deemed to be against the national interests and the audience as well to serve her cause and sway the voters. Compensation appearing in (1) instance helps the speaker to show the audience that she is able to compensate the lack of certainty, stability and strong leadership.

Regarding the persuasive strategies, the most common strategy used by the speaker is appeals to needs (6) instances, through which Theresa May appeals to the safety, security and stability needs of the audience. Then the use of pathos in (4) instances helps the speaker to work on the audience's emotion and evoking certain feelings in their heart and mind.

Furthermore, utilizing ethos in (4) instances, the speaker tries to appear competent and trustworthy in meeting the demands of the people, in every aspects of life, across Britain. Theresa May resorts to the use of cognitive dissonance in (3) instances in order to make the audience and voters change their beliefs and follow what falls in the national interest. She states that there are many viable plans which opposed by her opponents, there should be unity but the opponents create divisions.

With regard to the persuasion method, Theresa May indirectly attempts to persuade the audience in the majority of the cases. She overtly tries to ask for the votes in only two instances in paragraphs (26 and 30), with the use of the rhetorical device (anaphora).

4.2 Analysis of Advertisement Slogans

In this section of analysis, there are (10) advertisement texts to be analysed. The slogans are selected and collected from various business companies and agencies where the researcher believes persuasion is highly expected both covertly and overtly.

4.2.1 Analysis of Nintendo 64-Electronic Game Advertisement

Table (17) Analysis of “Nintendo 64-Electronic Game Advertisement”

	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
	Get N or Get Out.	Anaphora				Suggestion	Attention value	Ethos
							Selling power	Pathos
							Warning	Cognitive dissonance
							Directive	
							Emphasis	

In line with the analysis of the advertisement shown in table (17), the advertiser employs anaphora as a rhetorical device to achieve a variety of purposes including drawing the attention of the consumers to get fully engaged with the game system, showing the power and unbelievable characteristics and abilities of the game, warning the consumers that the only way to be master of electronic games is just Nintendo 64, if not there is no possibility to keep playing games, directing the consumers to get into action and buy the product and finally emphasising the message of the advertisement.

Moreover, the advertiser attempts to show the consumers the best and viable way to keep playing in electronic game competitions which is to buy Nintendo 64 through using suggestion as a persuasive technique.

As for persuasive strategies, there can be found three strategies; first, the use of ethos to highlight the significance and outstanding features of the game system that certainly helps the gamers to proceed their competitions and game videos with this brand. Second, pathos is utilized to work on the emotion of video gamers and arouse their curiosity. Third, the advertiser employs the strategy of cognitive dissonance to tell the consumers that the failure to follow the suggestion of the advertiser i.e. not to buy the product, there would be no more great chances to play video games.

Regarding the persuasion method, the advertiser spares no effort to overtly persuade the consumers and make them buy the product. The advertiser tells the consumers, in an apparent attempt, that in order to keep playing electronic games and getting to the final stages of the games, they should buy Nintendo 64-Electronic Game.

In line with the analysis of the advertisement shown in table (18), the advertiser employs simile as a rhetorical device to achieve some specific purposes including drawing the attention of the consumers and showing the power and unbelievable characteristics of the company in making this product.

Moreover, through the use of projection as a persuasive technique, the advertiser seeks to tell the consumers that with Vodka, life will be more enjoyable and it will be in harmony with an atmosphere of love and feeling great.

As for persuasive strategies, there can be found two strategies; first, the use of ethos to highlight the significance and outstanding features of the product. Second, pathos is utilized to work on the emotion of consumers and arouse their curiosity about the product.

Regarding the persuasion method, the advertiser indirectly try to persuade the consumers and make them buy the product. The advertiser tells the consumers, in a hidden way, that in order to feel completely relaxed and taste the real love, they need to experience, in this sense, to drink Vodka.

Based on the analysis of the Chevrolet Car Company as shown in table (19), the advertiser uses metaphor as a rhetorical device, saying that Chevrolet is seen or is actually the dynamo of the life of Americans. Through this device, the advertiser seeks to sell the power of their product, stating that this brand car is the source of their excitement, and also tries to influence the costumers and get their attention.

Furthermore, the advertiser resorts to the technique of projection aiming at showing the impressive qualities and features of the brand, telling the costumers what the brand car can do in their life so as to compare it with other brand cars which do not possess these qualities.

Via employing pathos as a persuasive strategy, the advertiser attempts to paint word pictures to arouse the emotion and curiosity of the costumers about the product to get them to perform the act of buying the brand car. As for the use of ethos in this ad, the advertiser seeks to make the product more reliable and dependable in the life of Americans, claiming that this brand is a unique car which is the heartbeat of America.

In conclusion, the advertiser indirectly attempts to persuade the consumers and uses a covert persuasion method to lead the consumers to buy the product through using a metaphor.

4.3.4 Analysis of Haig Scotch Whiskey Advertisement

Table (20) Analysis of Haig Scotch Whiskey Slogan

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
	Don't be vague. Ask for Haig	Rhyme				Suggestion	Directive	Positive motivation
							Attention value	
							Selling power	Ethos

In line with the analysis of the advertisement shown in table (20), the advertiser employs rhyme as a rhetorical device to achieve some specific purposes including drawing the attention of the consumers and showing the power and unbelievable characteristics of the product in making consumers feel entirely relieved with no concerns at all.

Moreover, the advertiser attempts to show the consumers that asking for their company's product and trying it is the best possible way to put everything aside and enjoy their life having Haig Whiskey. Thus, the advertiser makes use of suggestion as a persuasive technique to suggest the consumers to choose the best Whiskey product which is Haig Whiskey

As for persuasive strategies, there can be found two strategies; first, the use of ethos to highlight the significance and outstanding features of the product and telling the consumers that no company is as capable as Scotch Haig to produce such Whiskey. Second, Positive motivation is utilized to positively urge the consumers to buy the product as the advertiser implies that uncertainty disappears as soon as they choose Haig.

Regarding the persuasion method, the advertiser spares no effort to overtly persuade the consumers and make them buy the product. The advertiser tells the consumers, in an apparent attempt, that in order to get rid of uncertainty and difficulty to choose, Haig is just what they look for.

4.3.5 Analysis of Huggies Diaper Advertisement

Table (21) Analysis of “Huggies Diaper Advertisement”

Text 1	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
	Don't Worry Be Huggies.			Allusion		Conformity	Memorability	Appeals to needs
						Suggestion	Directive	Positive motivation
						Identification	Attention value	Ethos
							Selling power	Pathos

As table (21) indicates, the advertiser refers to the famous song of Bobby McFerrin "Don't Worry, Be Happy", through the use of allusion as a rhetorical device. In this ad, parents are being targeted who worry about the ways their babies feel comfortable enough. This slogan plays a pivotal role in creating positive impression about the product, guarantees parents and dispels any doubts that their child will feel comfortable in this diaper and they have nothing to worry about. Allusion here makes the message more memorable and sticks the slogan in the mind of parents via alluding to a famous song.

In addition, the advertiser utilizes conformity as a persuasive technique, in which referring to a famous song of a famous singer Bobby McFerrin. This technique helps the advertiser to bring positive influence up to progress, which is a desire or an action to make something similar with something else. Furthermore, the advertiser also uses suggestion and identification as persuasive techniques.

Regarding the persuasive strategies, there could be perceived four strategies, appeals to needs, positive motivation, ethos and pathos. With appeals to needs, the advertiser attempts to inform parents that using these diapers help parents to satisfy the needs of their babies, being as comfortable as they wish. Then the technique of positive motivation is of great help to positively motivate and encourage the parents to buy this product for their babies. In addition, ethos has been employed here to show the credibility and interesting features of the product; then with pathos, the advertiser wants to draw the attention of the costumers towards the product being advertised.

With regard to covert or overt persuasion, the advertiser applies overt persuasion method to increase the selling rate of the product, where the customers are overtly directed to buy the product if they want not to worry about their babies.

4.3.6 Analysis of eBay Website Slogan

Table (22) Analysis of “eBay Website Slogan”

	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
	Buy it . Sell it . Love it .	Epistrophe				Suggestion	Emphasis	Positive motivation
						Directive		

Based on the analysis of the advertisement illustrated in table (22), the advertiser makes use of epistrophe as a rhetorical device to achieve two aims: first, to put emphasis that the product being advertised is not an ordinary product because once you buy it you love it, with no doubts, second aim is to direct the audience to perform a kind of action and buy the product.

As for the use of persuasive technique, suggestion is employed by the advertiser to recommend the consumers to try their product and buy it.

Regarding persuasive strategies, the advertiser resorts to positive motivation technique in a bid to positively stimulate customers that buying their product will result in loving them as well.

In the advertisement text above, the advertiser directly requests the consumers to use eBay website and buy, sell and love the products being advertised in the website. With the imperative verbs “Buy, sell and love”, the consumers are overtly instructed to use the website and buy or sell the products.

In accordance with the analysis of the text advertisement represented in table (23), antithesis is resorted to by the advertiser as a rhetorical device, to show two opposite ideas –a small mobile phone having maximum style and design- in order to catch the attention of the possible buyers of the brand and show them the trustworthiness of the phone having great and significant abilities with its maximum style and design.

In addition, the advertiser makes use of projection technique as a persuasive technique in an attempt to show the advantages of the brand compared to the other mobile phones in world markets; where it is not usually possible to have a small phone having these huge features.

When it comes to the persuasive strategies, pathos and ethos are both used in this ad. With pathos, the advertiser works on influencing the emotion of the consumers and get them attracted by the product and buy it; while with ethos, there is a great tendency to show the credibility and amazing features of the mobile phone, making it a unique brand with magical abilities in the world of technology and communication.

With regard to the way the advertiser tries to persuade the consumers, it can be concluded that covert persuasion has been applied in this advertisement, where the advertiser covertly or indirectly wants to get the attention of the consumers and persuade them to buy the product.

4.3.8 Analysis of Johnnie Walker Black Whiskey Slogan

Table (24) Analysis of “Johnnie Walker Black Whiskey Slogan”

	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
	If you want to impress someone, put him on your <u>Black list</u> .				Pun	Suggestion	Attention Value	Pathos
							Directive	Ethos
							Selling power	

According to the analysis of the advertisement as shown in table (24), the speaker employs pun as a rhetorical device to produce a humorous effect, suggesting that to impress someone is to put him on your black list. While black list has a negative meaning used with the word (impress) which has a positive meaning; but the advertiser exploits the word (black) to refer to the name of its brand which is Black Whiskey. As a result, pun is used in this ad to attract the attention of the consumers.

The advertiser utilizes suggestion as a persuasive technique to tell the consumer that there is an amazing way to impress a friend or someone close to them which is putting him on their back list. In another sense, the text shows the consumer a possible or the best way through which they can impress people around them. Then, through the use of projection technique, the advertiser tries to tell the customers that the product is highly capable of making an impression and influencing others.

With regard to persuasive strategies, the advertiser uses pathos as an influential strategy aiming at arousing the curiosity and emotion of the costumers. In addition, ethos has been employed in this advertisement as a strategy to highlight the outstanding features of the Black Whiskey which is cable of impressing and attracting the attention of others.

Highlighting covert or overt persuasion, the advertiser indirectly attempts to achieve their hidden intention and persuade the consumers to buy the product. In another sense, through the advertisement there cannot be seen any direct or overt attempts to persuade the consumers.

4.3.9 Analysis of Emirates Inflight Entertainment Advertisement

Table (25) Analysis of “Emirates Inflight Entertainment Slogan”

	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
	Visit new worlds with our inflight entertainment!			Hyperbole		Projection	Selling power	Ethos
							Attention value	
					Suggestion	Directive	Pathos	
						Readability		

According to the analysis of the advertisement shown in table (25), the advertiser (The Emirates Flight Company) launched a campaign in which it uses Hyperbole as a device, in an attempt to make their flights the most desirable, the most expert and reliable flight company around the world.

Regarding the persuasive techniques, the advertiser resorts to two techniques. The first persuasive technique used is projection, through which the advertiser attempts to show the high qualities of their flights and claim the uniqueness of the flights they provide for passengers. Suggestion is the second persuasive technique used in this slogan where the advertiser directly requests passengers to explore new worlds through Emirates airlines.

For the persuasive strategies, two strategies can be realized in this campaign. The first strategy is the use of pathos to create an influential image in the mind of the passengers and arouse their curiosity towards the flights provided by the company. Furthermore, ethos has been used as the second persuasive strategy, through which the advertiser tries to promise to take passengers to 'new worlds' (clearly there is only one world, but the company offers some unique experience, which is enhanced by pleasurable moments during the flights).

As it comes to the persuasion method, the advertiser shows a vivid attempt or direct request for the targeted people to use the airline. In other words, the company overtly seeks to persuade the passengers and openly tells them (Visit new worlds with our inflight entertainment).

4.3.10 Analysis of Jaguar Brand Car Slogan

Table (26) Analysis of “Jaguar Brand Car Slogan”

	Item	Devices				Techniques	Functions	Strategies
		Tropes		Schemes				
		Rhetorical Operation						
		Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization			
	Don't Dream It. Drive It	Alliteration				Suggestion	Emphasis	Positive motivation
Readability								
Selling power							Ethos	
Directive								

As table (26) represents, alliteration is used as a rhetorical device in a bid to emphasize the core of the message, to tell the costumers that Jaguar car brand is not an impossible dream, it is out there and waits for them to buy it and drive it. With the use of alliteration, the costumers are more likely to continue searching for quick and simple information about the product through the function of readability.

With regard to persuasive techniques, the advertiser employs suggestion technique to provide the costumers with the suggestion that there is no need any more to dream about the product, it is the right time to buy it, drive it and enjoy it.

Through positive motivation as a persuasive strategy, the advertiser tries to positively evoke the feelings of the costumers to buy the car and stimulate them not to waste time and get the product as soon as possible. In addition, ethos has been used to highlight the credibility and trustworthiness of the product.

As for the covert or overt persuasion, the advertiser plainly seeks to persuade the consumers and overtly tell them not to dream about it, but it is time to drive it i.e. drive the product being advertised; which clearly means to buy Jaguar car.

4.4 Results Analysis

This section highlights the results of the data analysis that was carried out in sections 4.2 above. All the given data are analysed pursuant to the adopted model of this study and with method of analysis.

	Table (27) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical devices, Persuasive Techniques and Strategies Used by Donald Trump			
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	47	20	36	52
Percentage	30.3 %	13 %	23.2 %	33.5 %
Total	155 (%100)			

Table (27) illustrates that the highest frequency and percentage goes to the persuasive strategies used by the speaker with (52) instances found which equals to (33.5 %), rhetorical devices employed are (47) making up (30.3 %), functions with (36) instances which equals to (23.2 %), and the lowest frequency is the use of persuasive techniques with (20) instances found amounting to (13 %). Furthermore, all the attempts made by Donald Trump are covert persuasion attempts except for only (4) paragraphs (9, 25, 70 and 75) in which the speaker tries to covertly persuade the audience.

	Table (28) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical devices, Persuasive Techniques and Strategies Employed by Barak Obama's Speech, Ohio State			
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	67	36	57	64
Percentage	30 %	16	25.5 %	28.5 %
Total	224 (%100)			

As table (28) represents, rhetorical devices in Barak Obama's speech take the highest frequency with (67) occurrences making up (30 %), persuasive strategies come second with (64) occurrences which equals to

(28.5 %), functions with (57) occurrences amounting to (25.5 %), and the lowest frequency and percentage goes to the use of persuasive techniques with (36) occurrences making up (16 %) of the overall percentage. Throughout the speech, Barack Obama covertly tries to persuade the voters and employed all these linguistic elements to conceal his intention and not overtly tell the audience to vote for him except for only two paragraphs (1 and 64).

Table (29) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical devices, Persuasive Techniques and Strategies Employed by Barak Obama's Speech, Spring Filed				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	42	20	35	40
Percentage	30.7 %	14.6 %	25.5 %	29.2 %
Total	137 (%100)			

Table (29) shows the frequency and percentage of rhetorical devices, persuasive techniques and strategies employed by Barack Obama, where the highest frequency is the use of rhetorical devices with (42) occurrences which equals to (30.7 %), then comes persuasive strategies with (40) occurrences (29.2 %) and functions with (35) occurrences amounting to (25.5 %), and persuasive techniques with the lowest frequency and percentage with (20) occurrences making up just (14.6 %).

With regard to overt or covert persuasion, all the attempts made by Barack Obama are covert persuasion attempts in order not to openly direct the audience to vote for him. The whole speech, however, contains only three paragraphs (20, 21, and 22) in which the speaker plainly attempts to persuade the voters.

	Table (30) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical devices, Persuasive Techniques and Strategies Used in Paddy Ashdown's speech			
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	52	21	39	38
Percentage	34.7 %	14 %	26 %	25.3 %
Total	150 (%100)			

Table (30) shows the frequency and percentage of rhetorical devices, persuasive techniques and strategies employed by Paddy Ashdown, in which the highest frequency is the use of rhetorical devices with (52) instances amounting to (34.7 %), the functions come second with (39) instances making up (26 %), persuasive strategies come third with (38) instances which equals to (25.3 %) and the lowest frequency and percentage goes to persuasive techniques with only (21) instances amounting to (14 %). All in all, the speaker endeavours to persuade the voters implicitly and does not show any apparent attempts to sway their votes except for three instances in paragraphs (18, 19 and 20) successively where he says *“I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it”*

	Table (31) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical devices, Persuasive Techniques and Strategies Employed by Hilary Clinton, Reno			
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	20	10	18	19
Percentage	29.8 %	15 %	26.9 %	28.3 %
Total	67 (%100)			

As table (31) indicates, in the speech delivered by Hilary Clinton, rhetorical devices contribute to the highest frequency in which (20)

occurrences are found amounting to (29.8 %), then comes persuasive strategies (19) occurrences amounting to (28.3 %) and functions with (18) occurrences (26.9 %). Lastly, persuasive techniques which record the lowest frequency and percentage in Hilary's speech with only (10) occurrences making up (15 %). In addition, all the attempts made by the speaker are covert attempts to sway their votes, except for one instance found in paragraph (66) with the use of anaphora.

