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Obama as a political Orator: A critical Discourse Analysis

اوباما خطيباً سياسياً : تحليل نقدي للخطاب

A thesis Submitted for the Degree of MA in Applied Linguistics

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Dedication

To my parents

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Abstract

This study deals with a Critical Discourse Analysis of Obama's inaugurations speech. To investigate the linguistics and grammatical elements which are used in Obama's inauguration speech. The study adopted eclectic method; descriptive analytical method, observational method and qualitative method. The researcher uses a number of instruments to collect data from different sources; recorded video, a script and note taking technique. The study concluded that Barack Obama has been effective in his political career by virtue of his wonderful rhetorical abilities. The choice of expression in Obama's inauguration speech is investigated regarding lexical classes, syntactic classifications, figures of speech, and context and cohesion: Nouns or NP are used as a part of the discourse are simple, however Obama uses some words, for example, the economy, energy, education, vitality and a solid national resistance. Adjectives are used both attributively and predicatively. Obama uses multiple illocutionary acts by using helping verb “will” that mean extremely solid determinations also use coordinating conjunction to connect some main clauses. Obama uses repeated compounding and complex sentences to explain his ideas. The figures of speech used are generally metaphor and synecdoche, metonymy, and simile. Cohesive linkages are made by the use of pronouns, ellipsis, redundancies of words and phrases. The study recommended that Students of linguistics should make discussions about different speech practices and strategies. Also the study suggests conducting more similar studies on critical discourse analysis on some Politian's speech.

المستخلص

لقد تناولت هذه الدراسة خطب تنصيب الرئيس أوباما من منظور التحليل النقدي للخطاب. وتهدف هذه الدراسة لتقصي العناصر اللغوية والنحوية التي استخدمها الرئيس باراك أوباما في خطب تنصيبه. وقد تبنت الدراسة مناهج متنوعة؛ المنهج الوصفي التحليلي والملاحظة والنوعي. استخدم الباحث عددا من الأدوات لجمع البيانات من عدة مصادر؛ فيديو ونصوص وتقنية تدوين الملاحظات. خلصت الدراسة إلى أن الرئيس باراك أوباما كان مؤثرا في أعماله السياسية بفضل قدراته البلاغية المدهشة. تم تقصي اختيار التعابير في خطب تنصيب الرئيس أوباما من حيث تصنيف المفردات المعجمية، التصنيفات، النحوية، الصور البلاغية، النص والربط: استخدمت الأسماء أو العبارات الاسمية في أقسام الكلام بصورة مبسطة واستخدم أوباما أضافتنا لذلك بعض الكلمات علي سبيل المثال، الاقتصاد والطاقة والتعليم والحيوية والنشاط ومقاومة قومية قوية واستخدم الصفات بصورة نعتية وخبرية. استخدم الرئيس أوباما دلالات كلامية متنوعة باستخدامه للفعل المساعد (سوف) والذي يعني به العزيمة القوية جدا واستخدم أيضا حروف النسق لربط بعض الجمل الرئيسية. كما استخدم بعض الجمل المركبة والمعقدة ليعبر عن آرائه. أما الصور البلاغية التي استخدمها بصفة عامة هي مجاز مرسل ومجاز مرسل علاقته الجزئية والتشبيه. واستخدم أدوات الربط مثل الضمائر والحذف وتكرار الألفاظ والعبارات. وقد أوصت الدراسة بأنه ينبغي علي طلاب علم اللغة عقد جلسات ومناقشات حول استراتيجيات وتدريبات مختلفة في الخطابة كما اقترحت الدراسة إجراء المزيد من الدراسات المماثلة في التحليل النقدي لخطب بعض الساسة.

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Chapter one

Introduction

1.0 Overview

In January 2009, President Barack Obama was inaugurated as the 44th President of the United States of America. Inauguration is continually intriguing as they stamp the start of something new. However, the unique thing about Obama is that the first Afro-American to enter the White House as President. That alone is remarkable. What is more; this President knew how to convey a decent discourse and has become famous for it.

Barack Obama's rhetorical style is extensively recognized to be a standout amongst the most remarkable cases of correspondence procedure in late political speech. His political achievement fortifies the proposition that language is an intense device to impact citizens.

1.1 Statement of the study

The researcher noticed that expressions and structures which used on Obama's speeches influence different mental processes. Political discourse is public-oriented, that is they would guide to kin about separate ages and experiences. However, on interpret the discourse the government officials deliver, to see all those genuine intending they pass on you quit offering on that one have should draw thoughtfulness regarding semantic intends. What are more units' government officials using?

Governmental issues are battle to force in place will set certain political, budgetary also social thoughts under act. In this process, language assumes an essential role, for each political activity may be prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language.

Corpus linguistics need stretched out further critical investigation for whatever expressions for language study,. The using of further more structure from claiming whatever statement a greater amount faultlessly reflects how expressions and phrases, for sample are used within those social bunches.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The researcher had a genuine interest in gaining a deeper understanding of the mechanics Obama used to construct the eloquence within his speeches. To investigate grammatical and semantic elements of his speeches that made his language use so moving and inspiring to so many Americans, including myself.

To determine the linguistics and grammatical elements those are used in Obama's inauguration speech.

1.3 Significance of the Study

It is critical on follow the important social and social qualities connected with well known expressions or expressions for political issues. These values recommend those underlying grammatical also socio-cultural implying of what will be composed or spoken for a language. Such learning may be likewise paramount with encourage those Comprehension of politician something like language for political issues during those present; there will be a solid and developing enthusiasm toward the political issues tenets about language.

In an interconnected world accuracy of interpretation is highly needed, particularly in domains of politics and diplomacy, what our Sudanese libraries severely lack.

1.4 Limits of the study:

The limits of the study on the US president Barack Obama's orations during his reign 2008 to present. The study will focus on Obama's inaugurations speech.

1.5 Questions of the study

The researcher seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the linguistic mechanisms employed by Obama to manufacture discourse that endowed him?
2. What are linguistics and grammatical elements those are used in Obama's speech which influences his audience?
3. To what extent does President Obama use rhetoric speech?

1.6 Hypothesis of the study

The researcher set the following assumptions:

1. Linguistic mechanisms employed by Obama manufacture discourse that endowed him.
2. Linguistics and grammatical elements those are used in Obama's speech influences his audience.
3. President Obama uses rhetoric speech.

1.7 Methodology of the study:

The study adopted eclectic method; descriptive analytical method, observational method and qualitative method. The researcher uses a number of instruments to collect data from different sources; recorded video, a script and note taking technique. The researcher employs inference from the texts deductively and inductively. The researcher uses Obama's inaugurations speech as a sample.

1.8 Definition of terms:

There are some terms in this study that will be explained according to their importance in the study, these terms are discourse, discourse analysis, text, texture, coherence, cohesion, and oratory.

1.8.1 Discourse:

Discourse is language in use, for communication.

1.8.2 Discourse analysis:

Discourse analysis is an analysis of how texts work within social cultural practice.

1.8.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

According to (Van Dijk 1998) critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.

1.8.4 Text:

A text is traditionally understood to be a piece of written language a whole work such as a poem or a novel, or a relatively discrete part of a work such as a chapter.

1.8.5 Texture:

Texture is the interaction of cohesion with other aspects of text organization.

1.8.6 Context:

Context is simply intermediate representation between natural language expressions and model structures.

1.8.7 Coherence:

Coherence is refers to the relation held between the under surface text, which is made of concepts and relations and amount of their relevance to central thought of the text.

1.8.8 Cohesion:

Cohesion is refers to surface relations between the sentences that create a text, i.e. to create connected sentences within a sequence.

1.8.9 Oratory:

According to Altgeld p. John, (1901), Oratory is the greatest art known to man and embraces a number of great arts.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents some definitions of discourse, discourse analysis. And present types and fields of discourse and origin, historical stages of critical discourse analysis also texts, ideology, discourse and power. Finally it focuses on review of previous related Studies.

2.1 What is Discourse?

Blommaert, (2005:2) defines discourse is a language – in – action and investigating it requires attention both language and to action. And according to Guy Cook, (1990: 6) Discourse is language in use, for communication, discourse analysis is the search for what gives discourse coherence.

As well as Gee,(2001:28) stated that discourse crucially involve: situated identities; ways of performing and recognizing characteristic identities and activities; ways of coordinating and getting coordinated by other people, things, tools, technologies, symbol systems, places, and times; characteristic ways of acting, interacting, feeling, emoting, valuing, gesturing, posturing, dressing, thinking, believing, knowing, speaking, listening (and in some discourses, reading and writing, as well).

2.2 Field of discourse:

According to Halliday and Hasan (1985:12) Field of discourse refers to "what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component?"

“Field of discourse plays a vital role in the context of text. It is one of the three basic elements in the textual internal world and

external world. Fields of discourse can be non-technical, as is the case with the general topics that we deal with in the course of our daily life. Or they can be technical or specialist as in linguistics, politics, law, computer science and many other fields”
(International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Vol. 4, No. 8; June 2014)

2.3 Tenor of discourse:

According to Halliday and Hasan (1985:12) tenor of discourse refers to "who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved?"

2.4 Mode of discourse:

According to Halliday and Hassan (1985) mode of discourse is a term that to:

“[...] what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organization of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic, and the like” (Halliday and Hasan, 1985: 12).

2.5 Spoken and written language

According to Brown and Yule (1983: 4-5), Manner of production from the point of view of production, it is clear that spoken and written language make somewhat different demands on language-producers. The speaker has available to him the full range of 'voice quality' effects (as well as facial expression, postural and gestural systems). Armed with these he can always override the effect of the words he speaks

The writer, on the contrary, may look over what he has already written, pause between each word with no fear of his interlocutor

interrupting him, take his time in choosing a particular word, even looking it up in the dictionary if necessary, check his progress with his notes, reorder what he has written, and even change his mind about what he wants to say. Whereas the speaker is under considerable pressure to keep on talking.

2.6 Written texts

As stated in Brown and Yule (1983: 6), The notion of 'text' as a printed record is familiar in the study of literature. A 'text' may be differently presented in different editions, with different type-face, on different sizes of paper, in one or two columns and we still assume, from one edition to the next, that the different presentations all represent the same 'text'. It is important to consider just what it is that is 'the same'. Minimally, the words should be the same words, presented in the same order. Where there are disputed readings of texts, editors usually feel obliged to comment on the crux; so of Hamlet's

“O, that this too too sullied flesh would melt”.

2.7 Spoken texts

As mention in Brown and Yule (1983: 9), The problems encountered with the notion of 'text' as the verbal record of a communicative act become a good deal more complex when we consider what is meant by spoken 'text'. The simplest view to assume is that a tape-recording of a communicative act will preserve the 'text'. The tape-recording may also preserve a good deal that may be extraneous to the text coughing, chairs creaking, buses going past, the scratch of a match lighting a cigarette.

In general the discourse analyst works with a tape-recording of an event, from which he then makes a written transcription annotated according to his interests on a particular occasion-transcriptions of the

sort which will appear in this book. He has to determine what constitutes the verbal event, and what form he will transcribe it in. Unless the analyst produces a fine-grained phonetic transcription (which very few people would be able to read fluently) details of accent and pronunciation are lost. In general, analysts represent speech using normal orthographic convention.

2.8 Pragmatics and discourse context

According to Brown and Yule (1983: 27) the discourse analyst necessarily takes a pragmatic approach to the study of language in use. Such an approach brings into consideration a number of issues which do not generally receive much attention in the formal linguist's description of sentential syntax and semantics. We noted, for example, that the discourse analyst has to take account of the context in which a piece of discourse occurs. Some of the most obvious linguistic elements which require contextual information for their interpretation are the deictic forms such as here, now, I, you, this and that. In order to interpret these elements in a piece of discourse, it is necessary to know (at least) who the speaker and hearer are, and the time and place of the production of the discourse.

2.9 Implicatures

The term 'implicature' is used by Grice (1975) to account for what a speaker can imply, suggest, or mean, as distinct from what the speaker literally says. There are conventional implicatures which are, according to Grice, determined by 'the conventional meaning of the words used' in the following example (s), the speaker does not directly assert that one property (being brave) follows from another property (being an Englishman), but the form of expression used conventionally implicates that such a relation does hold.

(5) He is an Englishman, he is, therefore, brave.

If it should turn out that the individual in question is an Englishman, and not brave, then the implicature is mistaken, but the utterance, Grice suggests, need not be false.

2.10 What is Discourse Analysis?

According to Fairclough, (1989:7) Discourse analysis is an analysis of how texts work within social cultural practice- such analysis requires attention to textual form, structure and organization at all levels; phonological, grammatical, lexical...).

As cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds) 2001:353) critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.

As stated in Jones, (1983: 2) Discourse analysis study the ways sentences and utterances go together to make texts and interactions and how those texts and interactions fit into our social world.

“Fairclough (1995: 4) describes the text traditionally understood to be a piece of written language – a whole work such as a poem or a novel, or a relatively discrete part of a work such as a chapter” (Jurnal Pengem bangan Humaniora Vol. 12 No. 3, Desember 2012).

As mention in Brown and Yule (1983: 1) the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use...The discourse analysis is committed to an investigation of what that language is used for.

According to Fear (2004, 5) discourse is a network of relations between objects. Texts are objects. Discourse is an interrelated body of texts. Texts are symbolic expressions that are inscribed by being spoken, written, or depicted in some way.

According to Martinez (2011,10) discourse analysis is a broad and fast-developing interdisciplinary field concern with the study of language use in context.

2.11 The origins of discourse Analysis:

As stated in Guy Cook, (1990:12-13) the origins of discourse Analysis as follow:

The first known student of language in the Western tradition, the scholars of Greece and Rome, were aware of former being concerned with the rules of language as an isolated object, the latter with how to do things with words, to achieve effects, and communicate successfully.

In twentieth-century linguistics, alongside sentence linguistics, there have also been influenced approaches which studied language in its full context as a part of society and the world.

In North America, in the early decades of this century, exciting work on language was conducted by people who were at once both anthropologists and linguists, often involved in research into the languages and societies of the Native American.

In Britain a similar tradition developed in the work of J.R. Firth, who saw language, not as an autonomous system put as a part of culture.

Ironically, it was a sentence linguist who both coined the term 'discourse analysis' and initiated a search for language rules which would explain how sentences were connected within a text by a kind of extended grammar. This was Zelling Harris.

As cited in Robin Wooffitt,(2005), Foucauldian discourse analysis summarized as follow:

1. Foucauldian discourse analysis tries to understand how language perpetuates social inequalities.
2. It primarily studies the ways in which discourses inform and shape our understanding of the world and social and political relationships.

3. It examines texts and the discourses which are said to inhabit them.
4. Foucauldian discourse analysts are critical of the cognitivist orientations and experimental methods of contemporary academic psychology. They are also critical of conversation analysis and discourse analysis.

2.12 The origins of Critical Discourse Analysis

Cited in Blommaert, (2005) In historical surveys such as Wodak (1995), reference is made to the critical linguists' of the University of East Anglia, who, in the 1970s, turned to issues such as the use of language in social institutions and relations between language, power, and ideology, and who proclaimed a critical (in the sense of left-wing) and emancipatory agenda for linguistic analysis... The work of these critical linguists was based on the systemic-functional and social-semiotic linguistics of Michael Halliday, whose linguistic methodology is still hailed as crucial to CDA practices (notably by Fairclough) because it offers clear and rigorous linguistic categories for analysing the relations between discourse and social meaning.

CDA has enjoyed a remarkable success with students and scholars. It has major for of publication in the journals *Discourse and Society* (edited by Teun van Dijk), *Critical Discourse Studies* (edited by Norman Fairclough), and *Journal of Language and Politics* (edited by Ruth Wodak and Paul Chilton) as well as in several book series. A European interuniversity exchange programme devoted to CDA is now in place; various websites and electronic discussion groups offer contacts and information on CDA projects and viewpoints. This active pursuit of institutionalization has an effect on what follows. To some extent, the 'school' characteristics of CDA create an impression of closure and exclusiveness with respect to critique as a mode, ingredient, and product of discourse analysis.

Cited in Robin Wooffitt (2005), Critical discourse analysis is associated with researchers such as Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk and Ruth Wodak. Broadly put, it is concerned to analyse how social and political inequalities are manifest in and reproduced and substantive orientation of CDA research. It is important to stress from the outset, however, that there is no one way of doing CDA.

As mention in Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak, (2003:11-12) the roots of CDA lie in classical Rhetoric, Text linguistics and Socio-linguistics, as well as in Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics. The notions of ideology power, hierarchy, gender and sociological variables were all seen as relevant for an interpretation or explanation of text. The subjects under investigation differ for the various departments and scholars who apply CDA.

As cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds) 2001:137) Some dozen years ago, as evidenced by van Dijk's four-volume *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (1985), the historical analysis of discourse was unrecognized. However, the intervening period has seen a wealth of studies, which have been variously termed "New Philology" (Fleischman 1990), "post-/interdisciplinary philology" (Sell 1994), "historical discourse analysis" or "historical text linguistics" (Enkvist and Wårvik 1987: 222), "diachronic text linguistics" (Fries 1983), or "historical pragmatics" (Stein 1985b; Jucker 1994).

As cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds) 2001:139) The first approach involves an application of discourse analysis to language history. It is the study of discourse forms, functions, or structures – that is, whatever is encompassed by discourse analysis in earlier periods of a language. The attention of the discourse analyst is focused on historical stages of a language, yet the emphasis remains on discourse structure. This approach may be termed historical discourse analysis proper.

2.13 Stages of critical discourse analysis:

As mentioned in Fairclough (1996:26) there are three dimensions or stages of critical discourse analysis:

1. **Description** is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text.
2. **Interpretation** is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction - with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation; notice that I use the term *interpretation* for both the interactional process and a stage of analysis, for reasons which will emerge in Chapter 6.
3. **Explanation** is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context - with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects.

2.14 The emancipatory goal of Critical discourse analysis

Cited in Robin Wooffitt (2005), Critical discourse analysis adopts an overt political stance, in terms of both kinds of topics it studies and the role it sees for the results of research. It sets out to reveal the 'role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance' (van Dijk, 1993: 249). Moreover, critical discourse analysts want to understand the role of 'structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events' (van Dijk, 1993: 250) in establishing and maintaining power relations between different groups in society (Fairclough, 1989).

2.15 Texts, ideology, discourse and power

Cited in Robin Wooffitt (2005), in critical discourse analysis, Empirical research focuses on the interrelationships between discourse and wider social structures. The analysis of texts is central to this task. In

everyday use, a text would be taken to refer to a written document, such as a letter, a film script or this book. But in critical discourse analysis 'text' has a more complex meaning: it can refer to a speech or spoken discourse, written documents, visual images, or some combination of these three. Texts are regarded as multi-semiotic because many forms of representation may be combined in their construction. Take the example of a televised advertisement, in which spoken language, written words, visual images, music and special sound effects may all be used to portray a product, each of which adds layers of meaning and contributes to the sense or force of the advert. To obtain a rounded understanding of the production of meaning in texts it is thus necessary to extend the focus of analysis to include these kinds of non-linguistic representations. It is argued that these 'textural' properties of texts must be included in analysis because they reflect broader cultural and social influences which in turn make them 'extraordinarily sensitive indicators of sociocultural processes, relations and change' (Fairclough, 1995: 2).

The concept of ideology is crucial in CDA. Ideologies are taken to be organized sets of beliefs which mobilise practices and viewpoints which sustain inequalities across society. Ideologies thus serve to protect the interests of powerful groups. They perform this function in subtle ways because they inform how we come to interpret the world around us: ideologies ensure that certain events, ways of acting and relationships come to be regarded as legitimate or appropriate. For example, in recent history, it is not hard to find instances of discriminatory social and legislative practices which are premised on the assumptions that heterosexuality is the 'natural' sexual orientation, or that women are 'naturally' more suited to child rearing and home making.

Discourse and its texts are viewed as embodying ideological assumptions. (A useful discussion of the relationship between discourse

and texts can be found in Wodak, 2001b.) Thus the ways in which we talk and write about the world reflect wider ideological pressures and, ultimately, particular constellations of power relations. Discourse, then, is the site of power. Fairclough (1989) has identified two aspects of the relationship between language and power. First there is power *behind* language. This points to the ways in which powerful groups can determine aspects of language. For example, he argues that the standardization of English pronunciation reflected the interests and influence of a merchant class which emerged in the southeast of England during the latter part of feudal society. They were able to define a particular way of speaking – *their* way – as *the* way of pronouncing English. This had important ramifications in Great Britain, the effects of which are still observable today.

The very notion of a ‘regional’ accent to refer to non-standardized forms of speech assumes that standardized forms of pronunciation were somehow unconnected to any specific part of the country, thus masking the disproportionate influence and power of a particular group with a clear geographical base. It also established a benchmark by which other accents could be regarded as inferior. This is evident in many ways: for example, it is only in the past two or three decades that people with non-standardized accents have presented television programmes broadcast nationally in the UK. This in turn meant that people from outside the southeast of England were at a disadvantage in those social and work relationships and job interviews which tend to be conducted in middle-class London accents. Second, Fairclough identifies various ways in which power can work in language. In face-to-face or telephone interaction, there are constraints on the nature and extent of participation. There are constraints on content (what is said or done); constraints on the kinds of interpersonal relationships people enter when they engage in

talk; and constraints on subject positions (the kinds of participatory roles which people can occupy in their discourse). In interaction between friends, these constraints may be flexible and relaxed, but in more formal encounters, a different set of assumptions become relevant. In doctor patient consultations, for example, it is likely that the patient will describe symptoms and the doctor will ask questions, offer a diagnosis and, if necessary, suggest a course of medical treatment. It is unlikely that either party will deviate from these normatively prescribed participatory roles without good reason.

2.16 Critical Discourse Analysis

According to (Van Dijk 1998) critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.

Fairclough and Wodak (199:271- 280) summarize the main tenets of CDA as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems.
2. Power relations are discursive.
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture.
4. Discourse does ideological work.
5. The link between text and society is mediated.
6. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
7. Discourse is a form of social action.

2.17 Standards of Textuality:

According to De Beaugrade and Dressler (1981) in term of communicative function the text is supposed to realize. Textuality determined by some factors which depend on the participants, the intended message and the setting of occurrence... etc. Beaugrand and

Dressler sum up these factors in seven standards of textuality in which they can fulfill the communicative function of any text. These standards are:

2.18 Cohesion:

It is the first standard of textuality, it refers to surface relations between the sentences that create a text , i.e. to create connected sentences within a sequence. The formal surface of the text components works according to grammatical forms and conventions. It helps the reader/hearer to sort out meaning and uses.

According to Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds)2001:36) cohesion is one aspect of the study of texture, which can be defined as the process whereby meaning is channeled into a digestible current of discourse “instead of spilling out formlessly in every possible direction”

As shown in Halliday (1994: 309) Cohesion can be defined as the set of resources for constructing relations in discourse which transcend grammatical structure.

As cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds)2001:36)in Halliday and Hasan (1976) the inventory of cohesive resources was organized as:

1. Reference
2. Ellipsis
3. Substitution
4. Conjunction
5. lexical cohesion.

Lexical cohesion

According to Cutting Joan (2002:13) summarize the lexical cohesion in the following diagram

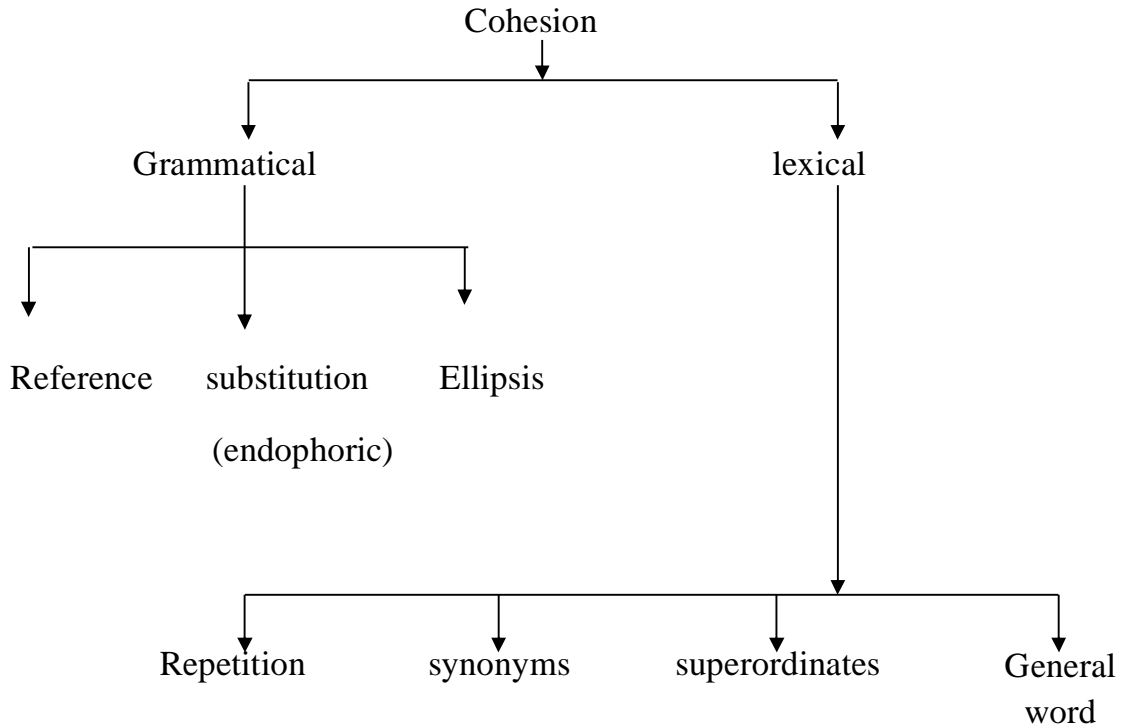


Diagram 01: lexical cohesion

2.19 Coherence

It refers to the relation held between the under surface text, which is made of concepts and relations and amount of their relevance to central thought of the text. Moreover, the concepts refer to the knowledge, which can be activated in the mind whereas relations refer to the connection between the surface texts (concept).

According Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds) 2001:36)Texture is one aspect of the study of coherence, which can be thought of as the process whereby a reading position is naturalized by texts for listener/readers.

2.19.1 Intentionality

It refers to the text producer's attitudes that the set of linguistic resources of the text should handle the text in a way that fulfill the procedures intension and communicates the message to be conveyed in an appropriate and successful way.

2.19.2 Acceptability

It concerns to the text receiver's attitude that the set of linguistic resources of the text should provide the receiver with an a ability to perceive any relevance of the text in question.

2.19.3 Informativity

It refers to all extent to which the presented information is known or not to the text receiver; i.e., it refer to the newness or the givenness of the information presented in the text. A text is said to be informative, no matter to its form and content.

2.19.4 Situationality

It refers to the factors that make a text relevant to a situation of occurrence; i.e., it is crucial for a text where it can determine what is said, by why, when and where.

2.19.5 Intertextuality

It concerns the factors which make the use of one text dependent upon knowledge of one or more a text, in fact, belongs to a wider receiver is actually able to encounter the intended message.

2.20 Cohesive devices

According to Guy Cook (1990:21) cohesive devices is formal links between sentences and between clauses.

2.20.1 formal links

As shown in Guy Cook (1990:15-21) formal links as follow:

2.20.1.1 Verb Form:

The form of the verb in one sentence can limit the choice of the verb form in the next, and we may be justified in saying that a verb form in one sentence is 'wrong' or at least 'unlikely', because it does not fit with the form in another

2.20.1.2 parallelism

Advice which suggests a connection, simply because the form of one sentence or clause repeats the form of another. This is often used in speeches, prayers, poetry, and advertisements. It can have a powerful emotional effect, and it is also a useful aide-memoire.

2.20.1.3 Referring expressions

These are words whose meaning can only be discovered by referring to other words or to elements of the context which are clear to both sender and receiver. The most obvious example of them is third person pronouns.

As mentioned in Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds)2001:36) Reference refers to resources for referring to a participant or circumstantial element whose identity is recoverable.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976) reference can be accounted as “exophoric” or “endophoric” function. Exophoric involves exercises that require the reader to look out of the text in order to interpret the referent. Endophoric function refers to the text itself in its interpretation. Endophoric reference is itself two classes:

Anaphoric relations is all kinds of activities which involves looking back in text find the referent. Cataphoric relation looks forward for their interpretation.

Halliday and Hassan (1976) summarize the types of reference in the following diagram

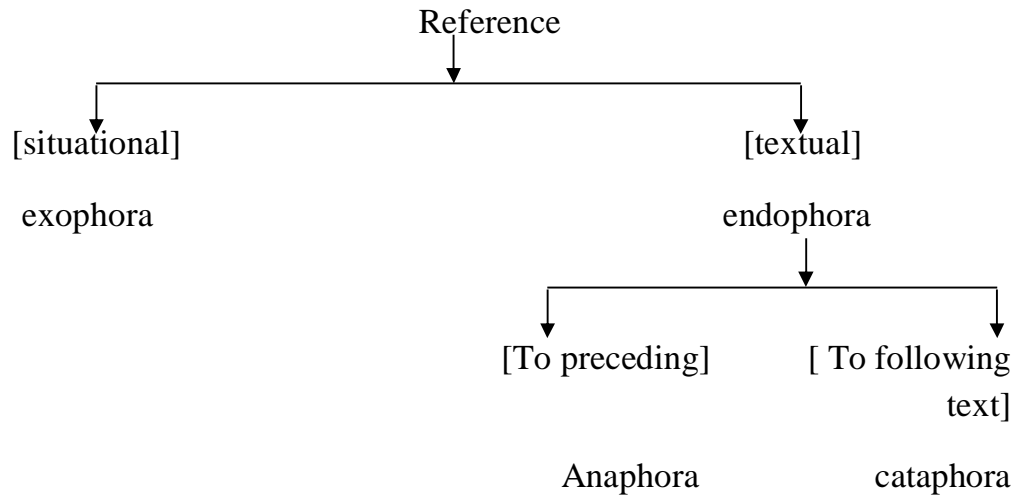


Diagram 02: Types of reference

2.20.1.4 Repetition and Lexical Chains:

Repetition of words can create the same sort of chain as pronouns, and there are sometimes good reasons for preferring it. In Britain, mother tongue learners of English are discouraged from using repetition on the grounds that it is 'bad style', and encouraged to use a device known as 'elegant repetition', where synonymous or more general words or phrases are used.

2.20.1.5 Substitution

Another kind of formal link between sentences is the substitution of words like do or so or a word or group of words which have appeared in an earlier sentence. It would be very long-winded if we had always to answer a question like Do you like mangoes? With a sentence like yes I like mangoes or yes I think I like mangoes. It is much quicker, and sit means the same, if we say yes I do or yes I think so.

2.20.1.6 Ellipsis

Sometimes we do not even need to provide a substitute for a word or phrase which has already been said. We can simply omit it, and know that the missing part can be reconstructed quite successfully instead of answering would you like a glass of beer? With yes I would like a glass of beer we can just say yes understood. Omitting part of sentences on the assumption that an earlier sentence or the context will make the meaning clear is known as ellipsis.

According to Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds) 2001:36) Ellipsis refers to resources for omitting a clause, or some part of a clause or group, in contexts where it can be assumed.

2.20.1.7 Conjunction:

Yet another type of formal relation between sentences – and perhaps the most apparent is provided by those words and phrase which explicating draw attention to the type of relationship which exists between one sentence or clause and another. These are conjunctions. These words may simply add more information to what has already been said (and, furthermore, add to that) or elaborate or exemplify it (for instance, thus, in other words). They may contrast new information with old information, or put another side to the argument.

As shown in Halliday and Hasan (1976) Conjunctions are connectors which link clauses in discourse.

2.21 Coherence in interpretation of discourse

2.21.1 Coherence in discourse

According to Brown and Yule (1983: 223), One of the pervasive illusions which persists in the analysis of language is that we understand the meaning of a linguistic message solely on the basis of the words and structure of the sentence(s) used to convey that message. We certainly

rely on the syntactic structure and lexical items used in a linguistic message to arrive at an interpretation, but it is a mistake to think that we operate only with this literal input to our understanding we can recognize, for example, when a writer has produced a perfectly grammatical sentence from which we can derive a literal interpretation, but which we would not claim to have understood, simply because we need more information.

2.21.2 Using knowledge of the world

As stated in Brown and Yule (1983: 233-234), We might say that the knowledge we possess as users of a language concerning social interaction via language is just one part of our general socio-cultural knowledge. This general knowledge about the world underpins our interpretation not only of discourse, but of virtually every aspect of our experience. As de Beaugrande (1980: 30) notes, 'the question of how people know what is going on in a text is a special case of the question of how people know what is going on in the world at all'. We suggested, in Chapter 2, that the interpretation of discourse is based to a large extent on a simple principle of analogy with what we have experienced in the past. As adults, we are liable to possess quite substantial amounts of background experience and know-ledge. How do we organise all this knowledge and activate only limited amounts when needed? We shall consider proposed answers to this question in section 7.6. Before we investigate this area, we shall try to clarify how this view of discourse-understanding via the use of 'world-knowledge' stands in relation to the view of literal interpretation via the 'words-on-the-page'.

2.21.3 An illustrative study in CDA: racism and political discourse

Cited in Robin Wooffitt (2005), the analysis of texts can involve a

complex series of interpretative procedures; in his account of the principles of CDA, van Dijk (1993) illustrates the various ways in which texts may be interrogated by analysing the transcript of apolitical speech. During the mid-1980s, a school head teacher from Bradford (which has a large Asian population) wrote some controversial articles on multicultural education for predominantly right-wing journals and newspapers. Many Asian parents with children at the school complained that these writings were racist and potentially inflammatory. The head teacher's case became a national issue: some argued for his sacking; others defended his right to free speech, and indeed claimed his articles were a welcome contribution to debates about race relations in the UK more generally. The text van Dijk examines is the transcript of a speech made in support of the teacher by a Conservative Member of the British Parliament to the House of Commons.(The transcript comes from Hansard, the official record of all debates in the House of Commons).

2.21.4 Representing background knowledge

As mention in Brown and Yule (1983: 236), these representations, found in psychological and computational approaches to discourse understanding, are mainly used to account for the type of predictable information a writer / speaker can assume his hearer / listener has available whenever a particular situation is described. Given one particular situation, such as a restaurant scene, the writer /speaker should not have to inform his reader / hearer that there are tables and chairs in the restaurant, or that one orders and pays for the food consumed therein. Knowledge of this sort about restaurants is generally assumed. In representations of this knowledge, conventional aspects of a situation, such as the tables and chairs in a restaurant, can be treated as default elements. These default elements will be assumed to be present, even when not mentioned, unless the reader / hearer is specifically told

otherwise. A good example of our ability as readers to provide default elements automatically was demonstrated in the consideration of the recipe text.

2.21.5 Scenarios

As cited in Brown and Yule (1983: 245), Sanford & Garrod (1981) choose the term scenario to describe the 'extended domain of reference' which is used in interpreting written texts, 'since one can think of knowledge of settings and situations as constituting the interpretative scenario behind a text'. Their aim is to 'establish the validity of the scenario account as a psychological theory'. According to the proposition-based approach, the existence of *a waiter*, for example, in the mental representation which a reader has after reading a text about *Going to a Restaurant*, depends entirely on whether a waiter was explicitly mentioned in the text. According to the scenario account, a text about *Going to a Restaurant* automatically brings *a waiter* slot into the representation.

2.21.6 Schemata

As shown in Yule (2006) schemata are a general term for conventional knowledge structure that exists in memory.

According to Brown and Yule (1983: 247), We have already discussed one area of discourse studies, that related to story-grammars (cf. section 3.9), in which appeal was made to the existence of a particular type of schema. For the proponents of story-grammars, there exists a socio-culturally determined story-schema, which has a fixed conventional structure containing a fixed set of elements. One of these elements is the 'setting' and an initial sentence of a simple story (e.g. all was quiet at the 701 Squadron base at Little Baxton) can instantiate the setting element. It should be pointed out that, although a simple story may instantiate many

elements in the story-schema, it is not suggested that the story has the schema. Rather, it is people who have schemata which they use to produce and comprehend simple stories, among many other things (e.g. place-descriptions in Brewer&Treyens (1981)).Schemata are said to be 'higher-level complex (and even conventional or habitual) knowledge structures' (van Dijk, 1981),which function as 'ideational scaffolding' (Anderson, 1977) in the organization and interpretation of experience. In the strong view, schemata are considered to be deterministic, to predispose the experience to interpret his experience in a fixed way. We can think of racial prejudice, for example, as the manifestation of some fixed way of thinking about newly encountered individuals who are assigned undesirable attributes and motives on the basis of an existing schema for members of the race. There may also be deterministic schemata which we use when we are about to encounter certain types of discourse, as evidenced in the following conversational fragment.

(33) A: There's a party political broadcast coming on - do you want to watch it?

B: No - switch it off - I know what they're going to say already.

However, the general view taken of schemata in the analysis of discourse is much weaker. Rather than deterministic constraints on how we must interpret discourse, schemata can be seen as the organised background knowledge which leads us to expect or predict aspects in our interpretation of discourse.

2.21.7 Mental models

As cited in Brown and Yule (1983: 250), According to Johnson-Laird (1981: 139) :a major function of language is to enable one person to have another's experience of the world by proxy: instead of a direct apprehension of a state of affairs, the listener constructs a model of them based on a speaker's remarks. As a simple example, Johnson-Laird

&Garnham (1979) point out that the interpretation of a definite description is not determined by uniqueness in the world, but uniqueness in the local model constructed for the particular discourse. If a speaker says :(38) The man who lives next door drives to work. The hearer may have a model of a particular state of affairs in which there is an individual (neighbour of speaker, has a car, has a job, etc.), but the hearer is unlikely to assume that the speaker has only one neighbour.

2.21.8 Determining the inferences to be made

As mention in Brown and Yule (1983: 256),The rather general notion of inference appealed to is used to describe that process which the reader (hearer) must go through to get from the literal meaning of what is written (or said) to what the writer (speaker) intended to convey. For example, the general view of the interpretation of an utterance such as (43) - used to convey an indirect request - is that the hearer works from the literal meaning to a meaning like (43a) via inference(s) of what the speaker intended to convey.

(43) Its really cold in here with that window open.

(43a) Please close the window.

In other words, utterance (43) does not 'mean' (43a). Rather, the hearer, on receiving (43) in a particular context, must infer that the speaker intended it to convey (43a). As evidence that some inferential process is required in the interpretation of indirect requests, Clark & Lucy (1975) demonstrated that, across a wide range of indirect versus direct forms, readers performing a verification task consistently took longer with the indirect forms.

2.21.9 Inferences as missing links

Brown and Yule (1983: 257), the information in (45c) can be seen, in formal terms, as the missing link which is required to make an explicit

connection between (45a) and (45b). Is it possible, then, to think of an inference as a process of filling in the missing link(s) between two utterances? This seems to be implicit in the research of Clark and his co-authors and also seems to be the basis of Prince's (1981) category of 'inferrable', described already in section 5.3 .z. Indeed, there are many examples in the literature concerning definite descriptions which we could treat in terms of the 'missing link' phenomenon. Let us consider some of these examples, which we will present with the *a* and *b* sentences ('the text') as *linked* via the information in the *c* sentence ('the missing link').

(46) a. I bought a bicycle yesterday.

b. The frame is extra large.

c. The bicycle has a frame.

(47) a. I looked into the room.

b. The ceiling was very high.

c. The room has a ceiling.

(48) a. This afternoon a strange man came to my office.

b. His nose was nearly purple.

c. The man has a nose.

(49) a. I got on a bus yesterday

b. and the driver was drunk.

c. The bus has a driver

In each of these examples, the missing link expresses a type of generally true relationship which might take the form of a universally quantified proposition such as Every X *has a* Y. In fact, each of the-four *c* sentences in (46) - (49) expresses information which we might expect to be represented in one of the stereotypic knowledge formats.

2.22 Text and context

According to Blommaert, (2005:39-40) Critical trends in discourse analysis emphasize the connection between discourse and social structure. They locate the critical dimension of analysis in the interplay between discourse and society, and suggest ways in which features of social structure need to be treated as context in discourse analysis. For instance, in analyzing doctor and patient interaction, the facts that one participant is a doctor and another is a patient, and that this interaction consequently develops in an institutional environment, are crucial elements in understanding the power balance in that interaction. There will be a particular power dynamic *because* one is a doctor and another is a patient, and *because* this turns the particular interaction into an instance of an institutionalized genre. Critical analysis is thus always and necessarily the analysis of situated, contextualized, language, and context itself becomes a crucial methodological and theoretical issue in the development of a critical study of language. There is a vast and significant literature on context (see, for example, Auer and Di Luzio, 1992; Duranti and Goodwin 1992; Auer 1995), and the most general way of summarising it is to say that it addresses the way in which linguistic forms 'text' become part of, get integrated in, or become constitutive of larger activities in the social world. To some extent, this is self-evident: language is always produced by someone to someone else, at a particular time and place, with a purpose and so forth. But, given the history of linguistics as the study of an object defined as necessarily noncontextual and autonomous, attention to the context-sensitive dimensions of language was something that required substantial argument. We are beyond such arguments now, fortunately, and we can turn to a whole complex of approaches to text--context relations. We can now accept without having to go into detailed discussion that the way in which language fits into context is what creates

meaning, what makes it (mis)understandable to others. Context comes in various shapes and operates at various levels, from the infinitely small to the infinitely big. The infinitely small would be the fact that every sentence produced by people occurs in a unique environment of preceding and subsequent sentences, and consequently derives part of its meaning from these other sentences. The infinitely small can also pertain to one single sound becoming a very meaningful thing ‘yes’ pronounced with a falling intonation is declarative and affirmative; spoken with a rising intonation it becomes a question or an expression of amazement or disbelief. The infinitely big would be the level of universals of human communication and of human societies -- the fact that humanity is divided into women and men, young and old people, and so on. In between both extremes lies a world of different phenomena, operating at all levels of society and across societies, from the level of the individual all the way up to the level of the world system. Context is *potentially* everything and contextualization is *potentially* infinite. But, remarkably, in actual practice it appears to be to some extent predictable. People seem to have rather clear (though not necessarily accurate) ideas about how they have to make language fit into activities and how they have to create meaning out of this blending. I shall address some of the main challenges posed by context for a critical analysis of discourse, reviewing the ways in which context has been used so far in mainstream CDA and Conversation Analysis two contenders for leadership in the critical analysis of discourse.

2.23 Text context of situation:

According To Halliday and Hassan (1985:12), text cannot be approach without reference to the situation as the context "in which text unfold and three situational parameters that help communicates make

predictions about the kinds of meaning that are being exchanged. These are: field tenor and mode of discourse.

As stated in Weiss and Wodak, (2003:22) our triangulatory approach is based on a concept of 'context' which takes into account four levels. The first level is descriptive, while the other three levels constitute part of our theories on context:

1. The immediate, language or text internal co-text.
2. The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses.
3. The extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation' (middle-range theories).
4. The broader sociopolitical and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to.

As Cited in Deborah Tannen (2007:11), Becker captures the essentially relational nature of meaning in language by identifying six types of contextual relations that operate as constraints on text. These are:

1. structural relations (of parts to whole)
2. generic relations (of text to prior text)
3. medial relations (of text to medium)
4. interpersonal relations (of text to participants in a text-act)
5. referential relations (of text to nature and to "the world one believes to lie beyond language")
6. silential relations (of text to the unsaid and unsayable).

2.24 Types of speeches

Nielsen (2009:9) according to classical rhetoric, there are three types of speeches: the forensic, deliberative, and epideictic speech. In the culture of ancient Greece, these three types were considered the most important to study.

2.25 Speech act

According to Brown and Yule (1983: 231), Speech act theory originates in Austin's (1962) observation that while sentences can often be used to report states of affairs, utterance of some sentences, in specified circumstances, be treated as the performance of an act:

(17) I bet you sixpence it will rain tomorrow.

(18) I name this ship the *Queen Elizabeth*.

Such utterances Austin described as 'performatives' and the specified circumstances required for their success he outlined as a set of 'felicity conditions'. More precisely, utterances such as (17) and (18) are examples of explicit performatives which are not just specialised group of ritual sentence forms, but are a sub set of the utterances in the language which can be used to perform acts

Another subset are utterances which can be described as implicit performatives, as in examples (19) - (22) :

(19) Out!

(20) Sixpence.

(21) I'll be there at 5 o'clock.

(22) Trespassers will be prosecuted

None of these examples contains a performative verb, but (19) can be used by a cricket umpire to perform an act of dismissal, (20) by a card-player to make a bet, (21) by anyone to make a promise and (22) by a landowner to issue a warning. By extension, it became possible to suggest that in uttering any sentence, a speaker could be seen to have performed some act, or, to be precise, an illocutionary act. Conventionally associated with each illocutionary act is the force of the utterance which can be expressed as a performative such as 'promise' or 'warn'. Austin also pointed out that, in uttering aI sentence, a speaker also performs a

perlocutionary act which can be described in terms of the effect which the illocutionary act, on the particular occasion of use, has on the hearer.

2.26 Discourse and power

As mention in Fairclough (1996:41) power in discourse is concerned with discourse as I.! place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted; I discuss power in 'face to face spoken discourse, power in, 'cross-cultural' discourse where participants belong to different ethnic groupings, and the 'hidden power' of the discourse of the mass media.

2.26.1 Hidden power

As mention in Fairclough (1996:49) the growth area for this sort of discourse has been the mass media - television, radio, film as well as newspapers. Mass-media discourse is interesting because the nature or the power relations enacted in it is often not clear, and there are reasons for seeing it as involving hidden relations of power.

The most obvious difference between face-ta-face discourse and media discourse is the 'one-sidedness' of the latter. In face-ta-face interaction, participants alternate between being the producers and the interpreters of text, but in media discourse, as well as generally in writing, there is a sharp divide between producers and interpreters - or, since the media 'product' takes on some of the nature of a commodity, between producers and 'consumers'.

2.27 Political Discourse

As cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton ((eds) 2001:399) The study of political discourse has been around for as long as politics itself. The emphasis the Greeks placed on rhetoric is a case in point. From Cicero (1971) to Aristotle (1991) the concern was basically with particular methods of social and political competence in achieving

specific objectives. While Aristotle gave a more formal twist to these overall aims, the general principle of articulating information on policies and actions for the public good remained constant. This general approach is continued today.

As cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds) Ibid, 2001:400) Orwell who first drew our attention to the political potential of language. This is seen in his classic article “Politics and the English Language,” where he considers the way in which language may be used to manipulate thought and suggests, for example, that “political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible” (1969: 225).

As cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds) 2001:401)The general principle here is one of transformation. Similar words and phrases may come to be reinterpreted within different ideological frameworks. Linked directly to this process is the concept of “representation.” Representation refers to the issue of how language is employed in different ways to represent what we can know, believe, and perhaps think. There are basically two views of representation: the universalist and the relativist (Montgomery 1992). The universalist view assumes that we understand our world in relation to a set of universal conceptual primes. Language, in this view, simply reflects these universal possibilities. Language is the vehicle for expressing our system of thought, with this system being independent of the language itself. The relativist position sees language and thought as inextricably intertwined. Our understanding of the world within a relativist perspective is affected by available linguistic resources. The consequences here, within a political context, seem obvious enough. To have others believe you, do what you want them to do, and generally view the world in the way most favorable for your goals, you need to manipulate, or, at the very least, pay attention to the linguistic limits of forms of representation.

As cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds) 2001:408) Everyday words, organized and structured in particular ways, may become politically implicated in directing thinking about particular issues, and with real and devastating effects. Even the process of uttering someone's name may become a political act, as it did in the infamous McCarthy trials of the 1950s

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According to Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds) 2001:401) One of the core goals of political discourse analysis is to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect.

2.28 Discourse and Media

According to Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds) 2001:418) Researchers often rely on sociolinguistic insights, either to characterize some dimension of media language, such as variation and style, or to inform related discourse level work, such as genre and register.

According to Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton ((eds) 2001:415) The discourse of the news media encapsulates two key components: the news story, or spoken or written text; and the process involved in producing the texts. The first dimension, that of the text, has been the primary focus of most media researchers to date, particularly as the text encodes values and ideologies that impact on and reflect the larger world. The second dimension, that of the process – including the norms and routines of the community of news practitioners – has been on the research agenda for the past several years, but to date no significant work has been completed.

According to Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton((eds)2001:423)The ubiquity of media language and its easy accessibility make it a natural data source for linguists interested in the components of language and discourse and for other researchers interested in assessing the effects of language on culture. Given that the media is such a widespread purveyor of talk about our world and our position in it, it is a bit surprising that not more linguists attempt to work with it. However, those who have explored media discourse tend to select and utilize data that will allow answers to fundamental questions about language, about the nature of the news and the media, and about more abstract issues of language, action, thought, and society.

According to Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton((eds)2001:424)Unique distributions of discourse features occur in other media discourse, demonstrating more fully the range of social and textual meanings implicit on the discourse level. Sentence-initial connectives in news stories show a communicative function overriding a prescriptive one (the “don’t start a sentence with a connective” rule).

2.29 Oratory

According to Altgeld p. John, (1901), Oratory is the greatest art known to man and embraces a number of great arts.

He must furnish the ideas, he must clothe them in words, he must give these a rhythmic arrangement, and he must deliver them with all the care with which a singer sings a song.

Knowledge:

The orator must have a general knowledge of history, of literature, of religion, of the sciences, of human nature, and of affairs.

He must have a full and special knowledge of the subject he attempts to discuss.

He must present new ideas or old ideas in a new light. And they must be lofty ideas, that appeal to the nobler sentiments of men.

Mind must commune with mind and soul must talk 'to soul, or there is no oratory. The soul of the speaker and the soul of audience must become one.

Language

His words must be simple, pure, chaste and crystalline- his sentences clear, epigrammatic and sparkling, and his arrangement logical, forceful and climacteric.

Arrangement

Arrangement is the third essential of oratory. Without it the effort is lost. The subject-matter should be treated from the point from which it naturally unfolds or develops.

Delivery- Action

Every word must be uttered with the right volume of voice, the right pitch, the right inflection; and every sentence must have the right cadence.

Gesture:

No rule can be given to determine when, where and how to gesture, expect possibly the general one- be natural.

Gesture is a part of the art of expression, and, when used without meaning, it simply mars the performance.

Oratory is the masculine of music, and to a certain extent is governed by the same laws. It must have rhythm, cadence, measure, harmony and at times even melody.

Voice

Voice is as important to the orator it is the singer, and it must be trained with the same care. The speaker must be able to use his voice with

the same facility that a singer does, or else his achievement will be meager.

Tone

In forming the voice, the principal object is to convert the breath into pure tone.

Tone or sound travels with a velocity and acquires a power that impossible for breath. A man could hardly make his breathing heard twenty feet away; but vocalized it creates vibrations that travel to the question to the gates of eternity.

Articulation

Distinct articulation is the diamond of uttered speech. Without it there can be no sparking sentence and no flashing epigram. Without distinct articulation, it is difficult to understand a speaker even when nearby, and impossible to understand him when a little distance away.