Table (32) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical devices, Persuasive Techniques and Strategies Employed by Bill Clinton 1992				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	39	11	30	27
Percentage	36.5 %	10.3 %	28 %	25.2 %
Total	107 (%100)			

According to table (32), the highest frequency goes to rhetorical devices in which (39) instances are found making up (36.5 %), then comes functions with (30) instances amounting to (28 %), and persuasive strategies with (27) instances (25.2 %). The lowest frequency goes to the use of persuasive techniques with (11) instances which equals to (10.3) of the overall percentage.

As it comes to the persuasion method, Clinton makes use of the majority of devices, techniques and strategies to covertly persuade the audience. In other words, throughout the speech, there could not be perceived any apparent or vivid attempt made by the speaker to persuade the voters.

Table (33) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical devices, Persuasive Techniques and Strategies Employed by Jeremy Corbyn				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	20	8	16	13
Percentage	35 %	14 %	28 %	23 %
Total	57 (%100)			

Table (33) shows the frequency and percentage of rhetorical devices, persuasive techniques and persuasive strategies employed by Jeremy Corbyn in his speech. As the table indicates, rhetorical devices have the highest frequency (20) occurrences which equals to (35 %), functions take the second position with (16) occurrences (28 %) and the persuasive strategies (13) occurrences amounting to (23 %), and the lowest frequency goes to persuasive techniques (8) occurrences equalling to (14 %).

Regarding the attempts made by Jeremy to persuade the voters, he does not show any apparent bid to get their votes; all the attempts are done indirectly in order not to show the concealed intentions of the speaker.

Table (34) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical devices, Persuasive Techniques and Strategies Employed by Donald Trump, in Wisconsin				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	46	21	40	46
Percentage	30 %	13.8 %	26.2 %	30 %
Total	153 (100 %)			

Table (34) represents both the frequency and percentage of rhetorical devices, persuasive techniques and persuasive strategies employed by Donald Trump in his speech. As the table shows, both rhetorical devices and persuasive strategies share an equal frequency and percentage (46)

occurrences for each amounting to (30 %) each, and functions (40) occurrences equalling to (26.2 %) and persuasive techniques with (21) occurrences (13.8 %).

Finally, throughout the whole speech, there could not be found many apparent attempts made by the speaker to overtly persuade the voters and all the attempts were done indirectly except for paragraphs (32, 60) via using the rhetorical device (personal pronoun).

Table (35) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical devices, Persuasive Techniques and Strategies Employed by David Cameron 2010				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	23	9	16	20
Percentage	33.8 %	13.2 %	23.5 %	29.5 %
Total	68 (%100)			

As table (35) represents, the rhetorical devices take the highest frequency of usage (23) occurrences amounting to (33.8 %), then comes the persuasive strategies (20) occurrences equalling to (29.5 %), functions (16) occurrences equalling to (23.5) and the lowest frequency is the use of persuasive techniques (9) occurrences with (13.2 %).

Finally, there found no cases where David Cameron applied overt persuasion method.

Table (36) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical devices, Persuasive Techniques and Strategies Employed by Theresa May, 2017				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	17	11	17	17
Percentage	27.4 %	17.8 %	27.4 %	27.4 %
Total	62 (%100)			

Table (36) illustrates that rhetorical devices persuasive strategies and functions share an equal frequency and percentage amounting to (51) occurrences making up (27.4 %) for each. Persuasive techniques have the lowest frequency and percentage amounting to (11) occurrences and (17.8 %) of the overall percentage.

With regard to the persuasion method, Theresa May indirectly attempts to persuade the audience in the majority of the cases. She overtly tries to ask for the votes in only two instances in paragraphs (26 and 30), with the use of the rhetorical device (anaphora).

It is worth noting that the results of this investigation of data analysis for political speeches show that covert persuasion takes the lion's share in all the analysed political speeches where the rhetorical devices belonging to (Trope) category make major contribution to the process of covert persuasion. However, overt persuasion seems not to be common in political election speeches, as the researcher found a relatively few cases in which attempts have been made by the politicians to overtly persuade the voters.

In other words, there exist only a few number of paragraphs in each speech where overt persuasion occurs through using rhetorical devices belonging to (Scheme) category. There are no cases, however, in some of the analysed speeches where overt persuasion attempts made.

Table (37) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical devices, Persuasive Techniques, Strategies and Functions in Nintendo 64-Electronic Game Slogan				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	1	1	5	3
Percentage	10 %	10 %	50 %	30 %
Total	10 (100%)			

Table (37) illustrates the frequency and percentage of rhetorical devices, persuasive techniques, strategies and functions employed in the advertisement of Nintendo device. It shows that the use of (Anaphora) as a device results in having five functions and all the attempts made are overt persuasion attempts. There exist only one technique (Suggestion) and three strategies through which the speaker spares no bid to openly and overtly persuade the costumers to buy the product.

Table (38) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical Devices, Persuasive Techniques, Strategies and functions in Russian Standard Vodka Slogan				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	1	1	2	2
Percentage	16.7 %	16.7 %	33.3 %	33.3 %
Total	6 (100%)			

Table (38) indicates that there is only one device found in the advertisement, one technique, two functions and two strategies. The advertiser likens the product to (love) through the rhetorical device (Simile) which, in the advertisement, plays the role of covert persuasion. In addition, both persuasive strategies and functions take an equal share of frequency and

percentage (33.3 %) for each, which is higher than the share taken by the rhetorical devices and persuasive techniques (16.7 %) for each.

Regarding overt or covert persuasion, there cannot be found any overt attempts in the advertisement to persuade the consumers i.e. all the attempts are covert persuasion attempts.

Table (39) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical Devices, Persuasive Techniques, Strategies and functions in Chevrolet Car Slogan				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	1	1	2	2
Percentage	16.7 %	16.7 %	33.3 %	33.3 %
Total	6 (100%)			

Table (39) represents that the slogan employs one rhetorical device (Metaphor) which belongs to trope category and contributes to the process of covert persuasion. In addition, the frequency and percentage goes to functions and persuasive strategies with (2) instances for each amounting to (33.3 %) each. Rhetorical devices and persuasive techniques, however, have the lowest frequency and percentage with (1) instance for each amounting to (16.6 %) each.

Furthermore, the advertiser shows no apparent attempt to persuade the costumers and thus, they covertly try to persuade the targeted people.

Table (40) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical Devices, Persuasive Techniques, Strategies and functions used in Haig Whiskey Slogan				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	1	1	3	2
Percentage	14.3 %	14.3 %	42.8 %	28.6 %
Total	7 (100 %)			

As table (40) shows, the advertiser employed one device (Rhyme) through which an overt persuasion method has been applied. Moreover, the table represents that the highest frequency and percentage is the use of functions and persuasive strategies (3) and (2) occurrences successively. Rhetorical devices and persuasive techniques, however, record the lowest frequency and percentage (1) occurrence for each amounting to (14.3 %) each.

Concerning the persuasion method, the advertiser openly and overtly attempts to persuade the consumers and directly tells them to ask for the product i.e. to buy the product.

Table (41) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical Devices, Persuasive Techniques, Strategies and functions in Huggies Diaper Advertisement				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	1	3	4	4
Percentage	8.4 %	25 %	33.3 %	33.3 %
Total	12 (100 %)			

Table (41) indicates that persuasive strategies and functions have the highest frequency and percentage (4) instances for each which equals to (33.3 %) each. Three persuasive techniques have been employed which amounts to

(25 %) in the overall percentage. Finally, (1) rhetorical device (Allusion) has been utilized in the advertisement which belongs to trope category but works as an overt persuasive device in this context amounting to only (8.4 %).

In the advertisement, the advertiser spars no efforts to persuade the costumers to buy the product and directly requests them to choose the product.

Table (42) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical Devices, Persuasive Techniques, Strategies and functions in Ebay Website Slogan				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	1	1	2	1
Percentage	20 %	20 %	40 %	20 %
Total	5 (100 %)			

As table (42) shows, functions take the highest frequency and percentage (2) occurrences amounting to (40 %), while the rhetorical devices, persuasive techniques and strategies have only (1) occurrence each which amounts to (20 %) for each. In the slogan, the advertiser employs alliteration as a rhetorical device in which they directly and overtly try to persuade the costumers with the use of imperatives (buy, sell and love), which obviously refers to the fact that the advertiser hides no intentions and overtly attempts to persuade the costumers.

Table (43) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical Devices, Persuasive Techniques, Strategies and functions in Samsung Mini Phone Slogan				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	1	1	2	2
Percentage	16.7 %	16.7 %	33.3 %	33.3 %
Total	6 (100 %)			

Table (43) indicates that the highest frequency and percentage goes to functions and strategies with (2) occurrences for each which equals to (33.3 %) each. Rhetorical devices and techniques have the lowest frequency and percentage with (1) occurrence each amounting to (16.7 %) for each. In addition, the rhetorical device employed in this slogan is (Antithesis) which serves, in this context, as a device to apply covert persuasion method i.e. the message to buy the product is not being overtly addressed.

Table (44) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical Devices, Persuasive Techniques, Strategies and functions in Johnnie Walker Black Whiskey Slogan				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	1	2	3	2
Percentage	12.5 %	25 %	37.5 %	25 %
Total	8 (100 %)			

Table (44) shows that functions take the lion's share of frequency and percentage with (3) occurrences amounting to (37.5 %); persuasive techniques and strategies come second and take an equal share of frequency and percentage (2) occurrences each equalling to (25 %) for each, and then comes rhetorical devices with only (1) occurrence making up only (12,5) of the overall percentage. Furthermore, the device used in this slogan is (Pun) and the techniques are (suggestion and projection), they all serve in the

interest of covert persuasion in this advertisement. To put it another way, the slogan contains no hints of overt persuasion or direct attempts to persuade the consumers.

Table (45) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical Devices, Persuasive Techniques, Strategies and functions in Emirates Airlines Slogan				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	1	2	4	2
Percentage	11.2 %	22.2 %	44.4 %	22.2 %
Total	9 (100 %)			

As table (45) indicates, the highest frequency and percentage goes to functions with (4) instances which equals to (44.4 %); persuasive techniques and strategies share an equal frequency and percentage (2) instances for each amounting to (22.2 %) for each, rhetorical devices appear in only (1) instance making up (11.2) in the overall percentage. Concerning overt or covert persuasion, the advertiser uses the imperative form of the verb (visit) and directly suggests the passengers to use Emirates airlines i.e. the advertiser overtly attempts to persuade the targeted people to have their flights through Emirates Airlines.

Table (46) Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical Devices, Persuasive Techniques, Strategies and functions employed in Jaguar Brand Car Slogan				
	Devices	Techniques	Functions	Strategies
Frequency	1	1	4	2
Percentage	12.5 %	12.5 %	50 %	25 %
Total	8 (100 %)			

Table (46) represents that the highest frequency and percentage goes to functions (4) occurrences amounting to (50 %); persuasive strategies (2) occurrences equalling to (25 %), rhetorical devices and persuasive techniques share and equal frequency and percentage with only (1) occurrence each making up (12.5 %) for each. With regard to persuasion method, the advertiser spars no efforts to overtly persuade the costumers to buy the brand car. Thought the slogan text, the advertiser uses imperatives to overtly direct the costumers to buy the product saying “Drive it” which clearly means “Buy it” in order to drive it.

It is worth mentioning that in advertising language and especially in the data analysis above, the majority of the slogans contain overt persuasion methods through which the advertisers try to overtly and directly persuade the costumers. There are also, however, covert persuasion attempts in the data analysis above where advertisers manifest their products and indirectly endeavour to persuade them to change belief and start doing a certain action which is buying their products.

4.5 Findings

This section presents the findings of the results of analysis and discusses them as follows:

1. All the twenty texts of this study include elements of persuasion, either overt or covert.
2. Rhetorical devices play an outstanding role in the process of persuasion employed by politicians and advertisers.
3. Rhetorical devices take lion's share of usage in political speeches which is in sharp contrast to advertisement slogans where only one rhetorical device is found in each advertisement text.
4. Approximately, ninety percent (90 %) of the analysis of political speeches indicate the fact that persuasion is done through covert persuasion in this field.
5. There exist nearly (10 %) of the cases where overt persuasion occurs in political speeches, and rhetorical devices belonging to (Scheme) category make a major contribution to overt persuasion method.
6. Advertisement slogans, on the contrary, work more on overt persuasion as compared to political speeches where covert persuasion is more common.
7. In political speeches, all rhetorical devices belonging to (Trope) category are used to serve covert persuasion which is of direct contrast to advertisement slogans where the same rhetorical devices of (Trope) category contribute to the process of overt persuasion as well.
8. In advertisement texts, however, nearly ninety percent (90 %) of overt persuasion method is done through rhetorical devices belonging to (Scheme) category with the help of imperatives like (get, ask, buy, drive and love, etc.).

9. Despite all the functions provided by Leech (1996, p.123), the results of the data analysis indicate some other functions found during the analysis including (emphasis, warning and directive) functions.
10. Interestingly enough, there exist some rhetorical devices belonging to either (Trope) or (Scheme) category which function to serve overt persuasion in one field and covert persuasion in another. In other words, these rhetorical devices function to serve overt persuasion in advertisement slogans and covert persuasion in political speeches.
11. Even though the persuasive techniques by Keraf (1991, pp.124-131) were basically provided for advertisement texts through which advertisers attempt to persuade consumers, the researcher concluded that some of these techniques are applicable to political speeches as well.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.1 Conclusions

The present study was designed to investigate political speeches and advertisement texts to determine the effects of rhetorical devices, persuasive techniques and strategies in the process of persuasion, either covert or overt. Thus, based on results of analysis, discussion of results and findings, the study has arrived at the following conclusions:

- 1- As hypothesised, both politicians and advertisers seek to persuade voters and consumers through covert and overt persuasion methods.
- 2- In political speeches, the frequency of using rhetorical devices, techniques and strategies is much higher compared to advertisement texts, as each political speech contains numerous texts and paragraphs, and thus contains a large number of rhetorical devices, persuasive techniques and strategies.
- 3- The rhetorical devices of (anaphora, antithesis, rhetorical question, parallelism, epistrophe, metaphor and personal pronoun) are the backbones of persuasion employed by politicians and advertisers as they record the highest frequency of usage.
- 4- Among the persuasive techniques, (identification, projection, rationalization and suggestion) are crucial in the process of persuasion as their occurrence in both election speeches and advertisement texts is extremely high.
- 5- Pathos and ethos, as persuasive strategies, and attention value and selling power, as functions, make major contributions to persuasion.
- 6- The motivation behind using these devices, persuasive techniques and strategies is to achieve certain goals, including, first and foremost,

persuading the audience and the consumers to change belief and attitude, putting emphasis on some topics and issues of direct relevance to the audience and warning them about some other issues which might result in terrible consequences if the audience fail to follow what the politicians and advertisers say.

- 7- One of the major goals of this study, as mentioned in research objectives, was to find whether politicians use more overt or covert persuasion method as compared to advertisers. The researcher, thus, has arrived at the conclusion that overt persuasion is more common in advertising language, while in political speeches, covert persuasion is more common.
- 8- As hypothesized, the category of rhetorical devices (Trope) has major contributions to the process of covert persuasion especially in political speeches.
- 9- In advertisement texts, however, both categories of (Trope and Scheme) are of great help to the process of overt persuasion. Although, rhetorical devices belonging to (Scheme) category are more common to serve overt persuasion.
- 10- There exist rhetorical devices which function to serve overt persuasion in one of the fields but serve covert persuasion in the other. To put it another way, a rhetorical device like (anaphora) can be used to achieve overt persuasion in advertisement texts and to achieve overt persuasion in political speeches at the same time.
- 11- Despite the functions provided by Leech (1996, p.123), there exist some other functions attached to the rhetorical devices, including emphasis, directive and warning.

5.2 Suggestions for Further Research

Having persuasion and rhetoric highly prevalent in various aspects of life, most importantly in politics and business; the researcher comes up with the following suggestions for further research:

- 1- Conducting a thorough academic research into persuasion in both Kurdish political speeches and advertisement texts.
- 2- Investigating the role of rhetorical devices in Kurdish language through which politicians and advertisers attempt to persuade voters and consumers.
- 3- Carrying out a comparative study of overt and covert persuasion in both Kurdish and English political speeches.

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Appendices

Text (1) Donald Trump Election Campaign Speech 2016

- (1) Thank you. It's great to be here in Charlotte. I just met with our many amazing employees right up the road at our property.
- (2) I'd like to take a moment to talk about the heartbreak and devastation in Louisiana, a state that is very special to me.
- (3) We are one nation. When one state hurts, we all hurt – and we must all work together to lift each other up. Working, building, restoring together.
- (4) Our prayers are with the families who have lost loved ones, and we send them our deepest condolences. Though words cannot express the sadness one feels at times like this, I hope everyone in Louisiana knows that our country is praying for them and standing with them to help them in these difficult hours.
- (5) We are one country, one people, and we will have together one great future.
- (6) Tonight, I'd like to talk about the New American Future we are going to create together.
- (7) Last week, I laid out my plan to bring jobs back to our country. On Monday, I laid out my plan to defeat Radical Islamic Terrorism. On Tuesday, in Wisconsin, I talked about how we are going to restore law and order to this country.
- (8) Let me take this opportunity to extend our thanks and our gratitude to the police and law enforcement officers in this country who have sacrificed so greatly in these difficult times.
- (9) The chaos and violence on our streets, and the assaults on law enforcement, are an attack against all peaceful citizens. If I am elected President, this chaos and violence will end – and it will end very quickly.
- (10) Every single citizen in our land has a right to live in safety.
- (11) To be one united nation, we must protect all of our people. But we must also provide opportunities for all of our people.
- (12) We cannot make America Great Again if we leave any community behind.
- (13) Nearly Four in ten African-American children are living in poverty. I will not rest until children of every colour in this country are fully included in the American Dream.
- (14) Jobs, safety, opportunity. Fair and equal representation. This is what I promise to African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and all Americans.
- (15) But to achieve this New American Future we must break from the failures of the past.
- (16) As you know, I am not a politician. I have worked in business, creating jobs and rebuilding neighbourhoods my entire adult life. I've never wanted to use the language of the insiders, and I've never been politically correct – it takes far too much time, and can often make more difficult.
- (17) Sometimes, in the heat of debate and speaking on a multitude of issues, you don't choose the right words or you say the wrong thing. I have done that, and I regret it, particularly where it may have caused personal pain. Too much is at stake for us to be consumed with these issues.
- (18) But one thing I can promise you is this: I will always tell you the truth.
- (19) I speak the truth for all of you, and for everyone in this country who doesn't have a voice. I speak the truth on behalf of the factory worker who lost his or her job. I speak the truth on behalf of the Veteran who has been denied the medical care they need – and so many are not making it. They are dying. I speak the truth on behalf of the family living near the border that deserves to be safe in their own country but is instead living with no security at all.
- (20) Our campaign is about representing the great majority of Americans – Republicans, Democrats, Independents, Conservatives and Liberals – who read the newspaper, or turn on the TV, and don't hear anyone speaking for them. All they hear are insiders fighting for insiders.
- (21) These are the forgotten men and women in our society, and they are angry at so much on so many levels. The poverty, the unemployment, the failing schools, the jobs moving to other countries. I am fighting for these forgotten Americans.
- (22) Fourteen months ago, I declared my campaign for the Presidency on the promise to give our government back to the people. Every day since then, I've worked to repay the loyalty and the faith that you have put in me.
- (24) Every day I think about how much is at stake for this country. This isn't just the fight of *my* life, it's the fight of *our* lives – together – to save our country.

they deserved. Let our children be dreamers too. Our whole country loses every time a kid doesn't graduate from high school, or fails to enter the workforce or, worse still, is lost to the dreadful world of drugs and crime.

- (24) When I look at the failing schools, the terrible trade deals, and the infrastructure crumbling in our inner cities, I know all of this can be fixed - and it can be fixed very quickly.
- (25) In the world I come from, if something is broken, you fix it. If something isn't working, you replace it. If a product doesn't deliver, you make a change.
- (26) I have no patience for injustice, no tolerance for government incompetence, no sympathy for leaders who fail their citizens.
- (27) That's why I am running: to end the decades of bitter failure and to offer the American people a new future of honesty, justice and opportunity. A future where America, and its people, always – and I mean always – come first.
- (28) Aren't you tired of a system that gets rich at your expense? Aren't you tired of the same old lies and the same old broken promises? And Hillary Clinton has proven to be one of the greatest liars of all time. Aren't you tired of arrogant leaders who look down on you, instead of serving and protecting you?
- (29) That is all about to change – and it's about to change soon. We are going to put the American people first again.
- (30) I've travelled all across this country laying out my bold and modern agenda for change.
- (31) In this journey, I will never lie to you. I will never tell you something I do not believe. I will never put anyone's interests ahead of yours. And, I will never, ever stop fighting for you.
- (32) I have no special interest. I am spending millions of dollars on my own campaign – nobody else is. My only interest is the American people.
- (33) So while sometimes I can be too honest, Hillary Clinton is the exact opposite: she never tells the truth. One lie after another, and getting worse each passing day.
- (34) The American people are still waiting for Hillary Clinton to apologize for all of the many lies she's told to them, and the many times she's betrayed them.
- (35) Tell me, has Hillary Clinton ever apologized for lying about her illegal email server and deleting 33,000 emails? Has Hillary Clinton apologized for turning the State Department into a pay-for-play operation where favors are sold to the highest bidder? Has she apologized for lying to the families who lost loved ones at Benghazi? Has she apologized for putting Iran on the path to nuclear weapons? Has she apologized for Iraq? For Libya? For Syria? Has she apologized for unleashing ISIS across the world? Has Hillary Clinton apologized for the decisions she made that have led to so much death, destruction and terrorism?
- (36) Speaking of lies, we now know from the State Department announcement that President Obama lied about the \$400 million dollars in cash that was flown to Iran. He denied it was for the hostages, but it was. He said we don't pay ransom, but he did. He lied about the hostages – openly and blatantly – just like he lied about Obamacare.
- (37) Now the Administration has put every American travelling overseas, including our military personnel, at greater risk of being kidnapped. Hillary Clinton owns President Obama's Iran policy, one more reason she can never be allowed to be President.
- (38) Let's talk about the economy. Here, in this beautiful state, so many people have suffered because of NAFTA. Bill Clinton signed the deal, and Hillary Clinton supported it. North Carolina has lost nearly half of its manufacturing jobs since NAFTA went into effect.
- (39) Bill Clinton also put China into the World Trade Organization – another Hillary Clinton-backed deal. Your city of Charlotte has lost 1 in 4 manufacturing jobs since China joined the WTO, and many of these jobs were lost while Hillary Clinton was Secretary of State – our chief diplomat with China. She was a disaster, totally unfit for the job.
- (40) Hillary Clinton owes the State of North Carolina a very big apology, and I think you'll get that apology around the same time you'll get to see her 33,000 deleted emails.
- (41) Another major issue in this campaign has been the border. Our open border has allowed drugs and crime and gangs to pour into our communities. So much needless suffering, so much preventable death. I've spent time with the families of wonderful Americans whose loved ones were killed by the open borders and Sanctuary Cities that Hillary Clinton supports.
- (42) I've embraced the crying parents who've lost their children to violence spilling across our border. Parents like Laura Wilkerson and Michelle Root and Sabine Durden and Jamie Shaw whose children were killed by illegal immigrants. My opponent supports Sanctuary Cities.

- (43) But where was the Sanctuary for Kate Steinle? Where was the Sanctuary for the children of Laura, Michelle, Sabine and Jamiel? Where was the Sanctuary for every other parent who has suffered so horribly?
- (44) These moms and dads don't get a lot of consideration from our politicians. They certainly don't get apologies. They'll never even get the time of day from Hillary Clinton. But they will always come first to me.
- (45) Listen closely: we will deliver justice for all of these American Families. We will create a system of immigration that makes us all proud.
- (46) Hillary Clinton's mistakes destroy innocent lives, sacrifice national security, and betray the working families of this country.
- (47) Please remember this: I will never put personal profit before national security. I will never leave our border open to appease donors and special interests. I will never support a trade deal that kills American jobs. I will never put the special interests before the national interest. I will never put a donor before a voter, or a lobbyist before a citizen. Instead, I will be a champion for the people.
- (48) The establishment media doesn't cover what really matters in this country, or what's really going on in people's lives. They will take words of mine out of context and spend a week obsessing over every single syllable, and then pretend to discover some hidden meaning in what I said.
- (49) Just imagine for a second if the media spent this energy holding the politicians accountable who got innocent Americans like Kate Steinle killed – she was gunned down by an illegal immigrant who had been deported five times. Just imagine if the media spent time and lots of time investigating the poverty and joblessness of the inner cities. Just think about how much different things would be if the media in this country sent their cameras to our border, to our closing factories, or to our failing schools. Or if the media focused on what dark streets must be hidden in the 33,000 emails that Hillary Clinton illegally deleted.
- (50) Thank you. Instead every story is told from the perspective of the insider. It's the narrative of the people who rig the system, never the voice of the people it's been rigged against. Believe me. So many people suffering for so long in silence. No cameras. No coverage, no outrage from the media class that seems to get outrage over just about everything else. So, again, it's not about me. It's never been about me. It's been about all the people in this country who don't have a voice. I am running to be your voice.
- (51) Thank you. I'm running to be the voice for every forgotten part of this country that has been waiting and hoping for a better future.
- (52) I am glad that I make the powerful, and I mean very powerful a little uncomfortable now and again, including some of the powerful people, frankly, in my own party because it means that I'm fighting for real change, real change. There is a reason hedge fund managers, the financial lobbyists, the Wall Street investors are throwing their money all over Hillary Clinton because they know she will make sure the system stays rigged in their favor.
- (53) It's the powerful protecting the powerful. The insiders fighting for the insiders. I am fighting for you.
- (54) Here is the change I propose. On terrorism, we are going to end the era of nation-building and, instead, focus on destroying, destroying, destroying ISIS and radical Islamic terrorism.
- (55) We will use military, cyber, and financial warfare and work with any partner in the world and the Middle East that shares our goal in defeating terrorism. I have a message for the terrorists trying to kill our citizens. We will find you, we will destroy you and we will absolutely win and we will win soon.
- (56) On immigration, we will temporarily suspend immigration from any place where adequate screening cannot be performed, extreme vetting. Remember, extreme vetting. All applicants for immigration will be vetted for ties to radical ideology. And we will screen out anyone who doesn't share our values and love our people. Anyone who believes Sharia Law supplants American law will not be given an immigrant visa.
- (57) If you want to join our society, then you must embrace our society. Our values, and our tolerant way of life. Those who believe in oppressing women, gays, Hispanics, African-Americans, and people of different faiths are not welcome to join our great country.
- (58) We will promote our American values, our American way of life, and our American system of government, which are all, all the best in the world. My opponent on the other hand wants a 550 percent increase in Syrian refugees even more than already pouring into our country under President Obama. Her plan would bring in roughly 620,000 refugees from all refugee

sending nations in her first term alone on top of all other immigration. Think of that. Think of that. What are we doing?

- (59) Hillary Clinton is running to be America's Angela Merkel and we have seen how much crime and how many problems that's caused the German people and Germany.
- (60) We have enough problems already, we do not need more. On crime we're going to add more police, more investigators, and appoint the best judges and prosecutors in the world.
- (61) We will pursue strong enforcement of federal laws. The gangs and cartels. And criminal syndicates terrorizing our people will be stripped apart one by one and they will be sent out of our country quickly. Their day is over. And it's going to end very, very fast. Our trade -- thank you. On trade, we're going to renegotiate NAFTA to make it better and if they don't agree, we will withdraw. And likewise we are going to withdraw from Transpacific Partnership, another disaster.
- (62) Stand up to China on our terrible trade agreements and protect every last American job. Hillary Clinton has supported all of the major trade deals that have stripped this country of its jobs and its wealth. We owe \$20 trillion. On taxes, we are going to massively cut tax rates for workers and small businesses creating millions of new good paying jobs.
- (63) We're going to get rid of regulations that send jobs overseas and we are going to make it easier for young Americans to get the credit they need to start a small business and pursue their dream.
- (64) On education, so important, we are going to give students choice and allow charter schools to thrive. We are going to end tenure policies that reward bad teachers and hurt our great, good teachers. My opponent wants to deny student choice and opportunity, all to get a little bit more money from the education bureaucracy. She doesn't care how many young dreams are dashed or destroyed and they are destroyed. Young people are destroyed before they even start. We are going to work closely with African-American parents and children. We are going to work with the parents' students. We are going to work with everybody in the African-American community, in the inner cities, and what a big difference that is going to make. It's one of the things I most look forward to doing.
- (65) This means a lot to me and it's going to be a top priority in a Trump administration. On healthcare, we are going to repeal and replace the disaster called Obama Care. Countless Americans have been forced into part-time jobs, premiums are about to jump by double digits yet again and just this week, ETNA announced it is pulling out of the exchanges all over but also in North Carolina. We are going to replace this disaster with reforms that give you choice and freedom and control in healthcare at a much, much lower cost. You will have much better healthcare at a much lower cost and it will happen quickly.
- (66) On political corruption, we are going to restore honour to our government. In my administration, I'm going to enforce all laws concerning the protection of classified information. No one will be above the law. I am going to forbid senior officials from trading favours for cash by preventing them from collecting lavish speaking fees through their spouses when they serve.
- (67) I'm going to ask my senior officials to sign an agreement not to accept speaking fees from corporations with a registered lobbyist for five years after leaving office, or from any entity tied to a foreign government.
- (68) Finally, we are going to bring our country together. It is so divided. We are going to bring it together. We are going to do it by emphasizing what we all have in common as Americans. We're going to reject bigotry and I will tell you the bigotry of Hillary Clinton is amazing. She sees communities of color only as votes and not as human beings. Worthy of a better future. It's only votes. It is only votes that she sees. And she does nothing about it. She has been there forever and look at where you are. If African-Americans voters give Donald Trump a chance by giving me their vote, the result for them will be amazing.
- (69) Look how badly things are going under decades of Democratic leadership. Look at the schools. Look at the poverty. Look at the 58 percent of young African-Americans not working. Fifty eight percent. It is it is time for a change. What do you have to lose by trying something new? I will fix it watch, I will fix it. We have nothing to lose. Nothing to lose. It is so bad. The inner cities are so bad, you have nothing to lose. They have been playing with you for 60, 70, 80 years, many, many decades. You have nothing to lose. I will do a great job.
- (70) This means so much to me. And I will work as hard as I can to bring new opportunity to places in our country which have not known it in a very, very long time. Hillary Clinton and the Democratic Party have taken African-American votes totally for granted. Because the

votes have been automatically there for them, there has been no reason for Democrats to produce, and they haven't. They haven't produced in decades and decades. It's time to break with the failures of the past and to fight for every last American child in this country to have a better and a much, much brighter future.

- (71) In my administration every American will be treated equally, protected equally and honored equally. We will reject bigotry and hatred and oppression in all of its forms and seek a new future built on our common culture and values as one American people.
- (72) This is the change I am promising to all of you, an honest government, a great economy, and a just society for each and every American.
- (73) Seventy two percent of voters say our country is on the wrong track. I am the change candidate. Hillary Clinton is for the failed status quo to protect her special interests, her donors, her lobbyists, and others. It is time to vote for a new American future. Together, we will make America strong again. We will make America proud again, we will make America safe again. Friends and fellow citizens, come November, we will make America great again. Greater than ever before. Thank you, thank you. And God bless you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Text (2) Barack Obama, Ohio 2012
May 5, 2012 Sat. Date Accessed: 10/07/2019

- (1) "I want to thank so many of our Neighbourhood Team Leaders for being here today. You guys will be the backbone of this campaign. And I want the rest of you to join a team or become a leader yourself, because we are going to win this thing the old-fashioned way -- door by door, block by block, neighbourhood by neighbourhood.
- (2) "Ohio, four years ago, you and I began a journey together.
- (3) "I didn't run, and you didn't work your hearts out, just to win an election. We came together to reclaim the basic bargain that built the largest middle class and the most prosperous nation on Earth.
- (4) "We came together because we believe that in America, your success shouldn't be determined by the circumstances of your birth. If you're willing to work hard, you should be able to find a good job. If you're willing to meet your responsibilities, you should be able to own a home, maybe start a business, give your children the chance to do even better -- no matter who you are, or where you come from, or what you look like, or what your last name is.
- (5) "We believe the free market is one of the greatest forces for progress in human history; that businesses are the engine of growth; that risk-takers and innovators should be rewarded. But we also believe that at its best, the free market has never been a license to take whatever you want, however you can get it; that alongside our entrepreneurial spirit and our rugged individualism, America only prospers when we meet our obligations to one another and to future generations.
- (6) "We came together in 2008 because our country had strayed from these basic values. A record surplus was squandered on tax cuts for people who didn't need them and weren't even asking for them. Two wars were being waged on a credit card. Wall Street speculators reaped huge profits by making bets with other people's money. Manufacturing left our shores. A shrinking number of Americans did fantastically well, while most people struggled with falling incomes, rising costs, the slowest job growth in half a century.
- (7) "It was a house of cards that collapsed in the most destructive crisis since the Great Depression. In the last six months of 2008, even as we were campaigning, nearly three million of our neighbours lost their jobs. Over 800,000 more were lost in the month I took office alone.
- (8) "It was tough. But I tell you what, Ohio -- the American people are tougher. All across this country, people like you dug in. Some of you retrained. Some of you went back to school. Small business owners cut back on expenses, but did everything they could to keep their employees. Yes, there were setbacks. Yes, there were disappointments. But we didn't quit. We don't quit. Together, we're fighting our way back.
- (9) "When some wanted to let Detroit go bankrupt, we made a bet on American workers, on the ingenuity of American companies. And today, our auto industry is back on top of the world. Manufacturers started investing again, adding jobs for the first time since the 1990s. Businesses got back to the basics, exports surged. And over four million jobs were