2.30 Barack Obama

Obama was born in Hawaii on August 4th 1961. He was the son of Barack Obama Sr. who was born and raised in Kenya, where he was a goat herder. Obama's mother was born in a small town in the U.S state of Kansas. As a child Obama did not show many signs that, he would have a bright future in politics. Obama spent most of his time indulging in all the natural beauty Hawaii had to offer, body surfing and playing basketball most of the time. At the age of ten Obama attended a private mostly white school. It was while attending this very upscale yet very Hawaiian, relaxed, easygoing private school that Obama is said to have developed one of his greatest talents. Obama is said to possess a very keen sense of emotional control. Author David Mendell describes Obama as being exceptionally cool during the night of the 2004 senate primary election victory while being surrounded by a jubilant crowd of aids and supporters. Obama seems to possess the ability to be able to slow things

down internally during the midst of chaos, and project serenity like that of professional athletes during very important games (Mendell, 2007). Obama graduated from high school in 1979, and the same year he moved to Los Angeles. Obama studied at the small liberal arts college Occidental College, in Los Angeles, for two years. It was while at Occidental Obama first learned the power of words and his own power with the spoken word. Obama became involved with the anti apartheid movement and as he recalls it; *“I noticed that people had begun to listen to my opinions. It was a discovery that made me hungry for words ... Words that could carry a message, support an idea.”* (Mendell, 2007). It was also while at Occidental Obama had his first experience with public speaking as he opened a staged anti apartheid rally and during this speech Obama felt a connection with the audience, heard their applause, and Obama did not want to leave the stage. He had his first experience as an orator while at Occidental and he liked it very much. After his sophomore year, in 1981, Obama transferred to Columbia University in New York. Obama graduated from Columbia in 1983 with a bachelor degree in political science. After graduating from Columbia University, Obama wanted to serve society in a positive way. Obama wanted to work with community organizing, but could not find the job he wanted in New York so he moved to Chicago at age 23. In Chicago, Obama organized conferences and lobbied politicians on behalf of poor black communities. In 1988, Obama was accepted at Harvard Law School the most prestigious law school in the U.S. It was while at Harvard Obama showed his academic talents for the first time committing to his studies like never before and graduation with honors in 1991. Obama also developed other parts of his persona that would shine through during his following political career. At a speech at the Black Law Students dinner Obama first presented his public message of unity and altruism and According to (Mendell, 2007) Obama

would invoke similar rhetoric in his; “*often fiery and inspirational speeches concerning the importance of culture and ideas mixing on campus.*” (Mendell, 2007). It then seems that Obama, the inspirational orator that is supposedly a better speaker than Hillary Clinton first showed his flair while at Harvard. Obama came across to his peers as a person who would listen to others despite their political views, which was important as Harvard in the 90’s was in the middle of an ideological war. At the age of thirty-four, Obama was ready for the next step in his career, a foray into the world of congressional politics. Obama ran for the senate seat in the Chicago South Side district, in 1996, and won. Obama was reelected to the Illinois senate in 1998 and again in 2002.

During his congressional years, Obama already had a reputation as a very gifted orator. Obama’s friend and political advisor Bettylu Saltzman describes Obama’s speaking talents as follows; “*When he speaks its like – it’s like magic.*” (Mendell, 2007, p. 173). In late October 2002, Obama gave the speech he himself is most proud of. Obama was invited to speak at an anti Iraq war rally and up till this point Obama had rarely used written manuscripts instead relying on his talent for speaking extemporaneously. The lesson Obama learned from this speech was that sometimes saying what you truly believe can be valuable in the long run (Mendell, 2007). In 2004, Obama won the Illinois senate seat with the biggest margin in Illinois history. The 2004 senate campaign yielded some valuable lessons in public speaking for Obama. Obama’s speeches had in the past been considered theoretical and intellectual and very long. Obama’s aides urged Obama to speak more about people and their stories rather than just policy and as Obama’s campaign manager put it; “*invoke more humanity in his speeches.*” (Mendell, 2007, p. 179). According to (Mendell, 2007) Obama was an easy learner and was quickly turning into a great political orator. Obama would be given the opportunity to show

his oratory abilities on the national stage as he was chosen to deliver the keynote address at the 2004 democratic convention, where John Kerry was confirmed as the democratic presidential nominee. This speech was important for Obama as he would follow in the footsteps of politicians the like of Bill Clinton and Mario Cuomo. Obama was given control over the content of the speech, which was a relief to his advisors as Obama had a reputation for being ineffective at delivering speeches that were written by another author than himself. Obama would sound wooden and bored with his speech if he had not written the words himself. Obama spoke with much more authenticity and clarity when the words in the speech came directly from his own pen (Mendell, 2007, p. 270). Obama would generate much of the Convention speech using the best received lines and themes from his campaign speeches. Obama's speech delighted the crowd that evening and was very well received in the media the following day. The speech at the 2004 Democratic National Convention was in earnest launch Obama's status as a national political figure. In February, 2007 Obama announced his candidacy for President (Obama 08, 2007).

Section Two

2.31 Review of Previous Related Studies

In this section the researcher presents a review of previous related studies. It is very important because it helps people to communicate each other and help people to tackle knowledge deeply.

- 1. Hassan Mahil Abdalla Hassan (2015)** this study aims to analyze Governmental and non-Governmental Power Struggle Discourse produced by Arab World Media during (2011- 2012). It aims at demonstrating how powerful group can control less- powerful group in terms of access to the power. To bring to light that media discourse highlight power struggle between the dictatorial governments and oppressed masses and in the service of the power elite and state therefore, discourse has been abused to control people's minds, beliefs and actions and in the interest of dominant groups and against the interest or will of others.

The analysis concentrates on such linguistic means such as critical linguistics approach which is represented in nominalization, the use of pronouns, and diverse lexical choices. These means have been chosen as primary tools for the analysis due to the fact that they are closely related to the three functions that language is said to perform, namely, identical, interpersonal, and textual.

As well as the analysis also concentrates on such linguistic mean such as top down bottom up approaches which are represented in causative group which referred to as top down in the investigation of the cause whereas effective group which referred to as bottom up in the investigation of the effect. These means have been chosen also as primary tools for the analysis due to the fact that all of them are closely related to the three types of constrains such as content (what

is said), relations (the social relations that people express in the discourse) and the subjects (subject positions people can occupy). The critical discourse analysis is used to respond to such problems. Language is said to perform, namely action and reaction. The approach is concerned with the analysis of how ideologies mediated through discourse are embodied in linguistic cause and effect perspectives.

The result of analysis has demonstrated that the meanings which people convey by writer or speaker actually do not correspond to what they claim to be saying. Moreover, it has demonstrated that the political elites do not adjust their political discourse which leads to actions processes of individual actors who are regarded as part and parcel from group actions and social reaction processes. These are exemplified in unequal power relation between dictatorial governments which refer to as causative groups and oppressed masses, which refer to as effective groups in the investigation of cause and effect.

- 2. Dominic N.A. Smith** (2012) this study proposes a methodology that combines techniques from corpus linguistics with theory from the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The methodology is demonstrated using a corpus comprising transcripts of Hugo Chávez's television programme, *AlóPresidente*, broadcast between January 2002 and June 2007.

In this thesis, I identify a number of criticisms of CDA and suggest that corpus linguistics can be used to reduce the principle risks: over-/under-interpretation of data and ensuring that the examples used are representative. I then present a methodology designed to minimise these effects, based upon a hypothesis that semantic fields are used more frequently in periods when they are topical, and

therefore one can isolate instances which were produced at times of change. I use the *AlóPresidente* corpus to present a detailed description of three such semantic fields and then adopt the concept of discourse strategies from the DHA to demonstrate how Chávez's framing of the topics changes with time.

3. **Karin Zotzmann**,(2007) The present investigation analyzes critically the discursive and generic make-up, the conceptual base and educational goals of a new interdisciplinary academic field of enquiry called Intercultural Business Communication as it is pursued in the context of the Germany higher education system. Its purpose is twofold: Firstly, it attempts to bring to light and debate the actual validity claims made by these authors in respect to socio-economic changes and the educational promise of intercultural understanding through intercultural training. Secondly, it shows how aspects of context (e.g. interdisciplinary relations, disciplinary intricacies, hegemonic discourses, changes in the higher educational system and its relation to other social spheres) can impact upon the discourse and genre of social science in general and this particular field in particular.
4. **Hugh Tyrwhitt-Drake** (2005) This thesis offers a critique of Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) and suggests an alternative approach to doing CDA. In the first half (Chapters 1-5), I set CDA in context and examine some of the major theoretical issues that it raises. A consideration of two of the eponymous elements of CDA, criticism and analysis, highlights both the moral, emancipatory tone of much work in CDA and the privileging of interpretation. The assumptions that characterize much of this work are discussed along with the emphasis on context and historical background, which is found to be largely wanting. A consideration

of some of the problems with the central categorical apparatus of Fairclough's CDA leads into a discussion of the role of tradition, orthodoxy and values in the analysis of discourse. Aspects of Karl Popper's critical rationalist approach are introduced as a means of strengthening the theoretical basis of the endeavour. The bulk of the second half (Chapters 6-9) comprises four case studies, in which research work conducted in political, media, colonial and institutional discourse is evaluated, and textual analysis of the type I propose carried out. One of the central tenets of mainstream CDA, the claim that textual tension, or ambivalence, is evidenced by generic hybridity, is critiqued and challenged. It is believed that a CDA which includes more rigorous linguistic analysis and which is more sensitive to the context in which texts are produced is commensurate with a reinvigorated discipline that values and promotes intellectual excellence while heeding the voices of the participants. By drawing upon Critical Discourse Analysis as a theoretical stance and a

5. **Josie Ann Lauritsen** (2006) this study examines constructs of literacy and literacy education embedded in policy documents related to the United Nations Decades of Literacy (1990–2000 and 2003–2012) and argues that two important shifts related to discourse occur between the policies. The first shift is manifest in the construction of literacy as a concept and reflects the rising influence of New Literacy Studies (NLS), a body of research that emphasizes the plural ,contextual, “ideological” (Street, 1993) nature of literacy as social practice. The second shift is marked by the intensification of the discourse of “new capitalism ”Fairclough, 2003; Gee, Hull, & Lankshear, 1996), which focuses on the societalization of economic globalization. In the “interdiscursive”

(Fairclough, 2003) (relationship between these two shifts, the discourse of new capitalism circumscribes features of the emerging “ideological” constructs of literacy, steering the policy’s agenda toward neo-liberalist ends. In clarifying discursive relationships in these influential policies, this study contributes to an emerging body of scholarship (see Street, 2003) that connects socio-cultural models of literacy to the discursive production of meaning in institutional literacy work. methodological path, a corpus of 24 academic articles published in this area is analyzed in relation to the recontextualization of socio-economic changes (presences and absences of social actors, processes and evaluation), the legitimation of educational goals through reference to these changes, the conceptualization of key terms (like culture, the other etc.), the implications of these theoretical decisions for the possibility of increased, mutual understanding and the form of academic writing(argumentation, debate, genre change). While the thesis aims to identify specific discursive and generic patterns, open them to contestation, and to explain their presence in these texts, it is also strongly normative and discusses questions related to the changing understanding of the nature, form and function of academic knowledge production in society.

- 6. Talaat Pasha (2011)** This study examines how Islamists are socially, discursively and linguistically represented in the Egyptian newspaper *al-Ahram*. The main question of this study is what would the Egyptian government do to halt the Brothers’ political growth and potential threat? To answer this question, the study uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how Islamists are represented in FrontPage news reports in the Egyptian newspaper *al-Ahram*, in 2000 and 2005. The analysis first examines both

discursive and social practices related to the Muslim Brotherhood. This analysis examines the process of news making, role of ideology, history of Islamism, and type[s] of relationships between Islamists and the regimes. Second, the news reports are analyzed linguistically in terms of Idealized Reader (IR) framework, transitivity, sourcing, lexical choices and presupposition. The analysis leads to the conclusion that the Egyptian regimes have been practicing a constant and systematic strategy of exclusionary nature towards the Muslim Brotherhood. This exclusion has been implemented through the use of sheer power (detention, prison, and military tribunals) and through soft power (media negative representation) as well. Van Dijk's *ideological square* (1998) is found well-suited to describe the relationship between the Egyptian regime and Islamists: *we* are good and *they* are bad. The analysis of *al-Ahram* data, supplemented by analyzing other news sources, shows that:

- a. Almost all the accusations of the Egyptian government against the Muslim Brothers are unfounded.
- b. *al-Ahram* uses the technique of silence to conceal the *good* aspect of the Muslim Brotherhood.
- c. Islamists, in contrast with what is said about them, are willing to participate in democratic and civil society, and
- d. There is a relation between the discourse on Islamism and Orientalism. The negative representation, the study also concludes, is explained by the government's fear of Islamists as a political threat, its desire to maintain the West's support, and the continuation of Orientalist discourse.

7. Mona Moufahim (2007) this thesis develops an in-depth understanding of a specific case at the intersection of extreme right

politics, marketing and language. More specifically, the research focuses on a Flemish extreme right party, the Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang which provides a rich site of enquiry for the analysis of political communications, marketing strategies and discursive processes. Critical discourse analysis of the verbal and visual elements of Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang publications reveals, on three levels, the strategic use of lexical, rhetorical and other linguistic devices to brand and differentiate the Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang from other political parties. The thesis demonstrates that the Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang manages to legitimate its political product by dismissing unfavourable features (such as racism and xenophobia), and repackaging them (as nationalist) for a wider audience as a ready-to-consume product that achieves electoral success. The main contributions of the thesis are fourfold. First, the research provides a marketing-related explanation of the success of the Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang. The pervasiveness of the Vlaams Blok/Vlaams Belang's discourse in Belgian politics makes the analysis of the party interesting in its own right. The critical discursive analysis reveals the underlying market-orientation of the party and the methods and techniques that the party uses to communicate and persuade. Second, this research demonstrates that marketing can be used to advance an ideological discourse that places consumption in a central position in people's lives. The application of critical discourse analysis thus provides a novel and valuable contribution to the understanding of political marketing. Third, the thesis sets the stage for furthering understanding of how marketing is deployed with increasing sophistication outside its traditional, commercial domain, and, more specifically, in politics. Finally, critical discourse analysis has an

emancipatory goal in uncovering ideologies, and providing a voice to the silenced and the oppressed. This thesis is located firmly within that tradition with political reflexivity implicit throughout.

8. **Ilze Lande**, (2010) This Master's Thesis "The Role of Critical Discourse Analysis in the Translation of Political Texts" is based on the integration of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in Translation Studies (TS). CDA has become an independent field within linguistics and it is continuously adapted to new phenomena, one of them being TS. The existing research in the respective field consists of a cluster of different approaches and does not provide an applicable framework that may be used as an auxiliary tool in the translation process for the analysis of source texts (ST) and target texts (TT). Thus, the main aim of this thesis is to create a set of CDA guidelines, combining the CDA framework by Norman Fairclough (1989) with the existing approaches of CDA within TS created by Basil Hatim and Ian Mason (1990; 1997) and Christina Schäffner (1997; 2002; 2003; 2004), as well as to prove that CDA may be a useful tool in the determination of the social and situational context, power relations and ideological struggle during the translation process of political texts.

The main objectives of this thesis are: to work out a framework of CDA, apply the framework for the analysis of the ST and TT and to analyze the translators' choices in the TT on the text-linguistic level. The methods applied in this thesis include critical review of the existing secondary literature on CDA within TS, creation of the CDA framework, application of the theoretical guidelines to the ST and TT, comparative analysis of the ST and TTs and data collection for the empirical part of this research. The data consist of a ST (in English) in the form of a political interview and TTs in the form of

10 translations (4 in Danish and 6 in Latvian). The results obtained in this research proved the fact that the application of CDA for the analysis of the ST and TT helps the translator to become aware of the genre conventions, social and situational context of the ST and TT, and outlines the formation of power and ideological relations on the text-linguistic level. This thesis consists of the theoretical and empirical part conveyed in 7 chapters, introduction and conclusion, list of abbreviations and 12 appendices.

- 9. Jeyaseelan Gnanaseelan(2008) A Discourse Analysis of Ethnic Conflict and Peace in the Editorials of English Newspapers** Discourse constitutes power in constructing ideational, textual and interpersonal constructs which are ideological. It can transmit and even legitimize power in society. In the post-war development scenario, the editorials of Sri Lankan national newspapers should develop constructive discourse on politics and development to make a positive impact on legislative changes. This paper reveals subtle representation of ethno nationalism in the editorials in the Sri Lankan English newspapers. The study focuses on whether the media has been a part of the problem or a part of the solution to the Sri Lankan conflict. Since newspaper and editorial discourses are the constructions of journalists and editors of the elites, community biased ideologies are traceable in the linguistic expressions which are often ‘revealed in mild forms’. This case study uses Social Constructionist approach (qualitative), mainly discourse analysis, which aims at the shared meanings and on how they are produced on ethnic conflict and peace by investigating the themes, structures and strategies of an editorial of national newspapers to arrive at its linguistically embedded ideological and attitudinal positions.

According to the researcher all these above studies have a relation and similarities with this current study.

Summary:

In literature reviews the researcher shows some concepts and ideas about discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis. In this survey the researcher found that there are many linguists who have their concepts and ideas about discourse. To conclude that the researcher found some related studies which gave the general thoughts and ideas.

Chapter Three

Methodology of the Study

3.0 Introduction

In conducting this research, the researcher follows several steps to process the data they are:

3.1 Method of the study

The researcher uses eclectic method; descriptive analytical method, observational method and qualitative method.. The researcher employs inference from the texts deductively and inductively. The researcher uses Obama's inaugurations speech as a sample.