- created in the last two years -- more than one million of those in the last six months alone. Are we satisfied?" AUDIENCE: "No!"
- (10) OBAMA: "Of course not. Too many of our friends and family are still out there looking for work. The housing market is still weak, deficits are still too high, and states are still laying off teachers, first responders. This crisis took years to develop, and the economy is still facing headwinds. And it will take sustained, persistent effort -- yours and mine -- for America to fully recover. That's the truth. We all know it.
- (11) "But we are making progress. And now we face a choice. Now we face a choice, Ohio."
- (12) CHILD: "We love you, Barack Obama!"
- (13) OBAMA: "Thank you. Now we face a choice. For the last few years, the [Republicans](#) who run this [Congress](#) have insisted that we go right back to the policies that created this mess." AUDIENCE: "Booo."
- (14) OBAMA: "But to borrow a line from my friend Bill Clinton, now their agenda is on steroids. This time, they want even bigger tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans. This time, they want even deeper cuts to things like education and [Medicare](#), and research and technology." AUDIENCE: "Booo."
- (15) OBAMA: "This time, they want to give banks and insurance companies even more power to do as they please. And now, after a long and spirited primary, Republicans in Congress have found a nominee for President who has promised to rubber-stamp this agenda if he gets the chance." AUDIENCE: "Booo."
- (16) OBAMA: "Ohio, I tell you what: We cannot give him that chance. Not now. Not with so much at stake. This is not just another election. This is a make-or-break moment for the middle class, and we've been through too much to turn back now."
- (17) AUDIENCE: "Four more years! Four more years!"
- (18) OBAMA: "We have come too far to abandon the change we fought for these past few years. We have to move forward, to the future we imagined in 2008, where everyone gets a fair shot, and everyone does their fair share, and everyone plays by the same rules. That's the choice in this election, and that's why I'm running for a second term as President of the United States.
- (19) "Governor Romney is a patriotic American who has raised a wonderful family, and he has much to be proud of. He's run a large financial firm, and he's run a state. But I think he has drawn the wrong lessons from those experiences. He sincerely believes that if CEOs and wealthy investors like him make money, the rest of us will automatically prosper as well." AUDIENCE: "Booo."
- (20) OBAMA: "When a woman in Iowa shared the story of her financial struggles, he responded with economic theory. He told her, 'our productivity equals our income.'" Well, let me tell you something. The problem with our economy isn't that the American people aren't productive enough -- you've been working harder than ever. The challenge we face right now -- the challenge we faced for over a decade is that harder work hasn't led to higher incomes. It's that bigger profits haven't led to better jobs.
- (21) "Governor Romney doesn't seem to get that. He doesn't seem to understand that maximizing profits by whatever means necessary -- whether through layoffs or outsourcing or tax avoidance or union-busting -- might not always be good for the average American or for the American economy.
- (22) "Why else would he want to spend trillions more on tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans? Why else would he propose cutting his own taxes while raising them on 18 million working families? Why else would he want to slash the investments that have always helped the economy grow, but at the same time, stop regulating the reckless behavior on Wall Street that helped the economy crash?
- (23) "Somehow, he and his friends in Congress think that the same bad ideas will lead to a different result. Or they're just hoping you won't remember what happened the last time we tried it their way.
- (24) "Well, Ohio, I'm here to say that we were there, we remember, and we are not going back. We are moving this country forward.
- (25) "Look, we want businesses to succeed. We want entrepreneurs and investors rewarded when they take risks, when they create jobs and grow our economy. But the true measure of our prosperity is more than just a running tally of every balance sheet and quarterly profit report. I don't care how many ways you try to explain it: Corporations aren't people. People are people.

- (26) "We measure prosperity not just by our total GDP; not just by how many billionaires we produce, but how well the typical family is doing -- whether they can go as far as their dreams and hard work will take them.
- (27) "And we understand that in this country, people succeed when they have a chance to get a decent education and learn new skills -- and, by the way, so do the businesses that hire them or the companies that they start.
- (28) "We know that our economy grows when we support research into medical breakthroughs and new technologies that lead to the next Internet app or life-saving drug.
- (29) "We know that our country is stronger when we can count on affordable health insurance and Medicare and Social Security. When we protect our kids from toxic dumping and mercury pollution. When there are rules to make sure we aren't taken advantage of by credit card companies and mortgage lenders and financial institutions. And we know these rules aren't just good for seniors, or kids, or consumers -- they're good for business, too. They're part of what makes the market work.
- (30) "Look, we don't expect government to solve all our problems, and it shouldn't try. I learned from my mom that no education policy can take the place of a parent's love and affection. As a young man, I worked with a group of Catholic churches who taught me that no poverty program can make as much of a difference as the kindness and commitment of a caring soul. Not every regulation is smart. Not every tax dollar is spent wisely. Not every person can be helped who refuses to help themselves.
- (31) "But that's not an excuse to tell the vast majority of responsible, hardworking Americans, 'You're on your own.' That unless you're lucky enough to have parents who can lend you money, you may not be able to go to college. That even if you pay your premiums every month, you're out of luck if an insurance company decides to drop your coverage when you need it most.
- (32) "That's not how we built America. That's not who we are. We built this country together. We built this country together.
- (33) "We built railroads and highways; the Hoover Dam, the Golden Gate Bridge -- together. We sent my grandfather's generation to college on the GI Bill -- together. We instituted a minimum wage and worker safety laws -- together. Together, we touched the surface of the moon, unlocked the mystery of the atom, connected the world through our own science and imagination. We did these things together -- not because they benefited any particular individual or group, but because they made us all richer. Because they gave us all opportunity. Because they moved us forward together -- as one people, as one nation.
- (34) "That's the true lesson of our past, Ohio. That's the right vision for our future. And that's why I'm running for President.
- (35) "I'm running to make sure that by the end of the decade, more of our citizens hold a college degree than any other nation on Earth. I want to help our schools hire and reward the best teachers, especially in math and science. I want to give two million more Americans the chance to go to community colleges and learn the skills that local businesses are looking for right now. In the 21st century, higher education can't be a luxury -- it is an economic imperative that every American should be able to afford. That's the choice in this election. That's why I'm running for President.
- (36) "I'm running to make sure the next generation of high-tech manufacturing takes root in places like Columbus and Cleveland and Pittsburgh and Richmond. I want to stop rewarding businesses that ship jobs and profits overseas, and start rewarding companies that create jobs right here in the United States of America. That's the choice in this election.
- (37) "I'm running so that we can keep moving towards a future where we control our own energy. Our dependence on foreign oil is at its lowest point in 16 years. By the middle of the next decade, our cars will average nearly 55 miles per gallon. Thousands of Americans have jobs, right now, because the production of renewal energy in this country has nearly doubled in just three years.
- (38) "So now is not the time to cut these investments to pay for another \$4 billion giveaway to the oil companies. Now is the time to end the subsidies for an industry that's rarely been more profitable. Let's double down on a clean energy future that's never been more promising -- for our economy, and for our security, and for the safety of our planet. That's why I'm running for President. That's the choice in this election, Ohio."
- (39) AUDIENCE: "Four more years! Four more years!"

- (40) OBAMA: "For the first time in nine years, there are no Americans fighting in Iraq. Osama bin Laden is no longer a threat to this country. Al Qaeda is on the path to defeat. And by 2014, the war in Afghanistan will be over.
- (41) "America is safer and more respected because of the courage and selflessness of the United States Armed Forces. And as long as I'm Commander-in-Chief, this country will care for our veterans and serve our veterans as well as they've served us because nobody who fights for this country should have to fight for a job or a roof over their heads when they come home.
- (42) "My opponent said it was 'tragic' to end the war in Iraq. He said he won't set a timeline for ending the war in Afghanistan. AUDIENCE: "Booo."
- (43) OBAMA: "I have, and I intend to keep it. After a decade of war that's cost us thousands of lives and over a trillion dollars, the nation we need to build is our own. I will use half of what we're no longer spending on war to pay down the deficit, and the other half to repair our roads and our bridges, our runways and our wireless networks. That's the choice in this election -- to rebuild America.
- (44) "I'm running to pay down our debt in a way that's balanced and responsible. After inheriting a \$1 trillion deficit, I signed \$2 trillion of spending cuts into law. And now I want to finish the job by streamlining government and cutting more waste, and reforming our tax code so that it is simpler and fairer, and asks the wealthiest Americans to pay a little bit more.
- (45) "My opponent won't tell us how he'd pay for his new, \$5 trillion tax cut -- a tax cut that gives an average of \$250,000 to every millionaire in this country." AUDIENCE: "Booo."
- (46) OBAMA: "But we know the bill for that tax cut will either be passed on to our children, or it will be paid for by a whole lot of ordinary Americans. That's what we know. And I refuse to let that happen again.
- (47) "I refuse to pay for another millionaire's tax cut by eliminating medical research projects into things like cancer and Alzheimer's disease. I refuse to pay for another tax cut by kicking children off of [Head Start](#) programs; or asking students to pay more for college; or eliminating health insurance for millions of poor and elderly and disabled Americans on Medicaid.
- (48) "And as long as I'm President of the United States, I will never allow Medicare to be turned into a voucher that would end the program as we know it. We will not go back to the days when our citizens spent their golden years at the mercy of private insurance companies. We will reform Medicare -- not by shifting the cost of care to seniors, but by reducing the spending that isn't making people healthier. That's what's at stake in this election. That's what's at stake, Ohio.
- (49) "On issue after issue, we can't afford to spend the next four years going backward. America doesn't need to refight the battles we just had over Wall Street reform and health care reform. On health care reform, here is what I know: Allowing 2.5 million young people to stay on their parents' health insurance plan -- that was the right thing to do. Cutting prescription drug costs for seniors -- that was the right thing to do. I will not go back to the days when insurance companies had unchecked power to cancel your policy, or deny you coverage, or charge women differently from men. We're not going back there. We're going forward.
- (50) "We don't need another political fight about ending a woman's right to choose, or getting rid of Planned Parenthood -- or taking away access to affordable birth control. I want women to control their own health choices, just like I want my daughters to have the same opportunities as your sons. We are not turning back the clock. We are moving forward.
- (51) "We're not returning to the days when you could be kicked out of the United States military just because of who you are or who you love. That would be wrong for our national security, and it would be a betrayal of our values.
- (52) "This should be the last election where multimillion-dollar donations speak louder than the voices of ordinary citizens. We need more checks on lobbyists and special interests, not less.
- (53) "We're not going to eliminate the EPA. We're not going to roll back the bargaining rights that generations of workers fought for. It's time to stop denying citizenship to responsible young people just because they're the children of undocumented immigrants. This country is at its best when we harness the God-given talents of every individual; when we hear every voice; when we come together as one American family, striving for the same dream.
- (54) "That's what we're fighting for. That's what we're fighting for, Ohio. A bold America. A competitive America. A generous America. A forward-looking America, where everybody

has a chance to make of their life what they will. That's what made us the envy of the world. That's what makes us great. That's why I'm running again for President of the United States."

- (55) AUDIENCE: "Four more years! Four more years!"
- (56) OBAMA: "And that is why I need your help. Ohio, this election will be even closer than the last. Too many of our friends, too many of our neighbors are still hurting because of this crisis. I've heard from too many people wondering why they haven't been able to get one of the jobs that have been created; why their home is still under water; why their family hasn't yet been touched by the recovery.
- (57) "The other side won't be offering these Americans a real answer to these questions. They won't offer a better vision or a new set of ideas. But they will be spending more money than we've ever seen before on negative ads, on TV, on radio, in the mail, on the Internet -- ads that exploit people's frustrations for my opponent's political gain. Over and over again, they will tell you that America is down and out, and they'll tell you who to blame, and ask if you're better off than you were before the worst crisis in our lifetime.
- (58) "We've seen that play before. But you know what? The real question -- the question that will actually make a difference in your life and in the lives of your children -- is not just about how we're doing today. It's about how we'll be doing tomorrow.
- (59) "Will we better off if more Americans get a better education? That's the question. Will we better off if we depend less on foreign oil and more on our own ingenuity? That's the question. Will we better off if we start doing some nation-building right here at home? That's the question. Will we be better off if we bring down our deficit without gutting the very things we need to grow? When we look back four years from now, or ten years from now, or twenty years from now, won't we be better off if we have the courage to keep moving forward?
- (60) "That's the question in this election. That's the question in this election. And the outcome is entirely up to you. Now, sure, we'll have to contend with even more negative ads, with even more cynicism and nastiness, and sometimes just plain foolishness. There will be more of that than we saw in the last campaign.
- (61) "But if there is one thing that we learned in 2008, it's that nothing is more powerful than millions of voices calling for change. When enough of you knock on doors, when you pick up phones, when you talk to your friends, when you decide that it's time for change to happen, guess what? Change happens. Change comes to America.
- (62) "And that's the spirit we need again. If people ask you what this campaign is about, you tell them it's still about hope. You tell them it's still about change. You tell them it's still about ordinary people who believe that in the face of great odds, we can make a difference in the life of this country.
- (63) "Because I still believe, Ohio. I still believe that we are not as divided as our politics suggest. I still believe that we have more in common than the pundits tell us; that we're not Democrats or Republicans, but Americans first and foremost. I still believe in you, and I'm asking you to keep believing in me. I told you in 2008 that I wasn't a perfect man, and I would never be a perfect President. But I promised that I would always tell you what I thought. I would always tell you where I stood. And I would wake up every single day fighting for you as hard as I know how.
- (64) "And I have that kept that promise. I have kept that promise, Ohio. And I will keep it so long as I have the honour of being your President. So if you're willing to stick with me, if you're willing to fight with me, and press on with me; if you're willing to work even harder in this election than you did in the last election, I guarantee you -- we will move this country forward.
- (65) "We will finish what we started. We are still fired up. We are still ready to go. And we are going to remind the world once more just why it is that the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth.
- (66) "Thank you, God bless you. God bless the United States of America."

Text (3) Obama Spring Field

Sat 10 Feb 2007

- (1) Let me begin by saying thanks to all you who've travelled, from far and wide, to brave the cold today.
- (2) We all made this journey for a reason. It's humbling, but in my heart I know you didn't come here just for me, you came here because you believe in what this country can be. In the face of war, you believe there can be peace. In the face of despair, you believe there can be hope. In the face of a politics that's shut you out, that's told you to settle, that's divided us for too long, you believe we can be one people, reaching for what's possible, building that more perfect union.
- (3) That's the journey we're on today. But let me tell you how I came to be here. As most of you know, I am not a native of this great state. I moved to Illinois over two decades ago. I was a young man then, just a year out of college; I knew no one in Chicago, was without money or family connections. But a group of churches had offered me a job as a community organizer for \$13,000 a year. And I accepted the job, sight unseen, motivated then by a single, simple, powerful idea - that I might play a small part in building a better America.
- (4) My work took me to some of Chicago's poorest neighbourhoods. I joined with pastors and lay-people to deal with communities that had been ravaged by plant closings. I saw that the problems people faced weren't simply local in nature - that the decision to close a steel mill was made by distant executives; that the lack of textbooks and computers in schools could be traced to the skewed priorities of politicians a thousand miles away; and that when a child turns to violence, there's a hole in his heart no government could ever fill.
- (5) It was in these neighbourhoods that I received the best education I ever had, and where I learned the true meaning of my Christian faith. After three years of this work, I went to law school, because I wanted to understand how the law should work for those in need. I became a civil rights lawyer, and taught constitutional law, and after a time, I came to understand that our cherished rights of liberty and equality depend on the active participation of an awakened electorate. It was with these ideas in mind that I arrived in this capital city as a state Senator.
- (6) It was here, in Springfield, where I saw all that is America converge - farmers and teachers, businessmen and labourers, all of them with a story to tell, all of them seeking a seat at the table, all of them clamouring to be heard. I made lasting friendships here - friends that I see in the audience today.
- (7) It was here we learned to disagree without being disagreeable - that it's possible to compromise so long as you know those principles that can never be compromised; and that so long as we're willing to listen to each other, we can assume the best in people instead of the worst.
- (8) That's why we were able to reform a death penalty system that was broken. That's why we were able to give health insurance to children in need. That's why we made the tax system more fair and just for working families, and that's why we passed ethics reforms that the cynics said could never, ever be passed.
- (9) It was here, in Springfield, where North, South, East and West come together that I was reminded of the essential decency of the American people - where I came to believe that through this decency, we can build a more hopeful America.
- (10) And that is why, in the shadow of the Old State Capitol, where Lincoln once called on a divided house to stand together, where common hopes and common dreams still, I stand before you today to announce my candidacy for President of the United States. I recognize there is a certain presumptuousness - a certain audacity - to this announcement. I know I haven't spent a lot of time learning the ways of Washington. But I've been there long enough to know that the ways of Washington must change.
- (11) The genius of our founders is that they designed a system of government that can be changed. And we should take heart, because we've changed this country before. In the face of tyranny, a band of patriots brought an Empire to its knees. In the face of secession, we unified a nation and set the captives free. In the face of Depression, we put people back to work and lifted millions out of poverty. We welcomed immigrants to our shores, we opened railroads to the west, we landed a man on the moon, and we heard a King's call to let justice roll down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream.