3.2. Collecting the Data

The source of the data is taken from the recorded video and a script of Obama's inauguration speeches. In collecting the data, the researcher used observational method, which is the method of collecting data by doing an observation of the language that is used in this research directly. The researcher also used note-taking technique, which is a technique by taking note for all the data that is found.

In the process of collecting the data, here are some procedures which have been done. The researcher has attempted to use transcripts of the U.S Presidential Speech. Then, the researcher listens and watches the recorded video of Obama's inauguration speeches. Also the researcher reads the transcript of the speech repeatedly in several times and identifies metaphor in it. After that, the researcher analyzes the meaning of metaphors that are used by Barack Obama.

3.3 Analyzing the Data

In this research, the researcher analyzed the data using Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model for CDA consists three inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse. These three dimensions are:

1. The object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts).
2. The processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing /speaking designing and reading/listening/viewing by human subjects).
3. The socio-historical conditions which govern these processes.

According to Fairclough (1989, 1995) each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis:

1. text analysis (description)
2. processing analysis (interpretation)
3. social analysis (explanation).

Chapter Four

Analysis and Discussion

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher discusses and analyses the data and this is done with aim of achieving intended objectives of the study.

4.1 Analysis of texts according to the questions of the study:

Question One:

The aim of this question is to see the linguistic mechanisms employed by Obama to manufacture discourse that endowed him. The following discussion and analysis show the responses to this question positive.

Obama uses change as an abstraction of himself and his victory when he says:

*“It's been a long time coming, but tonight, because of what we did on this day, in this election, at this defining moment, **change** has come to America. This victory alone is not the **change** we seek -- it is only the chance for us to make that **change**. For that is the true genius of America – that America can **change**” (Obama. 2008).*

However, in light of the fact that Obama has won the election, change must be sent in new way in the event that it is to keep up its currency. Obama names a normal American by means of arrangement, who in light of her age has really seen battle for the duration of her life as an American. Nixon, while genuine, is used by means of symbolization for change.

*“But one that's on my mind tonight is about **a woman** who cast **her** ballot in Atlanta She's a lot like the millions of others who stood in line to make their voice heard in this election except for one thing -- **Ann Nixon Cooper is 106 years old**. And this year, in this election, she touched*

*her finger to a screen, and cast her vote, because after 106 years in America, through the best of times and the darkest of hours, she knows how America can **change**. So tonight, let us ask ourselves -- if our children should live to see the next century; if my daughters should be so lucky to live as long as Ann Nixon Cooper, what **change** will they see?" (Obama 2008).*

Inside of Obama's discourse the social activities of **promise** and **believe** are used to make importance inside of his content as methods for increasing Obama's character that has as of now been dreamy as change. This usage is critical on the grounds that a **promise** must be made with someone else, however **believe** can be acknowledged through somebody or something, for example, a thought or higher force. usage of **promise** appear to be used as semiotic activity acknowledged as intuitive on account of the more profound importance the occasions pass on and the need of a human operators, while **believe** is used as semiotic activity acknowledged as instrumental due to its compatibility with human or item objectives.

*"This moment - this election - is our chance to keep, in the 21st century, the American **promise** alive. And it is on their behalf that I intend to win this election and keep our **promise** alive as President of the United States. Let us keep that **promise** - that American promise - and in the words of Scripture hold firmly, without wavering, to the hope that we confess. Instead, it is that American spirit - that American **promise** - that pushes us forward even when the path is uncertain; that binds us together in spite of our differences; that makes us fix our eye not on what is seen, but what is unseen, that better place around the bend" (Obama. 2008).*

Obama uses promise to not just give crisp intending to the picture of the American Dream, yet to additionally enroll his voters in finding more noteworthy importance inside of government as acknowledged through him. Through this usage, promise is executed to connote change that

Obama will achieve as president. Furthermore, while promise is chosen as a methods for giving more profound importance inside of the race, it is acknowledged by usage of material procedures. Such choice permits the delineation of promise to be experienced not as a thought, but rather as an apparently unmistakable, yet still unique, activity that the voter must take part in. In the accompanying illustrations, accept is actualized in conjunction with Obamas' confirmations of the American promise as an insightful response to substantiate the reasons or importance for voter backing of Obama and their dismissal of Republican government. Are voters required to vote, as well as have confidence in the promise that will come to fruition as change through Obama's administration, even after he has left office.

*“And because of what you said—because you decided that change must come to Washington; because you **believed** that this year must be different than all the rest; because you chose to listen not to your doubts or your fears but to your greatest hopes and highest aspirations, tonight we mark the end of one historic journey with the beginning of another—a journey that will bring a new and better day to America. All of you chose to support a candidate you **believe** in deeply. Because if we are willing to work for it, and fight for it, and **believe** in it, then I am absolutely certain that generations from now, we will be able to look back and tell our children that this was the moment when we began to provide care for the sick and good jobs to the jobless; this was the moment when the rise of the oceans began to slow and our planet began to heal; this was the moment when we ended a war and secured our nation and restored our image as the last, best hope on earth” (Obama. 2008).*

As a method for uniting the nation under one representation in the United State of America, Obama makes a solid purpose of foregrounding according to their cases by classifying them for what they are when he states:

*“It's the answer spoken by **young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, Native***

American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled -- Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America” (Obama. 2008).

According to respondents, discussion and analysis in this study agreed on the statement of the first hypothesis. This proved the first hypothesis. The result of the hypothesis proved that linguistic mechanisms employed by Obama to manufacture discourse that endowed him.

Question Two

The aim of this question is to see the linguistics and grammatical elements those are used in Obama's speech which influences his audience. The following discussion and analysis shows the responses to this question positive.

The researcher is going to analyze Obama's use of the personal pronouns. The first interesting use of personal pronouns is discovered ahead of schedule in the discourse. Obama discusses the estimations of America and says;

“Amy is right. This is not who we are. We are not a country that rewards hard work and perseverance with bankruptcies and foreclosures. We are not a country that allows major challenges to go unsolved and unaddressed while our people suffer needlessly” (Obama. 2008).

By using *we* here Obama in my opinion makes the audience feel a part of what is going on, part of the reality he is presenting. Obama also does something else and that is that he creates a common bond with the audience and I believe that by doing this Obama is not seen as a politician talking to ordinary Americans, but as an American talking to other Americans. What this accomplishes, in my opinion is that the audience will see Obama in a more positive light and feel that Obama is one of them.

By using **we** here Obama makes the audience feel a part of what is going on, part of the truth he is exhibiting. Obama additionally accomplishes something else and that will be that he makes a typical bond with the audience and I trust that by doing this Obama is not seen as a politician talking to ordinary Americans, however as an American conversing with other Americans. What this fulfills, as I would like to think is that the audience will see Obama in a more positive light and feel that Obama is one of them. An example of this is when Obama says;

“But we also have to demand greater efficiencies from our health care system. Today, we pay almost twice as much for health care per person than other industrialized nations, and too much of it has nothing to do with patient care”(Obama. 2008).

Here Obama says that we, which means Americans, pay a lot for health care, therefore Americans need to request more noteworthy efficiencies and Obama continues;

“First, we will reduce costs for business and their workers by picking up the tab for some of the most expensive illnesses and conditions”(Obama. 2008).

Obama could have said I will reduce costs, yet he uses **we**. There is a decent association here between **we** pay a lot of and **we** will decrease costs. As I would see it Obama by using **we** proceeds with the thought that human services is an issue that influences all Americans and everyone is a piece of the solution.

There are quite not very many cases of Obama using the personal pronoun **I** as a part of the discourse. There is a section where Obama highlights his own beliefs;

“But I also believe that every American has the right to affordable health care. I believe that the millions of Americans who can't take their children to a doctor when they get sick have that right. I believe that people like Amy and Lane who are on the brink of losing everything they own have that right. And I believe that no

amount of industry profiteering and lobbying should stand in the way of that right any longer”(Obama. 2008).

The researcher believe that the essential reason Obama uses **I** here is on the grounds that it is a part of an ethos bid that is intended to demonstrate that he is a decent good individual, a great American that won't acknowledge that human services is making Americans endure. Alternate illustrations of Obama using **I** are again as a part of conjunction with ethos advances where it is essentially regular that Obama highlights himself.

The expression "**Yes, we can**" is a standout amongst the most persuasive expressions in the discourses of Barack Obama. He has uses this expression as a powerful rhetorical device in his presidential campaign:

“Yes, we can, to opportunity and prosperity. Yes, we can heal this nation. Yes, we can repair this world. Yes, we can” (Obama. 2008).

Third person (they)

In Obama's discourse the third person references (**they**) are deliberately used with a specific end goal to portray you as an expanded element epitomizing distinctive parts in the society, an element who moved from uncertainty and apprehension towards the boldness of the present. Obama starts his discourse by speaking to the third person reference anybody which speaks to a social substance in uncertainty.

“who still doubts, who still wonders, who still questions”(Obama. 2008).

Through the third person references, the content depicts the second individual as a patient person.*(people who waited),*

But convinced (*they believed*). The use of a double-sided transitivity structure of material and mental actions related by a causal relationship (*because*) contributes to enrich the second person as an agent of actions supported by a reflexive attitude.

Yet, persuaded (*they believed*). The use of a twofold sided transitivity structure of material and mental activities related by a causal relationship (*because*) adds to improve the second person as an agent of actions supported by a reflexive attitude.

“People who waited three hours and four ... because they believed”(Obama. 2008).

Represent the *you* who despite their doubts, acted, that is, voted. The diversified identity of the third person is characterized as far as of age, economic status, ideological and sexual orientation, race, nationality and physical conditions.

“young, and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled”(Obama. 2008). Every one of them make up the national character of *you, Americans*, who transmit the principal direct depiction of the main person plural to the world.

“Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been just a collection of individuals or a collection of red states and blue states). A hesitant and frightened they (those who’ve been told ... to be cynical and fearful and doubtful”(Obama. 2008).

Advances until turning into a strong entity

“working men and women, the young people who rejected the myth of the generation’s apathy who left their homes and

their families ... the not-so-young people who braved...
”(Obama. 2008).

With a specific end goal to underline the experienced way of the second person,, the discourse takes after an efficient transitivity development of mental procedures (*left, knock*) legitimating their part as operators of material activities (*rejected, braved*). The *you* of the past is likewise depicted as a devoted element strong determination.

“from the millions of Americans who volunteered and organized and proved” (Obama. 2008).

The message continues by presenting key matters in American politics issues through the portrayal of *they*: a reference to war conflicts.

“brave Americans waking up in the deserts of Iraq ... to risk their lives for us” (Obama. 2008).

and to issues of money, health and education

“mothers and fathers who will lie awake ... and wonder how they’ll make the mortgage or pay their doctors’ bills or save enough for their child’s college education” (Obama. 2008).

Be that as it may, regardless of the eager extent of matters of concern, Obama is strategically wary, as he keeps alluding to the feeble doubtful *you* by presenting him periodically in the content.

“Many who won’t agree with every decision or policy I make”(Obama. 2008).

This third person reference speaks to the powerless and doubtful *you* of the present and the future, who takes after the weak *you* of the past, yet restricts the genuine *you* of the present and what's to come.

Second person (you)

The second person (**you**) in Obama's discourse speaks to the audience as a person who assumed a significant part in the past and later past, and added to the making of *we*. The second person shows up toward the start of the message as possessive adjective word *your* (*tonight is your answer*). The start of the message endeavors to comprehend the questions of the second person and to place them in the present time, as the purpose of flight for what's to come (*tonight is your answer*). The second person as subject is introduced in

“And I know you didn’t do this just to win an election. And I know you didn’t do it for me. You did it because you understand the enormity of the task that lies ahead”(Obama. 2008).

The text refutes the past keeping in mind the end goal to restore another request of things through the twofold sided transitivity example of material and mental procedures. The part of the second person as operators (*did*) is again bolstered by a cognitive verb (*understand*) which approves his activities and which depicts him a conscious entity. Subsequently, the second person **you** shows up as object pronoun in transitivity structures commanded by person singular *I* as agent

“I promise you, I will listen to you, I will ask you...”(Obama. 2008).

Through them, the speaker keeps up the informative association with the recipient, particularly by method for verbal procedures, and makes him share his sentiment gratefulness and backing. You is not an agent of material procedures of the present or the future; it is a specialists of the past who has added to the achievement of this evening's you, the you who turns into an intense specialists of the present and the future, not as a second individual, but rather through *we*. Yet, **you** is introduced as a

wellspring of present reflection, mindful of his obligations in the present for the undertaking that lies ahead (*you understand*).

First person plural (*we*)

In Obama's discourse the *you* of the present and the future has created another entity, the you in power who, related to the first person I, produces the first person plural (*we*). In its first sign, *we* shows up inside of a negative structure in the past so as to later strengthen its portrayal in the present:

“We have never been just a collection of individuals or a collection of red states and blue states. We are, and always will be, the United States of America”(Obama. 2008).

A long way from being imagined as a minor gathering of people, *we* speaks to a national unit whose depiction regarding age, status, ideological and sexual orientation, colour, nation and physical conditions has been already given through the depiction of the third person.

The transitivity structures of *they* have arranged the domain for the primary appearance of *we* in its devoted part, however likewise, the negation of the past has additionally arranged the ground for the relationship of first person plural to the present and the future (*are, and always will be*).

We speaks to an amalgamated distinction, *they* (specifically, *you*) and *I*, which fits in with the present and future. *We* is the element which binds together past, present and future. Future desires decide the specialists part of *we*(*what we can achieve*), however accentuating the present as the purpose of departure

“tonight ... this date in this election at this defining moment”(Obama. 2008).

also, keeping up a connection with the past so as to approve his part as an agent of change

“But tonight, because of what we did on this date in this election at this defining moment change has come to America”(Obama. 2008).

Once the characters of the third and second person have been characterized, *we* gets to be noticeable as a principle member in the text. Obama emphasizes unequivocally the relationship of *we* with the present and the future, and relegates to it the triple-sided transitivity structure of material (*celebrate*), existential (*stand*) and mental (*know*) forms. *We* is an agent of reflection and activity which comes into perspective today evening time

“As we celebrate tonight, we know the challenges that tomorrow... we stand here tonight, we know...”(Obama. 2008)

The text also presents the first person plural as a participant who is cautious about the future (*may not*), but nonetheless displaying a strong determination (*will*):

The text also shows the first person plural as a member who is careful about the future (*may not*), but rather in any case showing a solid determination (*will*):

“We may not get there in one year or even in one term. But, ...we will get there. I promise you we as a people will get there”(Obama. 2008).

Second, third and first person plural are interpreted as a cohesive element of power looking ahead to what's to come.

“I promise you we as a people will get there”(Obama. 2008).

The first person plural is enriched by extra parts. *We* represents *you* in obligation, an operators of control that develops in the present and undertakings to the future, a social on-screen character achieving change.

“the challenges we face ... the change we seek ... for us to make that change” (Obama. 2008).

The Obama who confronts the doubtful ones, underpins peace and restricts the enemy is shown through a play of third, second and first person plural interweaved with past, present and future:

“to those who would tear the world down: We will defeat you. To those who seek peace and security we support you. And to all those who have wondered if America’s beacon still burns as bright: Tonight we proved...”(Obama. 2008).

Wecomes into play *tonight*

“we celebrate tonight, we stand here tonight”(Obama. 2008).

It is the *you* and *I* with power and capacity (*can*) to accomplish tasks and above all, change

It is the *you* and *I* with force and limit (*can*) to perform tasks and above all, change

“We can achieve, challenges we face, the change we seek”
(Obama. 2008).

Capacity and achievement both emphasized all through the message, in spite of the fact that Obama consolidates these thoughts toward the end of the text through the unified identity represented by *we*

“Yes we can, Yes we can, Yes we can” (Obama. 2008).

This linguistic structure rises a method for passing on strong feeling of confidence and amazingness on the recipient directly.

Abstract nouns to refer to perceptions

At the point when Obama discusses America's recognition on “their supremacy”, he uses the words “greatness” in “*the greatness of our nation*” and “*the course of American history*” as a “*journey*”.

Abstract nouns to refer to moral qualities

Obama uses abstract nouns to refer to moral qualities such as:

1. "... (we gather because we have chosen) **hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord ...)**".
2. "**With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come**".
3. "... **our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness**".

Obama uses abstract nouns to refer to social qualities

"... they knew that our power grows through its prudent use; our security emanates from the justness of our cause, the force of our example, the tempering qualities of humility and restraint" (Obama. 2008).

Obama uses adjectives both attributively and predicatively:

1. "... during **rising** tides of prosperity and **still** waters of peace".
2. "... we come to proclaim an end to the **petty** grievances and **false** promises ... and **worn out** dogmas ...".
3. "We remain a **young** nation, but in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside **childish** things. The time has come to reaffirm our **enduring** spirit; to choose our **better** history; to carry that **precious** gift, that **noble** idea, passed on from generation to generation : the **God given** promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their **full** measure of happiness".

He also used adjectives predicatively:

4. "We the people have remained **faithful** to the ideals of our forbearers, and **true** to our founding documents".
5. "Our workers are **no less productive** than when this crisis began".
6. "Our minds are **no less inventive**...Our capacity remains **undiminished**".

Verbs

Obama used helping verb “**will**” to demonstrate his exceptionally solid determinations that would emerge in his administration as follows:

*“But know this, America – they **will be met**”;*

He urges his audience to pick up their self-assurance to fabricate their future as communicated in the directive illocutionary act:

“... we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves up, and begin again the work of remaking America”.

*“...we **will act** ...” ; “We **will** build the roads and bridges ...”; “We **will** restore science to its rightful place”; “We **will** harness the sun and the winds and the soils to fuel our cars and run our factories, and we **will** transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demand of a new age. All this we can do. And all this we **will do**” (Obama. 2008).*

This demonstrates the new President asserts that he and his up and coming administration are sufficiently solid to do as they wish. The same helping verbs are used seriously when Obama states his solid determination to get the new outside air in the foreign policy of his administration:

1. *“We **will begin** to responsibly leave Iraq to its people ...”*
2. *“With old friends and former foes, we **will work** tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat ...”*
3. *“We **will not apologize** for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense ...”*
4. *“... you cannot outlast us, and we **will defeat** you”.*

Adverbs

Obama rarely used adverb in his speech.

Grammatical Categories

Types of sentences

Obama's discourse depends most seriously on the use of compounding, i.e. the use of compound sentences coordinating so as to involve a few statements joined conjunctions.

Elaboration of ideas by the use of compounding

Obama uses entirely seriously the use of coordinating conjunction thus as to associate a clauses of equal rank to bring about compound sentences that are equipped for communicating his over-burden thoughts. Also thoughts communicated in Nouns or NPs, in verbs or VPs might be coordinated by the use of coordinating conjunction and. The employments of coordinating conjunctions are ample both at the statement and expression levels, in addition to other things, as follows:

1. “... *our school fails too many; **and** each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries ...*”.
2. “*For us, they packed their worldly possessions **and** travelled across oceans in a search of a new life*”.
3. “*For the world has changed, **and** we must change with it*”.
4. “... *let us brave once more the icy currents, **and** endure what storms may come*”.

Notice that the expression “*as well as*” is likewise used to connect the past provision to the following one.

5. “*I thank President Bush for his service to our nation, **as well as** the generosity **and** cooperation he has shown throughout this transition*”.

The use of coordinating conjunctions to join generally nouns/NPs or verbs/VPs is also gainful to demonstrate Obama's over-burden thoughts that may not be adequately caught and communicated just in a solitary NP or noun, or in a single VP or verb. The accompanying shows how two NPs or nouns are joined by the use of conjunctions:

6. *“These words have been spoken during the rising tides of prosperity **and** the still waters of peace”.*
7. *“Our nation is at war, against a far-reaching network of violence **and** hatred”.*
8. *“... we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances **and** false promises, the recriminations **and** worn out dogmas, that for far too long have strangled our politics”.*
9. *“This is the price **and** the promise of citizenship”.*
10. *“This is the meaning of our liberty **and** our creed ...”.*
11. *“But those values upon which our success depends – hard work **and** honesty, courage **and** fair play, tolerance **and** curiosity, loyalty **and** patriotism – these things are old”.*

Conjunction **and** is also regularly used to join verbs or VPs in a manner that might function to stretch the power communicated by the initial verb or VP as follows:

12. *“... but also our collective failure to make hard choices **and** prepare the nation for a new age”.*

Conjunction **and** is used to associate both verb/VP and nouns /NPs that all together might make a more grounded and forceful production of the entire sentence:

13. *“For us they fought **and** died, in places like Concord **and** Gettysburg; Normandy **and** KheSahn”.*
14. *“We are a nation of Christians **and** Muslims, Jews and Hindus – **and** non-believers. We are shaped by every language **and** culture ...; **and** because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war **and** segregation, **and** emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united ...”. In the case of: “...; **and** because we have tasted ...”*

As cited above, Obama used the conjunction *and* for elaboration by adding more clause to the previous one.

Elaborations of ideas by the use of complex sentences

A good orator is typically completely mindful of the weakness of long sentences to incite his or her audience's interest. Long sentences might have a tendency to lose gathering of people's enthusiasm for that it might sound too level and hard to understand.

Obama explains his thoughts by the use of complex sentences made by the use of relative clauses:

1. "... *each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet*".
2. "... *we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort*"
3. "... *and why a man whose father less than sixty years ago might not even greater cooperation and understanding between nations*".
have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath".

Apposition

Apposition as the use of a development set close by another, however in some sense proportionate is amply used. They are basically being free and non-prohibitive, however semantically entirely capable to intensify the meaning passed on as found, in addition to other things, in:

1. "*The state of the economy calls for action, **bold and swift**, and we will act – **not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth***".
2. "*And yet, at this moment – **a moment that will define a generation** – it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all*".

According to respondents, discussion and analysis in this study agreed on the statement of the first hypothesis. This proved the first

hypothesis. The result of the hypothesis proved that the linguistics and grammatical elements those are used in Obama's speech influences his audience.

Question Three:

The aim of this question is to see to what extent president Obama use rhetoric speech? The following discussion and analysis shows the responses to this question positive.

Obama's inauguration speech uses metaphorical language—a language that can't not be taken literally; it is uses as a method for saying an option that is other than the ordinary way. The different methods of expression used are for the most part metaphor and not very many in the types of synecdoche and metonymy.

Context and Cohesion

Obama uses Pronouns intensively as follows:

1. “*That **we** are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. **Our** nation is at war **Our** economy is badly weakened ... but also **our** collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age ... **Our** health care is too costly; **our** school fail too many ... the ways **we** use energy strengthen **our** adversaries and threaten **our** planet” (Obama. 2008).*
2. “*Today I say to you that **the challenges** we face are real. **They** are serious and **they** are many. **They** will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this, America – **they** will be met” (Obama. 2008).*

Ellipsis

Obama uses Ellipsis as cohesive devices as follows:

1. *Homes **have been** lost; jobs \emptyset shed; businesses \emptyset shuttered.*

2. *For they have forgotten what this country has already done; what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to a common purpose, and a necessity of to courage”.*

Substitution of a descriptive phrase

Meaning associations are fortified by reiterations of words and phrases, or by more than once using words from the same semantic field:

*“Forty-four Americans have now taken **the presidential oath**. **The words** have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace”.*

Context

All through the speech, Obama set himself as a modest subject endowed to convey the office of presidency which was made conceivable by the penances of their progenitors. He addressed to his audience as his securely attached countrymen in the use of the pronoun "we"

Metaphor

Metaphor is used to compare things that are essentially unlike. Such uses are intended to say something more vividly and forcefully (Perrine, 1988, p. 565).

At the point when alluding to the great times the presidential pledge was spoken– when the American economy is at its top position and the nation appreciates the full degree of peace, Obama depicts them:

“The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace”.

At the point when discussing the terrible times, he describes.

“Yet, every so often the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms”.

At the point when alluding to the course of American history, Obama uses the metaphor “a journey” as in *“Our **journey** has never been one of short-cuts or settling for less”, and the future that Americans have*

to travel through as “the road”: “As we consider **the road** that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans ...”(Obama. 2008).

At the point when arguing the joined power of all Americans to confront challenge in the future, Obama expresses as follow:

“... let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come”.

Metonymy

The essence of metonymy is the use of something closely related for the thing actually meant (Perrine, 1988, p. 571). Obama expresses as follow:

1. “What **the cynics** fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them ...” (= the opposing stale politicians).
2. “... we remember **those brave Americans** ...” (=The Americans in service).

Synecdoche

Obama also uses synecdoche in his speech

Synecdoche is basically the use of the part for the whole (Perrine, 1988, p. 571).

He describes it in a phrase as: “a sapping of confidence across our land” and “a nagging fear that America’s decline is inevitable”. Obama also uses place names to refer respectively to wars in: “For us, they fought and died, in places like **Concord** and **Gettysburg**; **Normandy** and **Khe Sahn**”.

Simile

Obama expresses simile as follow:

“They have something to tell us today, **just as** the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages”.

According to respondents, discussion and analysis in this study agreed on the statement of the first hypothesis. This proved the first hypothesis. The result of the hypothesis proved that president Obama use rhetoric speech.

Chapter Five

Conclusion, Recommendation and Suggestions for Further Study

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusion of the study based on the analysis and discussion of the data which carried out in chapter five.

5.2 Main findings

The following offers the main findings:

1. Barack Obama has been effective in his political career by virtue of his wonderful rhetorical abilities.
2. The choice of expression in Obama's inauguration speech is investigated regarding lexical classes, syntactic classifications, figures of speech, and context and cohesion:
 - a. Nouns or NP used as a part of the discourse are simple, however they do list the needs, for example, the economy, energy, education, vitality and a solid national resistance.
 - b. Adjectives are used both attributively and predicatively. Used attributively, the adjectives words are intended to encourage indicate the significance as communicated by the headword.
 - c. Obama uses multiple illocutionary acts by using helping verb “will” that mean extremely solid determinations also use coordinating conjunction *and* to connect some main clauses.
 - d. Obama uses repeated compounding and explains his ideas by the use of complex sentences.
 - e. The figures of speech used are generally metaphor and not very many in the types of synecdoche, metonymy, and simile.

- f. Cohesive linkages are made by the use of pronouns, ellipsis, redundancies of words and phrases.

5.3 Recommendations

The researcher recommends the following:

1. Students of linguistics should make discussions about different speech practices and strategies.
2. Students should make observe gender differences in language use in a specific environment of TV interviews.
3. New trends should be offered some theoretical concepts and theories that are helpful in order to understand better all aspects of discourse analysis.

5.4 Suggestions for further study

The researcher suggests the following:

1. To carry out similar studies on critical discourse analysis on some politicians' speech.
2. To determine the function of rhetorical criticism in knowledge building and meaning making.
3. To detail and explain the ways in which socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies can be manufactured through reproduction.

5.5 Summary

This chapter summarized the result of the data analysis and discussion. It checked the hypotheses and came to conclusion that Barack Obama has been effective in his political career by virtue of his wonderful rhetorical abilities. The choice of expression in Obama's inauguration speech is investigated regarding lexical classes, syntactic classifications, figures of speech, and context and cohesion.

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Appendix

Election night remarks Chicago, Illinois, November 4, 2008

If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible; who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer.

It's the answer told by lines that stretched around schools and churches in numbers this nation has never seen; by people who waited three hours and four hours, many for the very first time in their lives, because they believed that this time must be different; that their voice could be that difference.

It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled-Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America.

It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be cynical, and fearful, and doubtful of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day.

It's been a long time coming, but tonight, because of what we did on this day, in this election, at this defining moment, change has come to America.

I was never the likeliest candidate for this office. We didn't start with much money or many endorsements. Our campaign was not hatched in the halls of Washington - it began in the backyards of Des Moines and the living rooms of Concord and the front porches of Charleston.

It was built by working men and women who dug into what little savings they had to give five dollars and ten dollars and twenty dollars to this cause. It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. This is your victory.

The road ahead will be long. Our climb will be steep. We may not get there in one year or even one term, but America - I have never been more hopeful than I am tonight that we will get there. I promise you - we as a people will get there.

There will be setbacks and false starts. There are many who won't agree with every decision or policy I make as President, and we know that government can't solve every problem. But I will always be honest with you about the challenges we face. I will listen to you, especially when we disagree. And above all, I will ask you to join in the work of remaking this nation the only way it's been done in America for two-hundred and twenty-one years - block by block, brick by brick, calloused hand by calloused hand.

And to those Americans whose support I have yet to earn - I may not have won your vote, but I hear your voices, I need your help, and I will be your President too. And to all those watching tonight from beyond our shores, from parliaments and palaces to those who are huddled around radios in the forgotten corners of our world—our stories are singular, but our destiny is shared, and a new dawn of American leadership is at hand. To those who would tear this world down—we will defeat you. To those who seek peace and security—we support you. And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright—tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope.

For that is the true genius of America—that America can change. Our union can be perfected. And what we have already achieved gives us hope for what we can and must achieve tomorrow.

This is our moment. This is our time—to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our kids; to restore prosperity and promote the cause of peace; to reclaim the American Dream and reaffirm that fundamental truth—that out of many, we are one; that while we breathe, we hope, and where we are met with cynicism, and doubt, and those who tell us that we can't, we will respond with that timeless creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes We Can.

“Tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope.”

The Inaugural Address, complete text Washington, DC, January 20, 2009

My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you've bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. I thank President Bush for his service to our nation, as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition. Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so often the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because We the People have remained faithful to the ideals of our forbearers, and true to our founding documents.

So it has been. So it must be with this generation of Americans.

That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war, against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost; jobs shed; businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly; our schools fail too many; and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet. These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. Less measurable but no less profound is a sapping of confidence across our land — a nagging fear that America's decline is inevitable, and the next generation must lower its sights.

Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real. They are serious and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this, America — they will be met.

On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord. On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn out dogmas, that for far too long have strangled our politics. We remain a young nation, but in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things. The time has come to reaffirm our

enduring spirit, to choose our better history, to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea, passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.

In reaffirming the greatness of our nation, we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. Our journey has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the faint-hearted, for those who prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of

riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things — some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor — who have carried us up the long, rugged path towards prosperity and freedom.

For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life.

For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West, endured the lash of the whip and plowed the hard earth.

For us, they fought and died, in places like Concord and Gettysburg, Normandy and Khe Sanh.

Time and again these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better life. They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions, greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction.

This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last month or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of standing pat, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions, that time has surely passed. Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America.

For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of the economy calls for action, bold and swift, and we will act — not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We will restore science to its rightful place, and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age. All this we can do. All this we will do.

Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions, who suggest that our system cannot tolerate too many big plans. Their memories are short. For they have forgotten what this country has already done, what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to common purpose, and necessity to courage.

What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them — that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply. The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works — whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move

forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end. And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account — to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day — because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government. Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched, but this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control — that a nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our Gross Domestic Product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart — not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good. As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our Founding Fathers ... Our Founding Fathers, faced with perils we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations. Those ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience's sake. And so to all other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born: Know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman, and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and we are ready to lead once more.

Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead, they knew that our power grows through its prudent use; our security emanates from the justness of our cause, the force of our example, the tempering qualities of humility and restraint.

We are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more, we can meet those new threats that demand even

“To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history; but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.”

greater effort — even greater cooperation and understanding between nations. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people, and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we will work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and roll back the specter of a warming planet. We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense, and for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say

to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken; you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.

For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus, and non-believers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass, that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve, that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself, and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace.

To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society's ills on the West: Know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy. To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history; but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.

To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow, to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to suffering outside our borders, nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it. As we consider the road that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who, at this very hour, patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains. They have something to tell us, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages. We honor them not only because they are the guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service, a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves. And yet, at this moment — a moment that will define a generation — it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all.

For as much as government can do and must do, it is ultimately the faith and determination of the American people upon which this nation relies. It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break, the selflessness of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job, which sees us through our darkest hours. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent's willingness to nurture a child, that finally decides our fate.

Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new. But those values upon which our success depends — honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity,

loyalty and patriotism — these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history. What is demanded then is a return to these truths. What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility — a recognition, on the part of every American, that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world, duties that we do not grudgingly accept but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character, than giving our all to a difficult task.

This is the price and the promise of citizenship. This is the source of our confidence — the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny. This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed, why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent mall, and why a man whose father less than sixty years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath.

So let us mark this day with remembrance, of who we are and how far we have traveled. In the year of America's birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river. The capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood. At a moment when the outcome of our revolution was most in doubt, the father of our nation ordered these words be read to the people:

“Let it be told to the future world ... that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive ... that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet [it].”

America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested, we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

Thank you. God bless you. And God Bless the United States of America.

Exploring the responsibilities of global citizenship Berlin, Germany, July 24, 2008

People of the world - look at Berlin! Look at Berlin, where Germans and Americans learned to work together and trust each other less than three years after facing each other on the field of battle.

Look at Berlin, where the determination of a people met the generosity of the Marshall Plan and created a German miracle; where a victory over tyranny gave rise to NATO, the greatest alliance ever formed to defend our common security.

Look at Berlin, where the bullet holes in the buildings and the somber stones and pillars near the Brandenburg Gate insist that we never forget our common humanity.

People of the world — look at Berlin, where a wall came down, a continent came together, and history proved that there is no challenge too great for a world that stands as one.

Sixty years after the airlift, we are called upon again. History has led us to a new crossroad, with new promise and new peril.

The fall of the Berlin Wall brought new hope. But that very closeness has given rise to new dangers - dangers that cannot be contained within the borders of a country or by the distance of an ocean.

In this new world, such dangerous currents have swept along faster than our efforts to contain them. That is why we cannot afford to be divided. No one nation, no matter how large or powerful, can defeat such challenges alone. None of us can deny these threats, or escape responsibility in meeting them. Yet, in the absence of Soviet tanks and a terrible wall, it has become easy to forget this truth. And if we're honest with each other, we know that sometimes, on both sides of the Atlantic, we have drifted apart, and forgotten our shared destiny.

In Europe, the view that America is part of what has gone wrong in our world, rather than a force to help make it right, has become all too common. In America, there are voices that deride and deny the importance of Europe's role in our security and our future. Both views miss the truth—that Europeans today are bearing new burdens and taking more responsibility in critical parts of the world; and that just as American bases built in the last century still help to defend the security of this continent, so does our country still sacrifice greatly for freedom around the globe.