- (12) Each and every time, a new generation has risen up and done what's needed to be done. Today we are called once more - and it is time for our generation to answer that call.
- (13) That's what Abraham Lincoln understood. He had his doubts. He had his defeats. He had his setbacks. But through his will and his words, he moved a nation and helped free a people. It is because of the millions who rallied to his cause that we are no longer divided, North and South, slave and free. It is because men and women of every race, from every walk of life, continued to march for freedom long after Lincoln was laid to rest, that today we have the chance to face the challenges of this millennium together, as one people - as Americans.
- (14) All of us know what those challenges are today - a war with no end, a dependence on oil that threatens our future, schools where too many children aren't learning, and families struggling pay check to pay check despite working as hard as they can. We know the challenges. We've heard them. We've talked about them for years.
- (15) What's stopped us from meeting these challenges is not the absence of sound policies and sensible plans. What's stopped us is the failure of leadership, the smallness of our politics - the ease with which we're distracted by the petty and trivial, our chronic avoidance of tough decisions, and our preference for scoring cheap political points instead of rolling up our sleeves and building a working consensus to tackle big problems.
- (16) For the last six years we've been told that our mounting debts don't matter, we've been told that the anxiety Americans feel about rising health care costs and stagnant wages are an illusion, we've been told that climate change is a hoax, and that tough talk and an ill-conceived war can replace diplomacy, and strategy, and foresight. And when all else fails, when Katrina happens, or the death toll in Iraq mounts, we've been told that our crises are somebody else's fault. We're distracted from our real failures, and told to blame the other party, or gay people, or immigrants.
- (17) And as people have looked away in disillusionment and frustration, we know what's filled the void. The cynics, and the lobbyists, and the special interests who've turned our government into a game only they can afford to play. They write the checks and you get stuck with the bills, they get the access while you get to write a letter, they think they own this government, but we're here today to take it back. The time for that politics is over. It's time to turn the page.
- (18) We've made some progress already. I was proud to help lead the fight in Congress that led to the most sweeping ethics reform since Watergate.
- (19) But Washington has a long way to go. And it won't be easy. That's why we'll have to set priorities. We'll have to make hard choices. And although government will play a crucial role in bringing about the changes we need, more money and programs alone will not get us where we need to go. Each of us, in our own lives, will have to accept responsibility - for instilling an ethic of achievement in our children, for adapting to a more competitive economy, for strengthening our communities, and sharing some measure of sacrifice. So let us begin. Let us begin this hard work together. Let us transform this nation.
- (20) Let us be the generation that reshapes our economy to compete in the digital age. Let's set high standards for our schools and give them the resources they need to succeed. Let's recruit a new army of teachers, and give them better pay and more support in exchange for more accountability. Let's make college more affordable, and let's invest in scientific research, and let's lay down broadband lines through the heart of inner cities and rural towns all across America.
- (21) And as our economy changes, let's be the generation that ensures our nation's workers are sharing in our prosperity. Let's protect the hard-earned benefits their companies have promised. Let's make it possible for hardworking Americans to save for retirement. And let's allow our unions and their organizers to lift up this country's middle class again.
- (22) Let's be the generation that ends poverty in America. Every single person willing to work should be able to get job training that leads to a job, and earn a living wage that can pay the bills, and afford child care so their kids have a safe place to go when they work. Let's do this. Let's be the generation that finally tackles our health care crisis. We can control costs by focusing on prevention, by providing better treatment to the chronically ill, and using technology to cut the bureaucracy. Let's be the generation that says right here, right now, that we will have universal health care in America by the end of the next president's first term. Let's be the generation that finally frees America from the tyranny of oil.
- (23) We can harness home-grown, alternative fuels like ethanol and spur the production of more fuel-efficient cars. We can set up a system for capping greenhouse gases. We can turn this crisis of global warming into a moment of opportunity for innovation, and job

creation, and an incentive for businesses that will serve as a model for the world. Let's be the generation that makes future generations proud of what we did here.

- (24) Most of all, let's be the generation that never forgets what happened on that September day and confront the terrorists with everything we've got. Politics doesn't have to divide us on this anymore - we can work together to keep our country safe. I've worked with Republican Senator Dick Lugar to pass a law that will secure and destroy some of the world's deadliest, unguarded weapons. We can work together to track terrorists down with a stronger military, we can tighten the net around their finances, and we can improve our intelligence capabilities. But let us also understand that ultimate victory against our enemies will come only by rebuilding our alliances and exporting those ideals that bring hope and opportunity to millions around the globe.
- (25) But all of this cannot come to pass until we bring an end to this war in Iraq. Most of you know I opposed this war from the start. I thought it was a tragic mistake. Today we grieve for the families who have lost loved ones, the hearts that have been broken, and the young lives that could have been. America, it's time to start bringing our troops home. It's time to admit that no amount of American lives can resolve the political disagreement that lies at the heart of someone else's civil war. That's why I have a plan that will bring our combat troops home by March of 2008. Letting the Iraqis know that we will not be there forever is our last, best hope to pressure the Sunni and Shia to come to the table and find peace.
- (26) Finally, there is one other thing that is not too late to get right about this war - and that is the homecoming of the men and women - our veterans - who have sacrificed the most. Let us honor their valor by providing the care they need and rebuilding the military they love. Let us be the generation that begins this work.
- (27) I know there are those who don't believe we can do all these things. I understand the skepticism. After all, every four years, candidates from both parties make similar promises, and I expect this year will be no different. All of us running for president will travel around the country offering ten-point plans and making grand speeches; all of us will trumpet those qualities we believe make us uniquely qualified to lead the country. But too many times, after the election is over, and the confetti is swept away, all those promises fade from memory, and the lobbyists and the special interests move in, and people turn away, disappointed as before, left to struggle on their own.
- (28) That is why this campaign can't only be about me. It must be about us - it must be about what we can do together. This campaign must be the occasion, the vehicle, of your hopes, and your dreams. It will take your time, your energy, and your advice - to push us forward when we're doing right, and to let us know when we're not. This campaign has to be about reclaiming the meaning of citizenship, restoring our sense of common purpose, and realizing that few obstacles can withstand the power of millions of voices calling for change.
- (29) By ourselves, this change will not happen. Divided, we are bound to fail.
- (30) But the life of a tall, gangly, self-made Springfield lawyer tells us that a different future is possible. He tells us that there is power in words. He tells us that there is power in conviction. That beneath all the differences of race and region, faith and station, we are one people. He tells us that there is power in hope.
- (31) As Lincoln organized the forces arrayed against slavery, he was heard to say: "Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought to battle through."
- (32) That is our purpose here today. That's why I'm in this race. Not just to hold an office, but to gather with you to transform a nation. I want to win that next battle - for justice and opportunity. I want to win that next battle - for better schools, and better jobs, and health care for all. I want us to take up the unfinished business of perfecting our union, and building a better America.
- (33) And if you will join me in this improbable quest, if you feel destiny calling, and see as I see, a future of endless possibility stretching before us; if you sense, as I sense, that the time is now to shake off our slumber, and slough off our fear, and make good on the debt we owe past and future generations, then I'm ready to take up the cause, and march with you, and work with you.
- (34) Together, starting today, let us finish the work that needs to be done, and usher in a new birth of freedom on this Earth.

Text (4) Paddy Ashdown, on 29th April 1997

- (1) There are now just three days left in this campaign. It's been a long campaign. For many people, a pretty uninspiring and pretty unintelligent campaign.
- (2) A campaign which John Major hoped would uncover the holes in his opponent's policies – but which has served only to expose the divisions in his own Party. A campaign in which the Labour Party told us it's time for a change – then promised that it would change nothing at all. A campaign in which the media pundits said the Liberal Democrats would be swept aside. But in which we have instead swept forward.
- (3) Getting our message across as never before. Winning respect for our realism about what needs to be done and how it will be paid for. Winning support for our clear vision of Britain's future in the years ahead.
- (4) And so we end this campaign, not with a whimper, but with the full-blown clarion call of a Party which has struck a true note, a clear, consistent note, a note which has found a resonance in the national mood, reflecting the nation's needs.
- (5) Five years ago, we as a nation contemplated change, but clung on for fear of something worse. And in the end, that's what we got. Something much worse!
- (6) Not the Labour tax bombshell we were threatened, but an even bigger Tory tax explosion instead. The biggest tax hike in British peacetime history.
- (7) They said they had no plans to increase VAT – then put VAT on our fuel bills. They said they would put a thousand more police officers on our streets – then cut the numbers by a thousand. They said they would give our children a better education – and instead they have cut budgets and increased class sizes.
- (8) The promised strong leadership – and have given us weak leadership. They promised strong government – and have given us a government paralysed by divisions. They promised us government that listened – and have grown completely out of touch. They promised us economic recovery – and immediately plunged us into economic recession, costing thousands of people their jobs. Well, it is now time for the Government to lose their jobs.
- (9) Tired, divided, sleazy, discredited. This, now, is a government which has more than run its course. If there is one clear mood in the country, it is to bring it to an end. It is time for them to go.
- (10) Yesterday, Edwina Currie said that on May 2nd, the bloodbath would begin. She's wrong. It's already started – and it's not an edifying sight.
- (11) It is quite clear that the Conservative Party needs time to sort themselves out. But let them do that in opposition, not in government. At their own expense, not at everyone else's expense.
- (12) My message to the Tories is: Get out of office, have your civil war, and let the rest of us get down to the serious job of putting Britain back on track.
- (13) And I repeat tonight the message in the Times this morning from my colleagues Emma Nicholson and Peter Thurnham – the two MPs who made the historic, principled decision to leave the Conservative Party and join the Liberal Democrats in this Parliament.
- (14) Emma Nicholson and Peter Thurnham joined our Party, not because their principles have changed, but because the Conservative Party has changed.
- (15) They are both believers in 'One Nation'. In values of decency and fairness. In the politics of conscience and compassion as well as enterprise and initiative. In a National Health Service our families can rely on and an education system that gives all our children the best possible education. And they now see the Liberal Democrats as their natural home.
- (16) I say to all who previously supported the Conservatives but who now feel disillusioned and let down: come and join us.
- (17) Don't stay at home. Do something positive. Support the Liberal Democrats who now offer 'One Nation' Conservatives a warm welcome and a natural home. And I extend that welcome to others, too.
- (18) To everyone who values education and despairs at another year of cuts in our schools – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it. To everyone who worries about beds being closed in our hospitals, services being cut, operations cancelled – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it. To everyone who wants more police officers on our streets – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it.
- (19) To everyone who worries about the divisions and poverty in our society, and who believes in asking the super-rich to pay a little more to help the very poor – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it. To everyone who worries about threats to our civil liberties and who want reform and modernisation in our politics – I say: join our crusade and we can

- do something about it. To everyone who wants clean air and clean water, safe food and a secure environment for our children and grandchildren – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it.
- (20) To everyone who has been hammered by our boom and bust economy – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it. To everyone who wants strong, positive leadership in Europe – I say: join our crusade and we can do something about it. And to everyone who wants a referendum on future change in Europe – I say: join our crusade and you will get that referendum. To everyone in Britain – from north to south, from left to right – I say, join us. The Liberal Democrats. Britain's party of conscience and reform. Britain's 'One Nation' party.
- (21) For this is now much, much more than a campaign. It is a crusade. A crusade to make Britain the best-educated nation in the world. A crusade to build a Health Service our families can rely on. A crusade to preserve our environment for future generations. A crusade to build a country fit for our children and grandchildren. A crusade for new opportunity. A crusade for a new kind of politics. A crusade of new hope for a new century.
- (22) But you know, for there to be real hope for a new century, there has to be on Thursday much more than a change of government.
- (23) There has to be a change in the whole way we do things in this country. It will be a disaster for Britain if the only thing that changes this week is the nameplate on Number Ten. And that is why I have found Labour's campaign so disappointing. Their approach has been timid; their promises, unbelievable.
- (24) Labour's waiting for Growth policy is the economic equivalent of Waiting for Godot – and as everyone knows, Godot never came.
- (25) In the NHS, they have signed up to Tory spending plans that will mean devastating cuts. In our schools, they offer no new money for the improvements that have to be made.
- (26) Many people will wonder if education really is their number one priority, when it so often appears that their priority is saying what needs to be said to win power.
- (27) Well I believe that, to coin a phrase, Britain deserves better. Our campaign has at least been based on realism. It has been about the challenges before our country, and the costs of putting things right in our country.
- (28) Put bluntly, our message has been that if you want better services, better education and better healthcare, then you have to pay for them. And we have won support for that message, because in the real world, everyone knows you don't get something for nothing.
- (29) It's not a question of whether the other two parties will break their promises. It's a question of which promise they will break: their promise to maintain decent public services, or their promise to cut taxes.
- (30) But beyond the simple message comes the challenge. And it is here that what I have to say takes on a note of urgency.
- (31) The choices we make in the few remaining years of this century – in the Parliament we are about to elect – will, quite simply, determine our national success in the next century. And nowhere is this more important than in our attitude to education.
- (32) Unless we start giving education the priority it deserves; unless we invest in nursery education to give our children the best possible start in life; unless we invest in new books and equipment and smaller classes in our schools; unless we invest in training later on, Britain faces disaster in the years ahead.
- (33) For human history, as HG Wells put it, becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe.
- (34) That is true for our environment. It is true for our cohesion and stability as a society. It is true for our national prosperity, too.
- (35) We are slipping down the world prosperity league as fast as we are slipping down the league table for education and skills – the two trends inextricably linked.
- (36) To quote Sir Claus Moser, Chairman of the National Commission for Education and ex-Warden of Wadham College here in Oxford, without drastic action, Britain is one generation away from third world status. That is a devastating prediction.
- (37) But it is the truth. There is a catastrophe coming down the tracks for this county, unless we act now to do something about levels of education and skill in Britain.
- (38) It's about time we all faced up to that truth – and that's why this must be the 'education election' – the election when education really does become our nation's number one priority.
- (39) We have, in the British people, in their skill and ingenuity, the natural resource with which to succeed in tomorrow's world.

- (40) But we will never make the most of that enormous individual potential unless we invest. If we don't, it will be like having a stretch of rich and fertile land, but refusing to invest in seed to sow, or tools to till the soil.
- (41) We must not, as a nation, creep timidly into the twenty-first century.
- (42) 'Give us the tools and we'll finish the job', cried Churchill in the face of a different kind of threat more than half a century ago. Today the same cry goes up from our schools and colleges and universities. Give us the resources and we will give you a generation of skill and ingenuity and talent as bright as any in our history. That is the heart of our message.
- (43) We trust the people. We believe in them and in their capacity to respond – to make the most of their lives. But we have to nurture this precious resource with investment and care.
- (44) If we, as a political leadership, refuse that challenge, then we face, not brave new opportunities for talent to flower and flourish, but the management of genteel decline. That is why the task before our Party in the next three days is so urgent.
- (45) The Liberal Democrats are the only Party who will fight for the investment that our schools and colleges need in the next Parliament. And every vote we win and every seat we gain will give us the power to fight that fight.
- (46) In the next three days, we must remind people, again and again, of the urgent need to do something about education. We must show that there is an alternative to the management of decline. We must show people that they can make a difference in Britain. Because, with their support, we Liberal Democrats will make a difference.
- (47) Here in Oxford, Evan Harris is now neck and neck with the Conservatives. Work hard in the next three days, and you will have a Liberal Democrat MP on Thursday.
- (48) And with hard work, there will be Liberal Democrat MPs in many other seats across the country, too. A powerful force of Liberal Democrats in the next Parliament, to put Britain on a new and different path.
- (49) What the Liberal Democrats offer in this election is the chance, not just to kick out this Government, but to change the priorities in this country.
- (50) A powerful force of Liberal Democrat MPs in the next Parliament will mean that education is never again allowed to be undervalued and underfunded.
- (51) It will mean that our Health Service is defended against the crippling cuts now inevitable under either of the other parties. It will mean that the environment will at last be taken seriously in Westminster and Whitehall. It will mean that the poor and disadvantaged – the millions left behind by the Thatcher years, and abandoned by Labour – will have a voice. It will mean that we do at last begin to clean up the mess of our politics, and modernise our failing political system.
- (52) All these things can be done – and they will be done with the Liberal Democrats strong in the next Parliament.
- (53) In this campaign, we are winning the argument. Now, in these last three days, we must win the votes and win the seats.
- (54) To win the power and the mandate to make the difference in our schools and hospitals and communities in the years ahead. If you believe in what we stand for, then make your vote count.
- (55) The effective vote is for investment in a better education for your children and grandchildren. The effective vote is for a Health Service your family can rely on. The effective vote is to put 3,000 more police officers on the street to tackle crime. The effective vote is to strengthen our economy and get people back to work. The effective vote is to tackle poverty and division. The effective vote is to clean up our politics. The effective vote is for a referendum on future change in Europe. The effective vote is not just to kick out this discredited Government, but for something fresh and clear and strong to put in its place.
- (56) To give the Liberal Democrats the power and the mandate to make a difference. To provide a better future for you, your family and your country. The only vote that really will make a difference.

**Text (5) Hilary Clinton, Reno, 25th Aug. 2016
Election Campaign Speech**

- (1) My original plan for this visit was to focus on our agenda to help small businesses and entrepreneurs.
- (2) This week we proposed new steps to cut red tape and taxes, and make it easier for small businesses to get the credit they need to grow and hire. Because I believe that in America, if you can dream it, you should be able to build it.
- (3) We'll be talking a lot more about our economic plans in the days and weeks ahead. But today, I want to address something I hear from Americans all over our country.
- (4) Everywhere I go, people tell me how concerned they are by the divisive rhetoric coming from my opponent in this election. It's like nothing we've heard before from a nominee for President of the United States.
- (5) From the start, Donald Trump has built his campaign on prejudice and paranoia. He's taking hate groups mainstream and helping a radical fringe take over one of America's two major political parties. His disregard for the values that make our country great is profoundly dangerous.
- (6) In just the past week, under the guise of "outreach" to African Americans, Trump has stood up in front of largely white audiences and described black communities in insulting and ignorant terms:
- (7) "Poverty. Rejection. Horrible education. No housing. No homes. No ownership. Crime at levels nobody has seen... Right now, you walk down the street, you get shot." Those are his words. Donald Trump misses so much. He doesn't see the success of black leaders in every field...
- (8) The vibrancy of black-owned businesses...Or the strength of the black church... He doesn't see the excellence of historically black colleges and universities or the pride of black parents watching their children thrive...And he certainly doesn't have any solutions to take on the reality of systemic racism and create more equity and opportunity in communities of colour.
- (9) It takes a lot of nerve to ask people he's ignored and mistreated for decades, "What do you have to lose?" The answer is everything!
- (10) Trump's lack of knowledge or experience or solutions would be bad enough. But what he's doing here is more sinister. Trump is reinforcing harmful stereotypes and offering a dog whistle to his most hateful supporters.
- (11) It's a disturbing preview of what kind of President he'd be. This is what I want to make clear today:
- (12) A man with a long history of racial discrimination, who traffics in dark conspiracy theories drawn from the pages of supermarket tabloids and the far reaches of the internet, should never run our government or command our military. If he doesn't respect all Americans, how can he serve all Americans?
- (13) Now, I know some people still want to give Trump the benefit of the doubt. They hope that he will eventually reinvent himself – that there's a kinder, gentler, more responsible Donald Trump waiting in the wings somewhere.
- (14) After all, it's hard to believe anyone – let alone a nominee for President of the United States – could really believe all the things he says. But the hard truth is, there's no other Donald Trump. This is it. Maya Angelou once said: "When someone shows you who they are, believe them the first time."
- (15) Well, throughout his career and this campaign, Donald Trump has shown us exactly who he is. We should believe him. When Trump was getting his start in business, he was sued by the Justice Department for refusing to rent apartments to black and Latino tenants.
- (16) Their applications would be marked with a "C" – "C" for "colored" – and then rejected. Three years later, the Justice Department took Trump back to court because he hadn't changed. The pattern continued through the decades.
- (17) State regulators fined one of Trump's casinos for repeatedly removing black dealers from the floor. No wonder the turn-over rate for his minority employees was way above average.
- (18) And let's not forget Trump first gained political prominence leading the charge for the so-called "Birthers." He promoted the racist lie that President Obama isn't really an American citizen – part of a sustained effort to delegitimize America's first black President.
- (19) In 2015, Trump launched his own campaign for President with another racist lie. He described Mexican immigrants as rapists and criminals. And he accused the Mexican government of actively sending them across the border. None of that is true.

- (20) Oh, and by the way, Mexico's not paying for his wall either. If it ever gets built, you can be sure that American taxpayers will be stuck with the bill. Since then, there's been a steady stream of bigotry.
- (21) We all remember when Trump said a distinguished federal judge born in Indiana couldn't be trusted to do his job because, quote, "He's a Mexican." Think about that.
- (22) The man who today is the standard bearer of the Republican Party said a federal judge was incapable of doing his job solely because of his heritage. Even the Republican Speaker of the House, Paul Ryan, described that as "the textbook definition of a racist comment."
- (23) To this day, he's never apologized to Judge Curiel. But for Trump, that's just par for the course.
- (24) This is someone who retweets white supremacists online, like the user who goes by the name "white-genocide-TM." Trump took this fringe bigot with a few dozen followers and spread his message to 11 million people.
- (25) His campaign famously posted an anti-Semitic image – a Star of David imposed over a sea of dollar bills – that first appeared on a white supremacist website. The Trump campaign also selected a prominent white nationalist leader as a delegate in California. They only dropped him under pressure.
- (26) When asked in a nationally televised interview whether he would disavow the support of David Duke, a former leader of the Ku Klux Klan, Trump wouldn't do it. Only later, again under mounting pressure, did he backtrack.
- (27) And when Trump was asked about anti-Semitic slurs and death threats coming from his supporters, he refused to condemn them. Through it all, he has continued pushing discredited conspiracy theories with racist undertones. Trump said thousands of American Muslims in New Jersey cheered the 9/11 attacks. They didn't.
- (28) He suggested that Ted Cruz's father was involved in the Kennedy assassination. Perhaps in Trump's mind, because he was a Cuban immigrant, he must have had something to do with it. Of course there's absolutely no evidence of that.
- (29) Just recently, Trump claimed President Obama founded ISIS. And then he repeated that nonsense over and over. His latest paranoid fever dream is about my health. All I can say is, Donald, dream on. This is what happens when you treat the National Enquirer like Gospel.
- (30) It's what happens when you listen to the radio host Alex Jones, who claims that 9/11 and the Oklahoma City bombings were inside jobs. He said the victims of the Sandy Hook massacre were child actors and no one was actually killed there.
- (31) Trump didn't challenge those lies. He went on Jones' show and said: "Your reputation is amazing. I will not let you down." This man wants to be President of the United States.
- (32) I've stood by President Obama's side as he made the toughest decisions a Commander-in-Chief ever has to make. In times of crisis, our country depends on steady leadership... clear thinking... and calm judgment... because one wrong move can mean the difference between life and death.
- (33) The last thing we need in the Situation Room is a loose cannon who can't tell the difference between fact and fiction, and who buys so easily into racially-tinged rumors.
- (34) Someone detached from reality should never be in charge of making decisions that are as real as they come. It's another reason why Donald Trump is simply temperamentally unfit to be President of the United States.
- (35) Now, some people will say that his bluster and bigotry is just over-heated campaign rhetoric – an outrageous person saying outrageous things for attention. But look at the policies Trump has proposed. They would put prejudice into practice. And don't be distracted by his latest attempts to muddy the waters.
- (36) He may have some new people putting new words in his mouth... but we know where he stands. He would form a deportation force to round up millions of immigrants and kick them out of the country.
- (37) He'd abolish the bedrock constitutional principle that says if you're born in the United States, you're an American citizen. He says that children born in America to undocumented parents are, quote, "anchor babies" and should be deported. Millions of them.
- (38) And he'd ban Muslims around the world – 1.5 billion men, women, and children – from entering our country just because of their religion.
- (39) Think about that for a minute. How would it actually work? People landing in U.S. airports would line up to get their passports stamped, just like they do now. But in Trump's America, when they step up to the counter, the immigration officer would ask every single person, "What is your religion?" And then what?

- (40) What if someone says, "I'm a Christian," but the agent doesn't believe them. Do they have to prove it? How would they do that?
- (41) Ever since the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, America has distinguished itself as a haven for people fleeing religious persecution. Under Donald Trump, America would distinguish itself as the only country in the world to impose a religious test at the border.
- (42) Come to think of it, there actually may be one place that does that. It's the so-called Islamic State. The territory ISIS controls. It would be a cruel irony if America followed its lead.
- (43) Don't worry, some will say, as President, Trump will be surrounded by smart advisors who will rein in his worst impulses. So when a tweet gets under his skin and he wants to retaliate with a cruise missile, maybe cooler heads will be there to convince him not to. Maybe.
- (44) But look at who he's put in charge of his campaign. Trump likes to say he only hires the "best people." But he's had to fire so many campaign managers it's like an episode of the Apprentice.
- (45) The latest shake-up was designed to – quote – "Let Trump be Trump." To do that, he hired Stephen Bannon, the head of a right-wing website called Breitbart.com, as campaign CEO.
- (46) To give you a flavour of his work, here are a few headlines they've published: "Birth Control Makes Women Unattractive and Crazy." "Would You Rather Your Child Had Feminism or Cancer?" "Gabby Giffords: The Gun Control Movement's Human Shield" "Hoist It High and Proud: The Confederate Flag Proclaims A Glorious Heritage."
- (47) That one came shortly after the Charleston massacre, when Democrats and Republicans alike were doing everything they could to heal racial divides. Breitbart tried to enflame them further. Just imagine – Donald Trump reading that and thinking: "this is what I need more of in my campaign." Bannon has nasty things to say about pretty much everyone.
- (48) This spring, he railed against Paul Ryan for, quote "rubbing his social-justice Catholicism in my nose every second." No wonder he's gone to work for Trump – the only Presidential candidate ever to get into a public feud with the Pope.
- (49) According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, which tracks hate groups, Breitbart embraces "ideas on the extremist fringe of the conservative right. Racist ideas. Race-baiting ideas. Anti-Muslim and anti-Immigrant ideas — all key tenets making up an emerging racist ideology known as the 'Alt-Right.'" Alt-Right is short for "Alternative Right."
- (50) The Wall Street Journal describes it as a loosely organized movement, mostly online, that "rejects mainstream conservatism, promotes nationalism and views immigration and multiculturalism as threats to white identity."
- (51) The de facto merger between Breitbart and the Trump Campaign represents a landmark achievement for the "Alt-Right." A fringe element has effectively taken over the Republican Party. This is part of a broader story -- the rising tide of hardline, right-wing nationalism around the world.
- (52) Just yesterday, one of Britain's most prominent right-wing leaders, Nigel Farage, who stoked anti-immigrant sentiments to win the referendum on leaving the European Union, campaigned with Donald Trump in Mississippi.
- (53) Farage has called for a ban on the children of legal immigrants from public schools and health services, has said women are quote "worth less" than men, and supports scrapping laws that prevent employers from discriminating based on race -- that's who Trump wants by his side.
- (54) The godfather of this global brand of extreme nationalism is Russian President Vladimir Putin. In fact, Farage has appeared regularly on Russian propaganda programs. Now he's standing on the same stage as the Republican nominee. Trump himself heaps praise on Putin and embrace pro-Russian policies.
- (55) He talks casually of abandoning our NATO allies, recognizing Russia's annexation of Crimea, and of giving the Kremlin a free hand in Eastern Europe more generally. American presidents from Truman to Reagan have rejected the kind of approach Trump is taking on Russia. We should, too. All of this adds up to something we've never seen before.
- (56) Of course there's always been a paranoid fringe in our politics, steeped in racial resentment. But it's never had the nominee of a major party stoking it, encouraging it, and giving it a national megaphone. Until now.
- (57) On David Duke's radio show the other day, the mood was jubilant. "We appear to have taken over the Republican Party," one white supremacist said. Duke laughed. There's still more work to do, he said.
- (58) No one should have any illusions about what's really going on here. The names may have changed... Racists now call themselves "racialists." White supremacists now call themselves

“white nationalists.” The paranoid fringe now calls itself “alt-right.” But the hate burns just as bright.

- (59) And now Trump is trying to rebrand himself as well. Don't be fooled. There's an old Mexican proverb that says “Tell me with whom you walk, and I will tell you who you are.” We know who Trump is. A few words on a teleprompter won't change that.
- (60) He says he wants to “make America great again,” but his real message remains “Make America hate again.” This isn't just about one election. It's about who we are as a nation. It's about the kind of example we want to set for our children and grandchildren. Next time you watch Donald Trump rant on television, think about all the kids listening across our country. They hear a lot more than we think. Parents and teachers are already worried about what they're calling the “Trump Effect.” Bullying and harassment are on the rise in our schools, especially targeting students of color, Muslims, and immigrants.
- (61) At a recent high school basketball game in Indiana, white students held up Trump signs and taunted Latino players on the opposing team with chants of “Build the wall!” and “Speak English.” After a similar incident in Iowa, one frustrated school principal said, “They see it in a presidential campaign and now it's OK for everyone to say this.”
- (62) We wouldn't tolerate that kind of behavior in our own homes. How can we stand for it from a candidate for president? This is a moment of reckoning for every Republican dismayed that the Party of Lincoln has become the Party of Trump. It's a moment of reckoning for all of us who love our country and believe that America is better than this.
- (63) Twenty years ago, when Bob Dole accepted the Republican nomination, he pointed to the exits and told any racists in the Party to get out.
- (64) The week after 9/11, George W. Bush went to a mosque and declared for everyone to hear that Muslims “love America just as much as I do.”
- (65) In 2008, John McCain told his own supporters they were wrong about the man he was trying to defeat. Senator McCain made sure they knew – Barack Obama is an American citizen and “a decent person.” We need that kind of leadership again.
- (66) Every day, more Americans are standing up and saying “enough is enough” – including a lot of Republicans. I'm honored to have their support. And I promise you this: with your help, I will be a President for Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. For those who vote for me and those who don't. For all Americans. Because I believe we are stronger together.
- (67) It's a vision for the future rooted in our values and reflected in a rising generation of young people who are the most open, diverse, and connected we've ever seen. Just look at our fabulous Olympic team.
- (68) Like Ibtihaj Muhammad, an African-American Muslim from New Jersey who won the bronze medal in fencing with grace and skill. Would she even have a place in Donald Trump's America?
- (69) When I was growing up, Simone Manuel wouldn't have been allowed to swim in the same public pool as Katie Ledecky. Now they're winning Olympic medals as teammates. So let's keep moving forward together.
- (70) Let's stand up against prejudice and paranoia. Let's prove once again, that America is great because America is good.
- (71) Thank you, and may God bless the United States.

Text (6) Bill Clinton's Acceptance Speech, July 17, 1992

- (1) We meet at a special moment in history, you and I. The Cold War is over; Soviet communism has collapsed, and our values - freedom, democracy, individual rights, free enterprise - they have triumphed all around the world. And yet just as we have won the Cold War abroad, we are losing the battles for economic opportunity and social justice here at home. Now that we have changed the world, it's time to change America.
- (2) I have news for the forces of greed and the defenders of the status quo: Your time has come - and gone. It's time for a change in America.
- (3) Tonight, 10 million of our fellow Americans are out of work. Tens of millions more work harder for lower pay. The incumbent president says unemployment always goes up a little before a recovery begins. But unemployment only has to go up by one more person before a real recovery can begin - and Mr. President, you are that man. . . .
- (4) Tonight, as plainly as I can, I want to tell you who I am, what I believe in and where I want to lead America. I never met my father. He was killed in a car wreck on a rainy road three months before I was born, driving from Chicago to Arkansas to see my mother. After that,

my mother had to support us. So we lived with my grandparents while she went back to Louisiana to study nursing.

- (5) My mother taught me. She taught me about family and hard work and sacrifice. She held steady through tragedy after tragedy. And she held our family, my brother and I, together through tough times. As a child, I watched her go off to work each day at a time when it wasn't always easy to be a working mother.
- (6) As an adult, I watched her fight off breast cancer. And again she taught me a lesson in courage. And always, always she taught me to fight.
- (7) That's why I'll fight to create high-paying jobs so that parents can afford to raise their children today. That's why I'm so committed to making sure every American gets the health care that saved my mother's life. And that women's health care gets the same attention as men's. That's why I'll fight to make sure women in this country receive respect and dignity - whether they work in the home, out of the home or both. You want to know where I get my fighting spirit? It all started with my mother. Thank you mother, I love you.
- (8) When I think about opportunity for all Americans, I think about my grandfather. He ran a country store in our little town of Hope. There were no food stamps back then, so when his customers - whether they were white or black - who worked hard and did the best they could came in with no money, well he gave them food anyway. Just made a note of it. So did I. Before I was big enough to see over the counter, I learned from him to look up to people other folks looked down on. . . .
- (9) If you want to know where I come by the passionate commitment I have to bringing people together without regard to race, it all started with my grandfather.
- (10) I learned a lot from another person, too. A person who for more than 20 years has worked hard to help our children. Paying the price of time to make sure our schools don't fail them. Someone who traveled our state for a year studying, learning, listening. Going to PTA meetings, school board meetings, town hall meetings. Putting together a package of school reforms recognized around the nation. Doing it all while building a distinguished legal career and being a wonderful, loving mother. That person is my wife.
- (11) Hillary taught me. She taught me that all children can learn, and that each of us has a duty to help them do it. So if you want to know why I care so much about our children and our futures, it all started with Hillary. I love you.
- (12) Frankly, I'm fed up with politicians in Washington lecturing Americans about "family values." Our families have values. But our government doesn't.
- (13) I was raised to believe that the American dream was built on rewarding hard work. But we have seen the folks in Washington turn the American ethic on its head. For too long, those who play by the rules and keep the faith have gotten the shaft. And those who cut corners and cut deals have been rewarded. People are working harder than ever, spending less time with their children, working nights and weekends at their job instead of Little League or the Scouts or PTA. But their incomes are still going down, their taxes are going up and the costs of housing, health care and education are going through the roof. Meanwhile, more and more of our best people are falling into poverty - even though they work 40 hours a week.
- (14) Our people are pleading for change, but government is in the way. It has been hijacked by privileged, private interests. It has forgotten who really pays the bills around here .
- (15) A president ought to be a powerful force for progress. But right now I know how President Lincoln felt when Gen. McClellan wouldn't attack in the Civil War. He asked him, "If you're not going to use your army, may I borrow it?" And so I say, George Bush: If you won't use your power to help people, step aside. I will.
- (16) Now George Bush talks a good game. But he has no game plan to rebuild America from the cities to the suburbs and the countryside so that we can compete and win again in the global economy. I do.
- (17) He won't take on the big insurance companies to control health costs and give us affordable health care for all Americans. But I will. He won't even implement the recommendations of his own commission on AIDS. But I will. He won't streamline the federal government, and change the way it works; cut 100,000 bureaucrats, and put 100,000 new police officers on the streets of American cities. But I will.
- (18) He's never balanced a government budget. But I have. Eleven times. He won't break the stranglehold special interests have on our elections and lobbyists have on our government. But I will. He won't give mothers and fathers a simple chance to take some time off from work when a baby's born or a parent is sick. But I will.