Yes, there have been differences between America and Europe. No doubt, there will be differences in the future. But the burdens of global citizenship continue to bind us together. A change of leadership in Washington will not lift this burden. In this new century, Americans and Europeans alike will be required to do more - not less. Partnership and

cooperation among nations is not a choice; it is the one way, the only way, to protect our common security and advance our common humanity. That is why the greatest danger of all is to allow new walls to divide us from one another.

The walls between old allies on either side of the Atlantic cannot stand. The walls between the countries with the most and those with the least cannot stand. The walls between races and tribes; natives and immigrants; Christian and Muslim and Jew cannot stand. These now are the walls we must tear down.

History reminds us that walls can be torn down. But the task is never easy. True partnership and true progress requires constant work and sustained sacrifice. They require sharing the burdens of development and diplomacy; of progress and peace. They require allies who will listen to each other, learn from each other and, most of all, trust each other.

That is why America cannot turn inward. That is why Europe cannot turn inward. America has no better partner than Europe. Now is the time to build new bridges across the globe as strong as the one that bound us across the Atlantic. Now is the time to join together, through constant cooperation, strong institutions, shared sacrifice, and a global commitment to progress, to meet the challenges of the 21st century. And this is the moment when our nations - and all nations - must summon that spirit anew.

This is the moment when we must defeat terror and dry up the well of extremism that supports it. This threat is real and we cannot shrink from our responsibility to combat it. If we could create NATO to face down the Soviet Union, we can join in a new and global partnership to dismantle the networks that have struck in Madrid and Amman; in London and Bali; in Washington and New York. If we could win a battle of ideas against the communists, we can stand with the vast majority of Muslims who reject the extremism that leads to hate instead of hope.

This is the moment when we must renew our resolve to rout

“The walls between old allies on either side of the Atlantic cannot stand ... The walls between races and tribes; natives and immigrants; Christian and Muslim and Jew cannot stand. These now are the walls we must tear down...”

the terrorists who threaten our security in Afghanistan, and the traffickers who sell drugs on your streets. No one welcomes war. I recognize the enormous difficulties in Afghanistan. But my country and yours have a stake in seeing that NATO's first mission beyond Europe's borders is a success. For the people of Afghanistan, and for our shared security, the work must be done. America cannot do this alone. The Afghan people need our troops and your troops; our support and your support to defeat

the Taliban and al Qaeda, to develop their economy, and to help them rebuild their nation. We have too much at stake to turn back now.

This is the moment when we must renew the goal of a world without nuclear weapons. It is time to secure all loose nuclear materials; to stop the spread of nuclear weapons; and to reduce the arsenals from another era. This is the moment to begin the work of seeking the peace of a world without nuclear weapons.

This is the moment when every nation in Europe must have the chance to choose its own tomorrow free from the shadows of yesterday. In this century, we need a strong European Union that deepens the security and prosperity of this continent, while extending a hand abroad. In this century - in this city of all cities - we must reject the Cold War mind-set of the past, and resolve to work with Russia when we can, to stand up for our values when we must, and to seek a partnership

That extends across this entire continent. This is the moment when we must build on the wealth that open markets have created, and share its benefits more equitably. Trade has been a cornerstone of our growth and global development. But we will not be able to sustain this growth if it favors the few, and not the many. Together, we must forge trade that truly rewards the work that creates wealth, with meaningful protections for our people and our planet. This is the moment for trade that is free and fair for all.

This is the moment we must help answer the call for a new dawn in the Middle East. My country must stand with yours and with Europe in sending a direct message to Iran that it must abandon its nuclear ambitions. We must support the Lebanese who have marched and bled for democracy, and the Israelis and Palestinians who seek a secure and lasting peace. And despite past differences, this is the moment when the world should support the millions of Iraqis who seek to rebuild their lives, even as we pass responsibility to the Iraqi government and finally bring this war to a close.

This is the moment when we must come together to save this planet. Let us resolve that we will not leave our children a world where the oceans rise and famine spreads and terrible storms devastate our lands. Let us resolve that all nations — including my own — will act with the same seriousness of purpose as has your nation, and reduce the carbon we send into our atmosphere. This is the moment to give our children back their future. This is the moment to stand as one.

People of Berlin—and people of the world—the scale of our challenge is great. The road ahead will be long. But I come before you to say that we are heirs to a struggle for freedom. We are a people of improbable hope. With an eye toward the future, with resolve in our hearts, let us remember this history, and answer our destiny, and remake the world once again.

Rebuilding Our Alliances, Washington, DC, July 15, 2008

Sixty-one years ago, George Marshall announced the plan that would come to bear his name. Much of Europe lay in ruins. The United States faced a powerful and ideological enemy intent on world domination. This menace was magnified by the recently discovered capability to destroy life on an unimaginable scale. The Soviet Union didn't yet have an atomic bomb, but before long it would.

The challenge facing the greatest generation of Americans—the generation that had vanquished fascism on the battlefield—was how to contain this threat while extending freedom's frontiers. Leaders like Truman and Acheson, Kennan and Marshall, knew that there was no single decisive blow that could be struck for freedom. We needed a new overarching strategy to meet the challenges of a new and dangerous world.

Such a strategy would join overwhelming military strength with sound judgment. It would shape events not just through military force, but through the force of our ideas; through economic power, intelligence and diplomacy. It would support strong allies that freely shared our ideals of liberty and democracy; open markets and the rule of law. It would foster new international institutions like the United Nations, NATO, and the World Bank, and focus on every corner of the globe. It was a strategy that saw clearly the world's dangers, while seizing its promise.

What is needed? What can best be done? What must be done?

Today's dangers are different, though no less grave. The power to destroy life on a catastrophic scale now risks falling into the hands of terrorists. The future of our security - and our planet - is held hostage to our dependence on foreign oil and gas. From the cave-spotted mountains of northwest Pakistan, to the centrifuges spinning beneath Iranian soil, we know that the American people cannot be protected by oceans or the sheer might of our military alone.

The attacks of September 11, 2001 brought this new reality into a terrible and ominous focus. On that bright and beautiful day, the world of peace and prosperity that was the legacy of our Cold War victory seemed to suddenly vanish under rubble, and twisted steel, and clouds of smoke.

But the depth of this tragedy also drew out the decency and determination of our nation. At blood banks and vigils; in schools and in the United States Congress, Americans were united - more united, even, than we were at the dawn of the Cold War. The world, too, was united against the perpetrators of this evil act, as old allies, new friends, and even long-time adversaries stood by our side. It was time — once again — for America's might and moral persuasion to be harnessed; it was time to once again shape a new security strategy for an ever-changing world.

Imagine, for a moment, what we could have done in those days, and months, and years after 9/11.

We could have deployed the full force of American power to hunt down and destroy Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda, the Taliban, and all of the terrorists responsible for 9/11, while supporting real security in Afghanistan.

We could have secured loose nuclear materials around the world, and updated a 20th century non-proliferation framework to meet the challenges of the 21st.

We could have invested hundreds of billions of dollars in alternative sources of energy to grow our economy, save our planet, and end the tyranny of oil.

We could have strengthened old alliances, formed new partnerships, and renewed international institutions to advance peace and prosperity.

We could have called on a new generation to step into the strong currents of history, and to serve their country as troops and teachers, Peace Corps volunteers and police officers.

We could have secured our homeland—investing in sophisticated new protection for our ports, our trains and our power plants.

We could have rebuilt our roads and bridges, laid down new rail and broadband and electricity systems, and made college affordable for every American to strengthen our ability to compete. We could have done that.

Instead, we have lost thousands of American lives, spent nearly a trillion dollars, alienated allies and neglected emerging threats - all in the cause of fighting a war for well over five years in a country that had absolutely nothing to do with the 9/11 attacks.

Our men and women in uniform have accomplished every mission we have given them. What's missing in our debate about Iraq — what has been missing since before the war began — is a discussion of the strategic consequences of Iraq and its dominance of our foreign policy.

This war distracts us from every threat that we face and so many opportunities we could seize. This war diminishes our security, our standing in the world, our military, our economy, and the resources that we need to confront the challenges of the 21st century. By any measure, our single-minded and open-ended focus on Iraq is not a sound strategy for keeping America safe.

I am running for President of the United States to lead this country in a new direction—to seize this moment's promise. Instead of being distracted from the most pressing threats that we face, I want to overcome them. Instead of pushing the entire burden of our foreign policy on to the brave men and women of our military, I want to use all elements of American power to keep us safe, and prosperous, and free. Instead of

alienating ourselves from the world, I want America — once again — to lead.

As President, I will pursue a tough, smart and principled national security strategy— one that recognizes that we have interests not just in Baghdad, but in Kandahar and Karachi,

“I will focus this strategy on five goals: ending the war in Iraq responsibly; finishing the fight against al Qaeda and the Taliban; securing all nuclear weapons and materials from terrorists and rogue states; achieving true energy security; and rebuilding our alliances to meet the challenges of the 21st century.”

in Tokyo and London, in Beijing and Berlin. I will focus this strategy on five goals essential to making America safer: ending the war in Iraq responsibly; finishing the fight against al Qaeda and the Taliban; securing all nuclear weapons and materials from terrorists and rogue states; achieving true energy security; and rebuilding our alliances to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

That’s why I strongly stand by my plan to end this war. Now, Prime Minister Maliki’s call for a timetable for the removal of U.S. forces presents a real opportunity. It comes at a time when the American general in charge of training Iraq’s Security Forces has testified that Iraq’s Army and Police will be ready to assume responsibility for Iraq’s security in 2009. Now is the time for a responsible redeployment of our combat troops that pushes Iraq’s leaders toward a political solution, rebuilds our military, and refocuses on Afghanistan and our broader security interests.

At some point, a judgment must be made. Iraq is not going to be a perfect place, and we don’t have unlimited resources to try to make it one. We are not going to kill every al Qaeda sympathizer, eliminate every trace of Iranian influence, or stand up a flawless democracy before we leave. ... In fact, true success in Iraq — victory in Iraq — will not take place in a surrender ceremony where an enemy lays down their arms. True success will take place when we leave Iraq to a government that is taking responsibility for its future — a government that prevents sectarian conflict, and ensures that the al Qaeda threat which has been beaten back by our troops does not reemerge. That is an achievable goal if we pursue a comprehensive plan to press the Iraqis stand up.

This is the future that Iraqis want. This is the future that the American people want. And this is what our common interests demand. And this is the future we need for our military. We cannot tolerate this strain on our forces to fight a war that hasn’t made us safer. I will restore our strength by ending this war, completing the increase of our ground forces by 65,000 soldiers and 27,000 marines, and investing in the capabilities we need to defeat conventional foes and meet the unconventional challenges of our time.

I want Iraqis to take responsibility for their own future, and to reach the political accommodation necessary for long-term stability. That's victory. That's success. That's what's best for Iraq, that's what's best for America, and that's why I will end this war as President.

The central front in the war on terror is not Iraq, and it never was. That's why the second goal of my new strategy will be taking the fight to al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

It is unacceptable that almost seven years after nearly 3,000 Americans were killed on our soil, the terrorists who attacked us on 9/11 are still at large. Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahari are recording messages to their followers and plotting more terror. The Taliban controls parts of Afghanistan. Al Qaeda has an expanding base in Pakistan that is probably no farther from their old Afghan sanctuary than a train ride from Washington to Philadelphia. If another attack on our homeland comes, it will likely come from the same region where 9/11 was planned. And yet today, we have five times more troops in Iraq than Afghanistan.

I will send at least two additional combat brigades to Afghanistan, and use this commitment to seek greater contributions - with fewer restrictions - from NATO allies. I will focus on training Afghan security forces and supporting an Afghan judiciary, with more resources and incentives for American officers who perform these missions. Just as we succeeded in the Cold War by supporting allies who could sustain their own security, we must realize that the 21st century's frontlines are not only on the field of battle—they are found in the training exercise near Kabul, in the police station in Kandahar, and in the rule of law in Herat. Moreover, lasting security will only come if we heed Marshall's lesson, and help Afghans grow their economy from the bottom up. That's why I've proposed an additional \$1 billion in non-military assistance each year, with meaningful safeguards to prevent corruption and to make sure investments are made — not just in Kabul — but out in Afghanistan's provinces. As a part of this program, we'll invest in alternative livelihoods to poppy-growing for Afghan farmers, just as we crack down on heroin trafficking. We cannot lose Afghanistan to a future of narco-terrorism. The Afghan people must know that our commitment to their future is enduring, because the security of Afghanistan and the United States is shared.

The greatest threat to that security lies in the tribal regions of Pakistan, where terrorists train and insurgents strike into Afghanistan. We cannot tolerate a terrorist sanctuary, and as President, I won't. We need a stronger and sustained partnership between Afghanistan, Pakistan and NATO to secure the border, to take out terrorist camps, and to crack down on cross-border insurgents. And we must make it clear that if

Pakistan cannot or will not act, we will take out high-level terrorist targets like bin Laden if we have them in our sights.

Make no mistake: we can't succeed in Afghanistan or secure our homeland unless we change our Pakistan policy.

Only a strong Pakistani democracy can help us move toward my third goal - securing all nuclear weapons and materials from terrorists and rogue states.

In those years after World War II, we worried about the deadly atom falling into the hands of the Kremlin. Now, we worry about 50 tons of highly enriched uranium — some of it poorly secured—at civilian nuclear facilities in over forty countries. Now, we worry about the breakdown of a non-proliferation framework that was designed for the bipolar world of the Cold War. Now, we worry — most of all — about a rogue state or nuclear scientist transferring the world's deadliest weapons to the world's most dangerous people: terrorists who won't think twice about killing themselves and hundreds of thousands in Tel Aviv or Moscow, in London or New York.

Beyond taking these immediate, urgent steps, it's time to send a clear message: America seeks a world with no nuclear weapons. As long as nuclear weapons exist, we must retain a strong deterrent. But instead of threatening to kick them out of the G-8, we need to work with Russia to take U.S. and Russian ballistic missiles off hair-trigger alert; to dramatically reduce the stockpiles of our nuclear weapons and material; to seek a global ban on the production of fissile material for weapons; and to expand the U.S.-Russian ban on intermediate-range missiles so that the agreement is global. By keeping our commitment under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, we'll be in a better position to press nations like North Korea and Iran to keep theirs. In particular, it will give us more credibility and leverage in dealing with Iran.

We cannot tolerate nuclear weapons in the hands of nations that support terror. Preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons is a vital national security interest of the United States. No tool of statecraft should be taken off the table. I will use all elements of American power to pressure the Iranian regime, starting with aggressive, principled and direct diplomacy - diplomacy backed with strong sanctions and without preconditions.

That's why we must pursue these tough negotiations in full coordination with our allies, bringing to bear our full influence—including, if it will advance our interests, my meeting with the appropriate Iranian leader at a time and place of my choosing.

We will pursue this diplomacy with no illusions about the Iranian regime. Instead, we will present a clear choice. If you abandon your nuclear program, support for terror, and threats to Israel, there will be meaningful

incentives. If you refuse, then we will ratchet up the pressure, with stronger unilateral sanctions; stronger multilateral sanctions in the Security Council, and sustained action outside the UN to isolate the Iranian regime. That's the diplomacy we need. And the Iranians should negotiate now; by waiting, they will only face mounting pressure.

The surest way to increase our leverage against Iran in the long-run is to stop bankrolling its ambitions. That will depend on achieving my fourth goal: ending the tyranny of oil in our time.

One of the most dangerous weapons in the world today is the price of oil. We ship nearly \$700 million a day to unstable or hostile nations for their oil. It pays for terrorist bombs going off from Baghdad to Beirut. It funds petro-diplomacy in Caracas and radical madrasas from Karachi to Khartoum. It takes leverage away from America and shifts it to dictators.

This immediate danger is eclipsed only by the long-term threat from climate change, which will lead to devastating weather patterns, terrible storms, drought, and famine. That means people competing for food and water in the next fifty years in the very places that have known horrific violence in the last fifty: Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia. Most disastrously, that could mean destructive storms on our shores, and the disappearance of our coastline.

This is not just an economic issue or an environmental

Never again will we sit on the sidelines, or stand in the way of global action to tackle this global challenge. I will reach out to the leaders of the biggest carbon emitting nations and ask them to join a new Global Energy Forum that will lay the foundation for the next generation of climate protocols. We will also build an alliance of oil-importing nations and work together to reduce our demand, and to break the grip of OPEC on the global economy. We'll set a goal of an 80% reduction in global emissions by 2050. And as we develop new forms of clean energy here at home, we will share our technology and our innovations with all the nations of the world. concern — this is a national security crisis. For the sake of our security—and for every American family that is paying the price at the pump — we must end this dependence on foreign oil. And as President, that's exactly what I'll do. Small steps and political gimmickry just won't do. I'll invest \$150 billion over the next ten years to put America on the path to true energy security. This fund will fast track investments in a new green energy business sector that will end our addiction to oil and create up to 5 million jobs over the next two decades, and help secure the future of our country and our planet. We'll invest in research and development of every form of alternative energy — solar, wind, and biofuels, as well as technologies that can make coal clean and nuclear power safe. And from the moment I take office, I will let it be known that the United States of America is ready to lead again.

That is the tradition of American leadership on behalf of the global good. And that will be my fifth goal — rebuilding our alliances to meet the common challenges of the 21st century.