- (19) You know what else? He doesn't have Al Gore. But I do. And just in case he didn't notice, that's Gore with an "e" on the end.
- (20) And George Bush won't guarantee a woman's right to choose. I will. Hear me now: I am not pro-abortion. I am pro-choice, strongly. I believe this difficult and painful decision should be left to the women of America. . . . I am old enough to remember what it was like before Roe v. Wade, and I do not want to return to the time when we made criminals of women and their doctors.
- (21) The Republicans have campaigned against big government for a generation. But have you noticed, they've run this big government for a generation, and they haven't changed a thing.
- (22) But fellow Democrats, we have some changing to do, too. It is time for us to realize that there is not a government program for every problem. And if we really want to use government to help people, we have got to make it work again.
- (23) Because we are committed in this convention and this platform to making those changes, we are, in the words that Ross Perot himself spoke today, a revitalized Democratic Party. I am well aware that all those millions of people who rallied to Ross Perot's cause wanted to be in an army of patriots for change. We say to them: join us - together we will revitalize America.
- (24) Now I don't have all the answers. But I do know the old ways don't work.
- (25) That is why we need a new approach to government. . . . I call this approach a New Covenant - a solemn agreement between the people and their government. We offer our people a new choice based on old values. We offer opportunity. We demand responsibility. We will build an American community again.
- (26) It will work because it is rooted in the vision and the values of the American people. Of all the things George Bush has ever said that I disagree with, perhaps the thing that bothers me most has been how he derides and degrades the American tradition of seeing - and seeking - a better future. He mocks it as "the vision thing." But just remember what the Scripture says: "Where there is no vision the people perish." .What is the vision of our New Covenant?
- (27) An America with millions of new jobs in dozens of new industries moving confidently toward the 21st century. An America that says to entrepreneurs and business people: We will give you more incentives and more opportunity than ever before to develop the skills of your workers and to create American jobs and American wealth in the new global economy.
- (28) But you must do your part; you must be responsible. American companies must act like American companies again - exporting products, not jobs. That's what this New Covenant is all about.
- (29) An America in which health care is a right, not a privilege. An America in which middle class incomes, not middle class taxes, are going up.
- (30) An America where we end welfare as we know it. . . . An America with the world's strongest defense; ready and willing to use force, when necessary. An America at the forefront of the global effort to preserve and protect our common environment - and promoting global growth. An America that will not coddle tyrants, from Baghdad to Beijing. An America that champions the cause of freedom and democracy, from Eastern Europe to Southern Africa, and in our own hemisphere in Haiti and Cuba.
- (31) And so we must say to every American: Look beyond the stereotypes that blind us. We need each other. All of us, we need each other. We don't have a person to waste. And yet for too long politicians have told the most of us that are doing all right that what's really wrong with America is the rest of us. Them. Them the minorities. Them the liberals. Them the poor. Them the homeless. Them the people with disabilities. Them the gays. We've gotten to where we've nearly them-ed ourselves to death. Them and them and them.
- (32) But this is America. There is no them; there is only us. One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty, and justice, for all. But I can't do this alone. No president can. We must do it together. It won't be easy and it won't be quick. We didn't get into this mess overnight, and we won't get out of it overnight. But we can do it. With commitment, creativity, diversity and drive, we can do it. We can do it. We can do it.
- (33) As a teenager I heard John Kennedy's summons to citizenship. And then, as a student at Georgetown, I heard that call clarified by a professor named Carroll Quigley, who said to us that America was the greatest nation in history because our people had always believed in two great ideas: that tomorrow can be better than today, and that every one of us has a personal, moral responsibility to make it so.

- (34) That kind of future entered my life the night our daughter Chelsea was born. As I stood in that delivery room, I was overcome with the thought that God had given me a blessing my own father never knew: the chance to hold my child in my arms.
- (35) Somewhere at this very moment, a child is being born in America. Let it be our cause to give that child a happy home, a healthy family and a hopeful future. Let it be our cause to see that that child has a chance to live to the fullest of her God-given capacities.
- (36) Let it be our cause to see that child grow up strong and secure, braced by her challenges, but never struggling alone; with family and friends and a faith that in America, no one is left out; no one is left behind.
- (37) Let it be our cause that when this child is able, she gives something back to her children, her community and her country. Let it be our cause that we give this child a country that is coming together, not coming apart - a country of boundless hopes and endless dreams; a country that once again lifts its people and inspires the world. Let that be our cause, our commitment and our New Covenant.
- (38) My fellow Americans, I end tonight where it all began for me: I still believe in a place called Hope.

**Text (7) Jeremy Corbyn: first speech of the 2017 General Election campaign
Thursday 20 April 2017**

- (1) The dividing lines in this election could not be clearer from the outset. It is the Conservatives, the party of privilege and the richest, versus the Labour Party, the party that is standing up for working people to improve the lives of all.
- (2) It is the establishment versus the people and it is our historic duty to make sure that the people prevail. A duty for all of us here today, the duty of every Labour MP, a duty for our half a million members – including the 2,500 who have joined in the last 24 hours.
- (3) Much of the media and establishment are saying that this election is a foregone conclusion. They think there are rules in politics, which if you don't follow by doffing your cap to powerful people, accepting that things can't really change, then you can't win.
- (4) But of course, they do not want us to win. Because when we win it is the people, not the powerful, who win. The nurse, the teacher, the small trader, the carer, the builder, the office worker, the student, the carer win. We all win.
- (5) It is the establishment that complains I don't play the rules: by which they mean their rules. We can't win, they say, because we don't play their game.
- (6) We don't fit in their cosy club. We're not obsessed with the tittle-tattle of Westminster or Brussels. We don't accept that it is natural for Britain to be governed by a ruling elite, the City and the tax-dodgers, and we don't accept that the British people just have to take what they're given, that they don't deserve better.
- (7) And in a sense, the establishment and their followers in the media are quite right. I don't play by their rules. And if a Labour Government is elected on 8 June, then we won't play by their rules either. They are yesterday's rules, set by failed political and corporate elites we should be consigning to the past.
- (8) It is these rules that have allowed a cosy cartel to rig the system in favour of a few powerful and wealthy individuals and corporations. It is a rigged system set up by the wealth extractors, for the wealth extractors. But things can, and they will, change.
- (9) Britain needs a Labour government that is prepared to fight for people in every part of the country, our towns, villages, as well as big cities. A Labour government that isn't scared to take on the cosy cartels that are hoarding this country's wealth for themselves. It needs a government that will use that wealth to invest in people's lives in every community to build a better future for every person who lives here.
- (10) Because the Conservatives, drunk on a failed ideology, are hell bent on cutting every public service they get their hands on, and they will use all of the divide-and-rule tricks of the Lynton Crosby trade to keep their rigged system intact.
- (11) Don't be angry at the privatisers profiting from our public services, they whisper, be angry instead at the migrant worker just trying to make a better life. Don't be angry at the government ministers running down our schools and hospitals, they tell us, be angry instead at the disabled woman or the unemployed man.
- (12) It is the rigged economy the Tories are protecting that Labour is committed to challenging. We will not let the elite extract wealth from the pockets of ordinary working people any longer.
- (13) So many people in modern Britain do what seems like the right thing to do. They get jobs, they spend all day working hard, they save to buy their own home, they raise children, and they look after elderly or sick relatives. And yet, at the end of it, they get almost nothing left over as a reward.

- (14) Compare their lives with the multinational corporations and the gilded elite who hide their money in the Cayman Islands because the Conservatives are too morally bankrupt to take them on. Labour in power will end this racket and make sure that everybody pays their taxes which fund our public services.
- (15) We will overturn this rigged system. For all Theresa May's warm words on the steps of Downing Street the Conservatives will never do any such thing.
- (16) Seven years of broken promises show us that on pay, the deficit, the NHS, our schools, our environment.
- (17) It was their wealthy friends in the City who crashed our economy. How dare they ruin the economy with their recklessness and greed and then punish those who had nothing to do with it? It was not pensioners, nurses, the low or averaged paid workers or carers who crashed the economy.
- (18) The Conservatives boast of record numbers of jobs. But what good is that if people in work are getting poorer and don't share in the profits of that economy while the Conservatives look after the wealthy few?
- (19) Our offer is to tackle elderly poverty and loneliness, invest in our economy, NHS and schools, to improve rights at work and the ten pound living wage. Britain is the sixth richest economy in the world. The people of Britain must share in that wealth.
- (20) If I were Southern Rail or Philip Green, I'd be worried about a Labour Government. If I were Mike Ashley or the CEO of a tax avoiding multinational corporation, I'd want to see a Tory victory.
- (21) Why? Because those are the people who are monopolising the wealth that should be shared by each and every one of us in this country. Everyone, and I mean everyone, has a contribution to make and a life to lead. Poverty and homelessness are a disaster for the individual and a loss to all of us.
- (22) It is wealth that should belong to the majority and not a tiny minority. Labour is the party that will put the interests of the majority first, while the Tories only really care about those who already have so much.
- (23) That is why we will prove the establishment experts wrong and change the direction of this election. Because the British people know that they are the true wealth creators, held back by a system rigged for the wealth extractors.
- (24) Theresa May will insist that this is an election about Brexit. She will try to downplay the issues that affect people's lives every day and instead turn the election into an ego trip about her own failing leadership and the machinations of the coming negotiations in Brussels.
- (25) It is only Labour that will focus on what kind of country we want to have after Brexit. In the coming weeks Labour will lay out our policies to unlock opportunities for every single person in this country.
- (26) We will focus on giving people real control over their own lives and make sure that everybody reaps a just reward for the work that they do. We will no longer allow those at the top to leach off of those who bust their guts on zero hours contracts or those forced to make sacrifices to pay their mortgage or their rent.
- (27) Instead of the country's wealth being hidden in tax havens we will put it in the hands of the people of Britain as they are the ones who earned it.
- (28) In this election Labour will lead the movement to make that change. We will build a new economy, worthy of the 21st century and we will build a country for the many not the few.

Text (8) Donald Trump campaign speech in Wisconsin

Date delivered: 16/08/2016

- (1) It's so great to be here tonight. I am honoured to also be joined this evening by Governor Scott Walker, Chairman Reince Priebus, and Mayor Rudy Giuliani. We are at a decisive moment in this election.
- (2) Last week, I laid out my plan to bring jobs back to our country. Yesterday, I laid out my plan to defeat Radical Islamic Terrorism. Tonight, I am going to talk about how to make our communities safe again from crime and lawlessness.
- (3) Let me begin by thanking the law enforcement officers here in this city, and across this country, for their service and sacrifice in difficult times.
- (4)
- (5) The main victims of these riots are law-abiding African-American citizens living in these neighbourhoods. It is their jobs, their homes, their schools and communities which will suffer as a result.
- (6) There is no compassion in tolerating lawless conduct. Crime and violence is an attack on the poor, and will never be accepted in a Trump Administration.
- (7) The narrative that has been pushed aggressively for years now by our current Administration, and pushed by my opponent Hillary Clinton, is a false one. The problem in our poorest

communities is not that there are too many police, the problem is that there are not enough police.

- (8) More law enforcement, more community engagement, more effective policing is what our country needs. Just like Hillary Clinton is against the miners, she is against the police. You know it, and I know it.
- (9) Those peddling the narrative of cops as a racist force in our society – a narrative supported with a nod by my opponent – share directly in the responsibility for the unrest in Milwaukee, and many other places within our country. They have fostered the dangerous anti-police atmosphere in America.
- (10) Every time we rush to judgment with false facts and narratives – whether in Ferguson or in Baltimore – and foment further unrest, we do a direct disservice to poor African-American residents who are hurt by the high crime in their communities.
- (11) During the last 72 hours, while protestors have raged against the police here in Milwaukee, another 9 were killed in Chicago and another 46 were wounded. More than 2,600 people have been shot in Chicago since the beginning of the year, and almost 4,000 killed in President Obama's hometown area since his presidency began.
- (12) How are we serving these American victims by attacking law enforcement officers? The war on our police must end. It must end now.
- (13) The war on our police is a war on all peaceful citizens who want to be able to work and live and send their kids to school in safety.
- (14) Our job is not to make life more comfortable for the rioter, the looter, the violent disruptor. Our job is to make life more comfortable for the African-American parent who wants their kids to be able to safely walk the streets. Or the senior citizen waiting for a bus. Or the young child walking home from school.
- (15) For every one violent protestor, there are a hundred moms and dads and kids on that same city block who just want to be able to sleep safely at night. My opponent would rather protect the offender than the victim.
- (16) Hillary Clinton-backed policies are responsible for the problems in the inner cities today, and a vote for her is a vote for another generation of poverty, high crime, and lost opportunities. I care too much about my country to let that happen. We all care too much about our country to let that happen.
- (17) Good policing saves lives. My dear friend, Rudy Giuliani, knows a thing or two about this. The policies put into place by Rudy ultimately brought down crime by 76 percent and murder by 84 percent. Think of how many families were saved, how much heartache was prevented, when police were put into communities and criminals were removed.
- (18) Imagine how many lives could have been saved, all across this country, if Democratic politicians hadn't blocked in their cities what Rudy did in New York City? I'll make sure we deliver safe neighbourhoods here in Milwaukee, and all across this country.
- (19) It's easy for Hillary Clinton to turn a blind eye to crime when she has her own private security force. I believe all Americans, not just the powerful, are entitled to security. Hillary Clinton has had her chance. She failed. Now it's time for new leadership. The Hillary Clinton agenda hurts poor people the most.
- (20) There is no compassion in allowing drug dealers, gang members, and felons to prey on innocent people. It is the first duty of government to keep the innocent safe, and when I am President I will fight for the safety of every American – and especially those Americans who have not known safety for a very, very long time.
- (21) I am asking for the vote of every African-American citizen struggling in our country today who wants a different future. It is time for our society to address some honest and very difficult truths.
- (22) The Democratic Party has failed and betrayed the African-American community. Democratic crime policies, education policies, and economic policies have produced only more crime, more broken homes, and more poverty.
- (23) Let us look at the situation right here in Milwaukee, a city run by Democrats for decade after decade. Last year, killings in this city increased by 69 percent, plus another 634 victims of non-fatal shootings. 18-29-year-olds accounted for nearly half of the homicide victims.
- (24) The poverty rate here is nearly double the national average. Almost 4 in 10 African-American men in Milwaukee between the ages of 25-54 do not have a job. Nearly four in 10 single mother households are living in poverty. 55 public schools in this city have been rated as failing to meet expectations, despite ten thousand dollars in funding per-pupil.

- (25) There is only a 60% graduation rate, and it's one of the worst public school systems in the country. 1 in 5 manufacturing jobs has disappeared in Milwaukee since we fully opened our markets to China, and many African-American neighbourhoods have borne the brunt of this hit.
- (26) To every voter in Milwaukee, to every voter living in every inner city, or every forgotten stretch of our society, I am running to offer you a better future.
- (27) The Democratic Party has taken the votes of African-Americans for granted. They've just assumed they'll get your support and done nothing in return for it. It's time to give the Democrats some competition for these votes, and it's time to rebuild the inner cities of America – and to reject the failed leadership of a rigged political system.
- (28) I'm not part of the corrupt system. In fact, the corrupt system is trying to stop me. I've been paying my own way. The voters in the Republican Party this year defied the donors, the consultants, the power brokers, and choose a nominee from outside our failed and corrupt and broken system.
- (29) The other party – the Democratic Party – nominated the personification of special interest corruption. The Democratic Party rigged the nomination to give it to Hillary Clinton, thus giving the soul of their party this year to the special interests.
- (30) I am running to listen to your voice, to hear your cries for help. The quiet voices in our society, not the loudest demonstrators, need to have their demands heard. Jobs. Safety. Opportunity. Fair and equal representation.
- (31) We reject the bigotry of Hillary Clinton which panders to and talks down to communities of colour and sees them only as votes, not as individual human beings worthy of a better future. She doesn't care at all about the hurting people of this country, or the suffering she has caused them.
- (32) The African-American community has been taken for granted for decades by the Democratic Party. It's time to break with the failures of the past – I want to offer Americans a new future. It is time for rule by the people, not rule by special interests.
- (33) Every insider, getting rich off of our broken system, is throwing money at Hillary Clinton. The hedge fund managers, the Wall Street investors, the professional political class. It's the powerful protecting the powerful. Insiders fighting for insiders. I am fighting for you.
- (34) When we talk about the insider, who are we talking about? It's the comfortable politicians looking out for their own interests. It's the lobbyists who know how to insert that perfect loophole into every bill. It's the financial industry that knows how to regulate their competition out of existence. The insiders also include the media executives, anchors and journalists in Washington, Los Angeles, and New York City, who are part of the same failed status quo and want nothing to change.
- (35) Every day you pick up a newspaper, or turn on the nightly news, and you hear about some self-interest banker or some discredited Washington insider says they oppose our campaign. Or some encrusted old politician says they oppose our campaign. Or some big time lobbyist says they oppose our campaign.
- (36) I wear their opposition as a badge of honour. Because it means I am fighting for REAL change, not just partisan change. I am fighting – all of us across the country are fighting – for peaceful regime change in our own country. The media-donor-political complex that's bled this country dry has to be replaced with a new government of, by and for the people.
- (37) The leadership class in Washington D.C., of which Hillary Clinton has been a member for thirty years, has abandoned the people of this country. I am going to give the people their voice back.
- (38) Think about it. The people opposing our campaign are the same people who have left our border open and let innocent people suffer as a result. The people opposing our campaign are the same people who have led us into one disastrous foreign war after another. The people opposing our campaign are the same people who lied to us about one trade deal after another.
- (39) Aren't you tired of a system that gets rich at your expense? Aren't you tired of big media, big businesses, and big donors rigging the system to keep your voice from being heard? Are you ready for change? Are you ready for leadership that puts you, the American people, first? That puts your country first? That puts your family first?
- (40) Let's talk about what this means for the inner cities of America. It's time to break through the television noise, the entrenched interests. I understand that a lot of powerful people in our political system – a lot of people who've created our problems – will lose a lot of their contracts, and their special gigs, if African-American voters, and all minority voters, support my campaign.