For all of our power, America is strongest when we act alongside strong partners.

Now is the time for a new era of international cooperation. It's time for America and Europe to renew our common commitment to face down the threats of the 21st century just as we did the challenges of the 20th. It's time to strengthen our partnerships with Japan, South Korea, Australia and the world's largest democracy - India - to create a stable and prosperous Asia. It's time to engage China on common interests like climate change, even as we continue to encourage their shift to a more open and market-based society. It's time to strengthen NATO by asking more of our allies, while always approaching them with the respect owed a partner. It's time to reform the United Nations, so that this imperfect institution can become a more perfect forum to share burdens, strengthen our leverage, and promote our values. It's time to deepen our engagement to help resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, so that we help our ally Israel achieve true and lasting security, while helping Palestinians achieve their legitimate aspirations for statehood.

And just as we renew longstanding efforts, so must we shape new ones to meet new challenges. That's why I'll create a Shared Security Partnership Program — a new alliance of nations to strengthen cooperative efforts to take down global terrorist networks, while standing up against torture and brutality. That's why we'll work with the African Union to enhance its ability to keep the peace. That's why we'll build a new partnership to roll back the trafficking of drugs, and guns, and gangs in the Americas. That's what we can do if we are ready to engage the world.

We will have to provide meaningful resources to meet critical priorities. I know development assistance is not the most popular program, but as President, I will make the case to the American people that it can be our best investment in increasing the common security of the entire world. That was true with the Marshall Plan, and that must be true today. That's why I'll double our foreign assistance to \$50 billion by 2012, and use it to support a stable future in failing states, and sustainable growth in Africa; to halve global poverty and to roll back disease. To send once more a message to those yearning faces beyond our shores that says, "You matter to us. Your future is our future. And our moment is now."

Independence, Missouri, June 30, 2008

On a spring morning in April of 1775, a simple band of colonists — farmers and merchants, blacksmiths and printers, men and boys — left

their homes and families in Lexington and Concord to take up arms against the tyranny of an Empire. The odds against them were long and the risks enormous – for even if they survived the battle, any ultimate failure would bring charges of treason, and death by hanging.

And yet they took that chance. They did so not on behalf of a particular tribe or lineage, but on behalf of a larger idea. The idea of liberty. The idea of God-given, inalienable rights. And with the first shot of that fateful day – a shot heard round the world – the American Revolution, and America’s experiment with democracy, began.

Those men of Lexington and Concord were among our first patriots. And at the beginning of a week when we celebrate the birth of our nation, I think it is fitting to pause for a moment and reflect on the meaning of patriotism – theirs, and ours. We do so in part because we are in the midst of war – more than one and a half million of our finest young men and women have now fought in Iraq and Afghanistan; over 60,000 have been wounded, and over 4,600 have been laid to rest. The costs of war have been great, and the debate surrounding our mission in Iraq has been fierce. It is natural, in light of such sacrifice by so many, to think more deeply about the commitments that bind us to our nation, and to each other.

We reflect on these questions as well because we are in the midst of a presidential election, perhaps the most consequential in generations; a contest that will determine the course of this nation for years, perhaps decades, to come. Not only is it a debate about big issues – health care, jobs, energy, education, and retirement security – but it is also a debate about values. How do we keep ourselves safe and secure while preserving our liberties? How do we restore trust in a government that seems increasingly removed from its people and dominated by special interests? How do we ensure that in an increasingly global economy, the winners maintain allegiance to the less fortunate? And how do we resolve our differences at a time of increasing diversity?

Finally, it is worth considering the meaning of patriotism because the question of who is – or is not – a patriot all too often poisons our political debates, in ways that divide us rather than bringing us together. I have come to know this from my own experience on the campaign trail. Throughout my life, I have always taken my deep and abiding love for this country as a given. It was how I was raised; it is what propelled me into public service; it is why I am running for President. And yet, at certain times over the last sixteen months, I have found, for the first time, my patriotism challenged – at times as a result of my own carelessness, more often as a result of the desire by some to score political points and raise fears about who I am and what I stand for. So let me say at this at

outset of my remarks. I will never question the patriotism of others in this campaign. And I will not stand idly by when I hear others question mine.

The use of patriotism as a political sword or a political shield is as old as the Republic. Still, what is striking about today's patriotism debate is the degree to which it remains rooted in the culture wars of the 1960s – in arguments that go back forty years or more. In the early years of the civil rights movement and opposition to the Vietnam War, defenders of the status quo often accused anybody who questioned the wisdom of government policies of being unpatriotic. Meanwhile, some of those in the so-called counter-culture of the Sixties reacted not merely by criticizing particular government policies, but by attacking the symbols, and in extreme cases, the very idea, of America itself – by burning flags; by blaming America for all that was wrong with the world; and perhaps most tragically, by failing to honor those veterans coming home from Vietnam, something that remains a national shame to this day.

Most Americans never bought into these simplistic world-views – these caricatures of left and right. Most Americans understood that dissent does not make one unpatriotic, and that there is nothing smart or sophisticated about a cynical disregard for America's traditions and institutions. And yet the anger and turmoil of that period never entirely drained away. All too often our politics still seems trapped in these old, threadbare arguments – a fact most evident during our recent debates about the war in Iraq, when those who opposed administration policy were tagged by some as unpatriotic, and a general providing his best counsel on how to move forward in Iraq was accused of betrayal.

Given the enormous challenges that lie before us, we can no longer afford these sorts of divisions. None of us expect that arguments about patriotism will, or should, vanish entirely; after all, when we argue about patriotism, we are arguing about who we are as a country, and more importantly, who we should be. But surely we can agree that no party or political philosophy has a monopoly on patriotism. And surely we can arrive at a definition of patriotism that, however rough and imperfect, captures the best of America's common spirit.

What would such a definition look like? For me, as for most Americans, patriotism starts as a gut instinct, a loyalty and love for country rooted in my earliest memories. I'm not just talking about the recitations of the Pledge of Allegiance or the Thanksgiving pageants at school or the fireworks on the Fourth of July, as wonderful as those things may be. Rather, I'm referring to the way the American ideal wove its way throughout the lessons my family taught me as a child.

For me, patriotism is always more than just loyalty to a place on a map or a certain kind of people. Instead, it is also loyalty to America's ideals – ideals for which anyone can sacrifice, or defend, or give their last

full measure of devotion. I believe it is this loyalty that allows a country teeming with different races and ethnicities, religions and customs, to come together as one.

I believe those who attack America's flaws without acknowledging the singular greatness of our ideals, and their proven capacity to inspire a better world, do not truly understand America.

“For me, patriotism is always more than just loyalty to a place on a map or a certain kind of people. Instead, it is also loyalty to America's ideals – ideals for which anyone can sacrifice, or defend, or give their last full measure of devotion.”

Of course, precisely because America isn't perfect, precisely because our ideals constantly demand more from us, patriotism can never be defined as loyalty to any particular leader or government or policy. As Mark Twain, that greatest of American satirists and proud son of Missouri, once wrote, “Patriotism is supporting your country all the time, and your government when it deserves it.” We may hope that our leaders and our government stand up for our ideals, and there are many times in our history when that's occurred. But when our laws, our leaders or our government are out of alignment with our ideals, then the dissent of ordinary Americans may prove to be one of the truest expression of patriotism.

Beyond a loyalty to America's ideals, beyond a willingness to dissent on behalf of those ideals, I also believe that patriotism must, if it is to mean anything, involve the willingness to sacrifice — to give up something we value on behalf of a larger cause. For those who have fought under the flag of this nation no further proof of such sacrifice is necessary. And let me also add that no one should ever devalue that service, especially for the sake of a political campaign, and that goes for supporters on both sides.

We must always express our profound gratitude for the service of our men and women in uniform. Period. Indeed, one of the good things to emerge from the current conflict in Iraq has been the widespread recognition that whether you support this war or oppose it, the sacrifice of our troops is always worthy of honor.

I have seen a new generation of Americans begin to take up the call. I meet them everywhere I go, young people involved in the project of American renewal; not only those who have signed up to fight for our country in distant lands, but those who are fighting for a better America here at home, by teaching in underserved schools, or caring for the sick in understaffed hospitals, or promoting more sustainable energy policies in their local communities.

I believe one of the tasks of the next Administration is to ensure that this movement towards service grows and sustains itself in the years

to come. We should expand AmeriCorps and grow the Peace Corps. We should encourage national service by making it part of the requirement for a new college assistance program, even as we strengthen the benefits for those whose sense of duty has already led them to serve in our military.

As we begin our fourth century as a nation, it is easy to take the extraordinary nature of America for granted. But it is our responsibility as Americans and as parents to instill that history in our children, both at home and at school.

It is up to us to teach them. It is up to us to teach them that even though we have faced great challenges and made our share of mistakes, we have always been able to come together and make this nation stronger, and more prosperous, and more united, and more just. It is up to us to teach them that America has been a force for good in the world, and that other nations and other people have looked to us as the last, best hope of Earth. It is up to us to teach them that it is good to give back to one's community; that it is honorable to serve in the military; that it is vital to participate in our democracy and make our voices heard.

And it is up to us to teach our children a lesson that those of us in politics too often forget: that patriotism involves not only defending this country against external threat, but also working constantly to make America a better place for future generations.

In the end, it may be this quality that best describes patriotism in my mind – not just a love of America in the abstract, but a very particular love for, and faith in, the American people. That is why our heart swells with pride at the sight of our flag; why we shed a tear as the lonely notes of Taps sound. For we know that the greatness of this country – its victories in war, its enormous wealth, its scientific and cultural achievements – all result from the energy and imagination of the American people; their toil, drive, struggle, restlessness, humor and quiet heroism.

That is the liberty we defend – the liberty of each of us to pursue our own dreams. That is the equality we seek – not an equality of results, but the chance of every single one of us to make it if we try. That is the community we strive to build – one in which we trust in this sometimes messy democracy of ours, one in which we continue to insist that there is nothing we cannot do when we put our mind to it, one in which we see ourselves as part of a larger story, our own fates wrapped up in the fates of those who share allegiance to America's happy and singular creed.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 18, 2008

“We the people, in order to form a more perfect union.”

Two hundred and twenty one years ago, in a hall that still stands across the street, a group of men gathered and, with these simple words,

launched America's improbable experiment in democracy. Farmers and scholars, statesmen and patriots who had traveled across an ocean to escape tyranny and persecution finally made real their declaration of independence at a Philadelphia convention that lasted through the spring of 1787.

The document they produced was eventually signed but ultimately unfinished. It was stained by this nation's original sin of slavery, a question that divided the colonies and brought the convention to a stalemate until the founders chose to allow the slave trade to continue for at least twenty more years, and to leave any final resolution to future generations. Of course, the answer to the slavery question was already embedded within our Constitution — a Constitution that had at its very core the ideal of equal citizenship under the law; a Constitution that promised its people liberty, and justice, and a union that could be and should be perfected over time.

And yet words on a parchment would not be enough to deliver slaves from bondage, or provide men and women of every color and creed their full rights and obligations as citizens of the United States. What would be needed were Americans in successive generations who were willing to do their part—through protests and struggle, on the streets and in the courts, through a civil war and civil disobedience and always at great risk - to narrow that gap between the promise of our ideals and the reality of their time.

This was one of the tasks we set forth at the beginning of this campaign - to continue the long march of those who came before us, a march for a more just, more equal, more free, more caring and more prosperous America.

This belief comes from my unyielding faith in the decency and generosity of the American people. But it also comes from my own American story.

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 slaveowners - 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.

It's a story that hasn't made me the most conventional candidate. But it is a story that has seared into my genetic makeup the idea that this nation is more than the sum of its parts - that out of many, we are truly one.

Throughout the first year of this campaign, against all predictions to the contrary, we saw how hungry the American people were for this message of unity. Despite the temptation to view my candidacy through a purely racial lens we built a powerful coalition of African Americans and white Americans.

“Working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union.”

Race is an issue that I believe this nation cannot afford to ignore right now. ... The issues that have surfaced over the last few weeks reflect the complexities of race in this country that we've never really worked through—a part of our union that we have yet to perfect. And if we walk away now, if we simply retreat into our respective corners, we will never be able to come together and solve challenges like health care, or education, or the need to find good jobs for every American.

Understanding this reality requires a reminder of how we arrived at this point. As William Faulkner once wrote, “The past isn't dead and buried. In fact, it isn't even past.” We do need to remind ourselves that so many of the disparities that exist in the African-American community today can be directly traced to inequalities passed on from an earlier generation that suffered under the brutal legacy of slavery and [segregation laws known as] Jim Crow.

Segregated schools were, and are, inferior schools; we still haven't fixed them, fifty years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the inferior education they provided, then and now, helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today's black and white students.

Legalized discrimination—where blacks were prevented, often through violence, from owning property, or loans were not granted to African-American business owners, or black homeowners could not access FHA mortgages, or blacks were excluded from unions, or the police force, or fire departments —meant that black families could not amass any meaningful wealth to bequeath to future generations. That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white, and the concentrated pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities.

A lack of economic opportunity among black men, and the shame and frustration that came from not being able to provide for one's family, contributed to the erosion of black families — a problem that welfare policies for many years may have worsened. And the lack of basic

services in so many urban black neighborhoods — parks for kids to play in, police walking the beat, regular garbage pick-up and building code enforcement - all helped create a cycle of violence, blight and neglect that continue to haunt us.

In fact, a similar anger exists within segments of the white community. Most working- and middle-class white Americans don't feel that they have been particularly privileged by their race. Their experience is the immigrant experience - as far as they're concerned, no one's handed them anything, they've built it from scratch. They've worked hard all their lives, many times only to see their jobs shipped overseas or their pension dumped after a lifetime of labor. They are anxious about their futures, and feel their dreams slipping away; in an era of stagnant wages and global competition, opportunity comes to be seen as a zero sum game, in which your dreams come at my expense. So when they are told to bus their children to a school across town; when they hear that an African American is getting an advantage in landing a good job or a spot in a good college because of an injustice that they themselves never committed; when they're told that their fears about crime in urban neighborhoods are somehow prejudiced, resentment builds over time.

Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze — a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobbyists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. And yet, to wish away the resentments of white Americans, to label them as misguided or even racist, without recognizing they are grounded in legitimate concerns — this too widens the racial divide, and blocks the path to understanding.

This is where we are right now. It's a racial stalemate we've been stuck in for years. Contrary to the claims of some of my critics, black and white, I have never been so naïve as to believe that we can get beyond our racial divisions in a single election cycle, or with a single candidacy — particularly a candidacy as imperfect as my own.

But I have asserted a firm conviction — a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people—that working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union.

For the African-American community, that path means embracing the burdens of our past without becoming victims of our past. It means continuing to insist on a full measure of justice in every aspect of American life. But it also means binding our particular grievances — for better health care, and better schools, and better jobs — to the larger aspirations of all Americans — the white woman struggling to break the

glass ceiling, the white man whose been laid off, the immigrant trying to feed his family. And it means taking full responsibility for our own lives — by demanding more from our fathers, and spending more time with our children, and reading to them, and teaching them that while they may face challenges and discrimination in their own lives, they must never succumb to despair or cynicism; they must always believe that they can write their own destiny.

In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African-American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination — and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past — are real and must be addressed. Not just with words, but with deeds — by investing in our schools and our communities; by enforcing our civil rights laws and ensuring fairness in our criminal justice system; by providing this generation with ladders of opportunity that were unavailable for previous generations. It requires all Americans to realize that your dreams do not have to come at the expense of my dreams; that investing in the health, welfare, and education of black and brown and white children will ultimately help all of America prosper.

We have a choice in this country. We can accept a politics that breeds division, and conflict, and cynicism. ... But if we do, I can tell you that in the next election, we'll be talking about some other distraction. And then another one. And then another one. And nothing will change.

That is one option. Or, at this moment, in this election, we can come together and say, "Not this time." This time we want to talk about the crumbling schools that are stealing the future of black children and white children and Asian children and Hispanic children and Native American children. This time we want to reject the cynicism that tells us that these kids can't learn; that those kids who don't look like us are somebody else's problem. The children of America are not those kids, they are our kids, and we will not let them fall behind in a 21st century economy. Not this time.

This time we want to talk about how the lines in the Emergency Room are filled with whites and blacks and Hispanics who do not have health care; who don't have the power on their own to overcome the special interests in Washington, but who can take them on if we do it together.

This time we want to talk about the shuttered mills that once provided a decent life for men and women of every race, and the homes for sale that once belonged to Americans from every religion, every region, every walk of life.

This time we want to talk about the fact that the real problem is not that someone who doesn't look like you might take your job; it's that the

corporation you work for will ship it overseas for nothing more than a profit. This time we want to talk about the men and women of every color and creed who serve together, and fight together, and bleed together under the same proud flag. We want to talk about how to bring them home from a war that never should've been authorized and never should've been waged, and we want to talk about how we'll show our patriotism by caring for them, and their families, and giving them the benefits they have earned.

I would not be running for President if I didn't believe with all my heart that this is what the vast majority of Americans want for this country. This union may never be perfect, but generation after generation has shown that it can always be perfected. And today, whenever I find myself feeling doubtful or cynical about this possibility, what gives me the most hope is the next generation — the young people whose attitudes and beliefs and openness to change have already made history in this election.