- (41) It's time to stop making the special interests rich. It's time to make the American people rich. I am going to Make America Wealthy Again. The Democratic Party has run nearly every inner city in this country for 50 years, and run them into financial ruin. They've ruined the schools. They've driven out the jobs. They've tolerated a level of crime no American should consider acceptable.
- (42) Violent crime has risen 17% in America's 50 largest cities last year. Killings of police officers this year is up nearly 50 percent. Homicides are up more than 60% in Baltimore. They are up more than 50% in Washington, D.C.
- (43) This is the future offered by Hillary Clinton. More poverty, more crime, and more of the same. The future she offers is the most pessimistic thing I can possibly imagine. It is time for a different future. Here is what I am proposing.
- (44) First, on immigration. No community in this country has been hurt worse by Hillary Clinton's immigration policies than the African-American community. Now she is proposing to print instant work permits for millions of illegal immigrants, taking jobs directly from low-income Americans. I will secure our border, protect our workers, and improve jobs and wages in your community. We will only invite people to join our country who share our tolerant values, who support our Constitution, and who love all of our people.
- (45) On trade, I am going to renegotiate NAFTA, stand up to China, withdraw from the TPP, and protect every last American job. On taxes, I am going to give a massive tax cut to every worker and small business in this country, bring thousands of new companies and millions of new jobs onto our shores – and make it very difficult for our businesses to leave.
- (46) I am going to reform our regulations so jobs stay in America, and new businesses come to America to hire workers right here in Milwaukee. Every policy my opponent has sends jobs overseas. I am going to bring trillions in new wealth back to the United States.
- (47) On education, it is time to have school choice, merit pay for teachers, and to end the tenure policies that hurt good teachers and reward bad teachers. We are going to put students and parents first.
- (48) Hillary Clinton would rather deny opportunities to millions of young African-American children, just so she can curry favour with the education bureaucracy. I am going to allow charter schools to thrive, and help young kids get on the American ladder of success: a good education, and a good-paying job.
- (49) On crime, I am going to support more police in our communities, appoint the best prosecutors and judges in the country, pursue strong enforcement of federal laws, and I am going to break up the gangs, the cartels and criminal syndicates terrorizing our neighbourhoods. To every lawbreaker hurting innocent people in this country, I say: your free reign will soon come crashing to an end.
- (50) On healthcare, we are going to get rid of Obama care – which has caused soaring double-digit premium increases – and give choice to patients and consumers. Aetna, just today, announced they are dropping out – as are many of the major insurance companies.
- (51) On government corruption, I am going to restore honour to our government. We've seen the corruption of Hillary Clinton, the mass email deletions, the pay-for-play at the State Department, the profiteering, the favours given to foreign corporations and governments at your expense. We've seen a former Secretary of State lie to Congress about her illegal email scheme, risk innocent American lives, and bring dishonour onto our government.
- (52) In my Administration, I am going to enforce all laws concerning the protection of classified information. No one will be above the law. I am going to forbid senior officials from trading favours for cash by preventing them from collecting lavish speaking fees through their spouses when they serve.
- (53) I am going to ask my senior officials to sign an agreement not to accept speaking fees from corporations with a registered lobbyist for five years after leaving office, or from any entity tied to a foreign government. This is all just the beginning.
- (54) We are going to make this a government of the people once again. This is our chance to take back power from all the people who've taken it from you. The reason you see the establishment media lining up behind my opponent is because they are scared that you, with your vote, can take away their power and return it to your family and community.
- (55) These are tough times. But I know we can make America Greater Than Ever Before. To do this, we are going to need a fighter in the White House. I will be your fighter.
- (56) To defeat crime and Radical Islamic Terrorism in our country, to win trade in our country, you need tremendous physical and mental strength and stamina. Hillary Clinton doesn't have that strength and stamina. She cannot win for you.

- (57) Most importantly, she has bad judgment. Bad judgment on terrorism, bad judgement on foreign policy, bad judgment on trade. The only individuals she's ever delivered for is her donors – not the people.
- (58) I've said it before, and I'll say it again. My opponent asks her supporters to repeat a three-word pledge. Her pledge reads: "I'm With Her" I choose to recite a different pledge. My pledge reads: "I'm With You – the American people."
- (59) I will fight to ensure that every American is treated equally, protected equally, and honoured equally. We will reject bigotry and hatred and oppression in all of its forms, and seek a new future of security, prosperity and opportunity – a future built on our common culture and values as one American people.
- (60) I am asking for your vote so I can be your champion in the White House. We will once again be a country of law and order, and a country of great success.
- (61) To every parent who dreams for their children, and to every child who dreams for their future, I say these words to you tonight: I'm with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you.
- (62) Together, We Will Make America Strong Again. We Will Make American Safe Again. And We Will Make America Great Again.
- (63) Thank you, and God Bless.

Text (9) David Cameron: General election speech, 2010

Date delivered: 11/5/2010

Date accessed: 17/2/2020

- (1) Her Majesty the Queen has asked me to form a new government and I have accepted.
- (2) Before I talk about that new government, let me say something about the one that has just passed.
- (3) Compared with a decade ago, this country is more open at home and more compassionate abroad and that is something we should all be grateful for and on behalf of the whole country I'd like to pay tribute to the outgoing prime minister for his long record of dedicated public service.
- (4) In terms of the future, our country has a hung parliament where no party has an overall majority and we have some deep and pressing problems - a huge deficit, deep social problems, a political system in need of reform. For those reasons I aim to form a proper and full coalition between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats.
- (5) I believe that is the right way to provide this country with the strong, the stable, the good and decent government that I think we need so badly. Nick Clegg and I are both political leaders that want to put aside party differences and work hard for the common good and for the national interest. I believe that is the best way to get the strong government that we need, decisive government that we need today.
- (6) I came into politics because I love this country. I think its best days still lie ahead and I believe deeply in public service. And I think the service our country needs right now is to face up to our really big challenges, to confront our problems, to take difficult decisions, to lead people through those difficult decisions, so that together we can reach better times ahead.
- (7) One of the tasks that we clearly have is to rebuild trust in our political system. Yes that's about cleaning up expenses, yes that is about reforming parliament, and yes it is about making sure people are in control - and that the politicians are always their servant and never their masters.
- (8) But I believe it is also something else. It is about being honest about what government can achieve. Real change is not what government can do on its own - real change is when everyone pulls together, comes together, works together, where we all exercise our responsibilities to ourselves, to our families, to our communities and to others.
- (9) And I want to help try and build a more responsible society here in Britain. One where we don't just ask what are my entitlements, but what are my responsibilities. One where we don't ask what am I just owed, but more what can I give. And a guide for that society - that those that can should, and those who can't we will always help. I want to make sure that my government always looks after the elderly, the frail the poorest in our country.
- (10) We must take everyone through with us on some of the difficult decisions we have ahead. Above all it will be a government that is built on some clear values. Values of freedom, values of fairness, and values of responsibility.

- (11) I want us to build an economy that rewards work. I want us to build a society with stronger families and stronger communities. And I want a political system that people can trust and look up to once again. This is going to be hard and difficult work. A coalition will throw up all sorts of challenges.
- (12) But I believe together we can provide that strong and stable government that our country needs based on those values - rebuilding family, rebuilding community, above all, rebuilding responsibility in our country.
- (13) Those are the things I care about. Those are the things that this government will now start work on doing.
- (14) Thank you very much.

Text (10) Theresa May/ General Election

Date Delivered: 18th April, 2017

Date accessed: 20/09/2019

- (1) I have just chaired a meeting of the Cabinet, where we agreed that the Government should call a general election, to be held on June 8.
- (2) I want to explain the reasons for that decision, what will happen next and the choice facing the British people when you come to vote in this election.
- (3) Last summer, after the country voted to leave the European Union, Britain needed certainty, stability and strong leadership, and since I became Prime Minister the Government has delivered precisely that.
- (4) Despite predictions of immediate financial and economic danger, since the referendum we have seen consumer confidence remain high, record numbers of jobs, and economic growth that has exceeded all expectations.
- (5) We have also delivered on the mandate that we were handed by the referendum result.
- (6) Britain is leaving the European Union and there can be no turning back. And as we look to the future, the Government has the right plan for negotiating our new relationship with Europe.
- (7) We want a deep and special partnership between a strong and successful European Union and a United Kingdom that is free to chart its own way in the world.
- (8) That means we will regain control of our own money, our own laws and our own borders and we will be free to strike trade deals with old friends and new partners all around the world.
- (9) This is the right approach, and it is in the national interest. But the other political parties oppose it.
- (10) At this moment of enormous national significance there should be unity here in Westminster, but instead there is division. The country is coming together, but Westminster is not.
- (11) In recent weeks Labour has threatened to vote against the deal we reach with the European Union.
- (12) The Liberal Democrats have said they want to grind the business of government to a standstill.
- (13) The Scottish National Party say they will vote against the legislation that formally repeals Britain's membership of the European Union.
- (14) And unelected members of the House of Lords have vowed to fight us every step of the way.
- (15) Our opponents believe that because the Government's majority is so small, our resolve will weaken and that they can force us to change course. They are wrong.
- (16) They under-estimate our determination to get the job done and I am not prepared to let them endanger the security of millions of working people across the country.
- (17) Because what they are doing jeopardises the work we must do to prepare for Brexit at home and it weakens the Government's negotiating position in Europe.
- (18) If we do not hold a general election now their political game-playing will continue, and the negotiations with the European Union will reach their most difficult stage in the run-up to the next scheduled election.
- (19) Division in Westminster will risk our ability to make a success of Brexit and it will cause damaging uncertainty and instability to the country.
- (20) So we need a general election and we need one now, because we have at this moment a one-off chance to get this done while the European Union agrees its negotiating position and before the detailed talks begin.
- (21) I have only recently and reluctantly come to this conclusion.

- (22) Since I became Prime Minister I have said that there should be no election until 2020, but now I have concluded that the only way to guarantee certainty and stability for the years ahead is to hold this election and seek your support for the decisions I must take.
- (23) And so tomorrow I will move a motion in the House of Commons calling for a general election to be held on the eighth of June.
- (24) That motion, as set out by the Fixed-Term Parliaments Act, will require a two-thirds majority of the House of Commons.
- (25) So I have a simple challenge to the opposition parties, you have criticised the Government's vision for Brexit, you have challenged our objectives, you have threatened to block the legislation we put before Parliament. This is your moment to show you mean it, to show you are not opposing the Government for the sake of it, to show that you do not treat politics as a game.
- (26) Let us tomorrow vote for an election, let us put forward our plans for Brexit and our alternative programmes for government and then let the people decide.
- (27) And the decision facing the country will be all about leadership. It will be a choice between strong and stable leadership in the national interest, with me as your Prime Minister, or weak and unstable coalition government, led by Jeremy Corbyn, propped up by the Liberal Democrats - who want to reopen the divisions of the referendum - and Nicola Sturgeon and the SNP.
- (28) Every vote for the Conservatives will make it harder for opposition politicians who want to stop me from getting the job done. Every vote for the Conservatives will make me stronger when I negotiate for Britain with the prime ministers, presidents and chancellors of the European Union. Every vote for the Conservatives means we can stick to our plan for a stronger Britain and take the right long-term decisions for a more secure future.
- (29) It was with reluctance that I decided the country needs this election, but it is with strong conviction that I say it is necessary to secure the strong and stable leadership the country needs to see us through Brexit and beyond.
- (30) So, tomorrow, let the House of Commons vote for an election, let everybody put forward their proposals for Brexit and their programmes for Government, and let us remove the risk of uncertainty and instability and continue to give the country the strong and stable leadership it demands.

Text (11) Jaguar Brand Car
Don't Dream It. Drive It.



Text (12) Nintendo 64-Electronic Game
Get N or Get Out.



Text (13) eBay
Buy it. Sell it. Love it.



Text (14) Emirates Inflight Entertainment Slogan
Visit new worlds with our inflight entertainment!



Text (15) Chevrolet Brand Car
The **heartbeat** of America!



Text (16) Russian Standard Vodka

Vodka is **like** love you only know real thing after you experience it.



Text (17) Johnnie Walker Black Whiskey

If you want to impress someone, put him on your Black list.



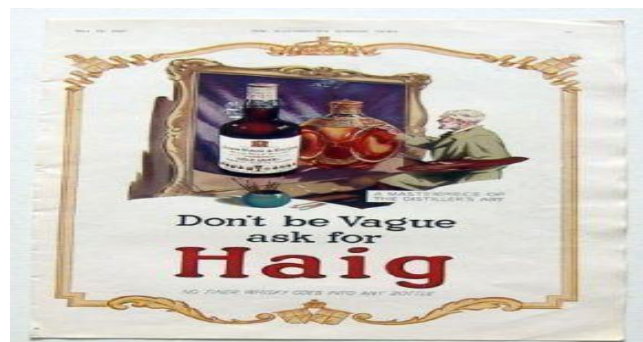
Text (18) Huggies Diaper
Don't Worry Be Huggies.



Text (19) Samsung Mini Phone
Imagine a mini phone with maximum style and design.



Text (20) Haig Whiskey
Don't be vague. Ask for Haig



الخلاصة

الدراسة الحالية هي محاولة أكاديمية لاستكشاف حالة الإقناع ، العلنية والمخفية حيث تركز على تحديد الوسائل البلاغية والتقنيات والاستراتيجيات المقنعة التي يستخدمها السياسيون والمروجون. والتي تعد مشكلة حيث أن معظم الجمهور المخاطب لا يدرك في الأساس الطريقة التي يتم إقناعهم بها من خلال استخدام العناصر اللغوية. ولهذا السبب ، تهدف الدراسة الحالية إلى انشاء جدول تصنيف للوسائل البلاغية، ووظائفها، والتقنيات واستراتيجيات الإقناع التي يستخدمها السياسيون والمروجون ؛ واستكشاف وتحديد مهمة كل واحدة من هذه الوسائل البلاغية في كلا من الخطاب السياسي في الحملات الانتخابية ولغة الإعلان؛ والوقوف على حقيقة ما اذا كان خطاب السياسيين، ينطوي على استخدام الطريقة العلنية أكثر أم المخفية لإقناع الناس مقارنة بالمروجين ؛ وكذلك تحديد كل التقنيات واستراتيجيات الإقناع التي يستخدمها السياسيون والمروجون.

لا تزال هناك بعض الأسئلة المعلقة التي لها صلة مباشرة بهذا المجال، من بينها: كيف يحاول السياسيون والمروجون إقناع الناخبين والمستهلكين؟ أي الطريقتين أكثر شيوعاً، الإقناع الخفي أم العلني؟ وأي فئة (المجاز ام الصيغ البديعية) تقدم مساعدة اكبر لإقناع الناخبين أو المستهلكين من خلال الإقناع الخفي؟ وهل من الممكن لأداة بلاغية في نص ما أن تلعب دوراً كوسيلة إقناع خفي، وتكون في نص آخر كوسيلة إقناع علني؟ ولهذه الأسباب مجتمعة، تم عرض فرضيات على أن السياسيين والمروجين قادرين على إقناع الناخبين والمستهلكين عن طريق الإقناع الخفي والعلني؛ وان طريقة الإقناع الخفي أكثر شيوعاً مقارنة بطريقة الإقناع العلني؛ وان فئة المجاز تظهر أكثر في الإقناع الخفي حيث تساعد المتكلم بإقناع الناخبين والمستهلكين؛ ويمكن لبعض الأدوات البلاغية أن تخدم الإقناع الخفي والعلني.

للتحقق من الفرضيات وتحليل البيانات المحددة ، تم اختيار نموذج شمولي. تم تحديد عشرون (٢٠) نصاً، عشرة لكل من الخطابات سياسية والنصوص الترويجية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، تم استخدام كلا طريقتي الاستقصاء النوعية والكمية في هذه الدراسة.

توصلت هذه الدراسة إلى أن خطابات الحملات الانتخابية تتضمن محاولات إقناع خفية أكثر من العلنية ، في حين يمكن رصد بعض المحاولات العلنية المحدودة في الخطابات السياسية. مع ذلك ، وصل الباحث الى أن الإقناع الخفي يندرج تحت فئة المجاز، و غالباً ما يستخدم عن طريق الأدوات (الاستعارة، تلميح، السخرية، التناقض والكناية). و بيّن الباحث أن الإقناع العلني في مجال لغة الإعلان هو اكثر من الإقناع الخفي في الخطب الانتخابية السياسية .



حکومهتی ههریمی کوردستان
 وهزارهتی خویندنی بالا و تووژینهوهی زانستی
 زانکۆی کۆیه
 فهکهلتی زانسته مروڤایهتی و کۆمه‌لایه‌تیه‌کان
 بهشی زمانی ئینگلیزی

قایلهکردنی ئاشکرا و نادیار: ریبازی شیکاری رهوانیژی له زمانی بانگه‌شه‌ی بازرگانی و هه‌لمه‌تی
 هه‌لبژاردندا

ماسته‌ر نامه‌یه‌که پیشکه‌شکراوه به ئه‌نجومه‌نی فهکهلتی زانسته مروڤایهتی و کۆمه‌لایه‌تیه‌کان-زانکۆی
 کۆیه، وه‌ک به‌شیک له پێویسته‌یه‌کانی به‌ده‌سته‌یه‌نایی ماسته‌ر له زمانی ئینگلیزی و زمانه‌وانیدا

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الإقناع الصريح والخفي: منهج التحليل البلاغي للغة الإعلانات والحملات الانتخابية

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