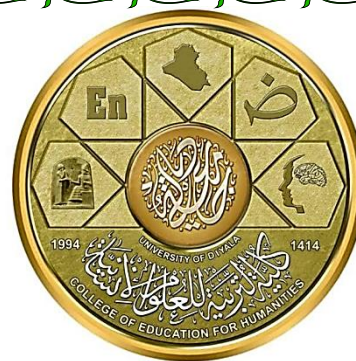


Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
University of Diyala
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Department of English



***A Study of Persuasive Speech Acts Used In Some
Selected American Presidential War Declaration
Speeches***

A Research

SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE OF DISCUSSION AT DEPARTMENT OF
ENGLISH - COLLEGE OF EDUCATION FOR HUMANITIES , UNIVERSTY OF
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DEGREE OF B. A IN ENGLISH .

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Dedication

Today, praise be to God, we are tired of the days and salvation of the path between the lips of this humble work.....

To the lighthouse of science, the master of creation to our holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).

To the fountain that does not give the tender which I have woven my happiness with threads woven from her heart .. to our mothers.....

To those who sought to enjoy the leisure and the happiness, which did not spare anything in order to push the path of success, which taught me to raise the ladder of life by virtue and patience, to our dear parents.....

And to those who love them in our veins and guide their memories, to our brothers and sisters.

And to those who share the beautiful moments ... to our friends and to close from our heart

And to those who taught us letters of gold and words of our names and the most beautiful expressions in science, to those who have formulated their science and enlightenment and success, to our distinguished professors, especially our supervisor inst. Eman Al-Qaisi who tired a lot with us.

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1 Introduction

This study attempts to investigate the persuasive speech acts in some of American presidential war declarations, i.e. Franklin Roosevelt speech (1941) and George W. Bush speech (2003). Simply, the term persuasive has been having that stunning impact on politics and the politicians' speeches, since the ability of persuading others means the capability of performing various acts by using certain form of communication, i.e., *language*. Language, in this respect, is an essential factor to government officials since politics in general is worried about the energy of setting the distinct choices, impacting people groups' attitudes and even controlling their values. All things considered as, political influence is an important part of any general public where communicators try to persuade the others to change their beliefs or behavior in considering a political issue via messages with a feeling of free decision. (c.f. Perloff, 2003: 34). Furthermore, persuasion constitutes a "speech act", that is realized in or by talking. Past studies on speech acts were concerned about different sorts of speech act such as compliment, complaint, greeting, and request and so on.; however very little and limited attention has been paid to the speech act of persuasion.

So, this current study tackles the war declarations of those two presidents on Japan and Iraq respectively. Accordingly, the study has focused on the persuasive speech acts that the two presidents follow to convince their people and the other world countries to advocate their wars. Precisely speaking, to see the ways that the politicians deliver their declarations and announcement are informed and structured by the forces of social institutions defined by such particular language use. However, in order to confirm and compare the findings and patterns of persuasive appeals, one speech from two presidents is included, (Roosevelt 1941; Bush 2003).

In order to search out the persuasive speech acts and the unmarked ideology that exist in text, Roosevelt and Bush war declarations were analyzed and explained. The research has been divided into sections concerned with the meaning of persuasive and the speech act theory that includes. Regularly, the data were analyzed statistically and the results were discussed in tables. Consequently, the results cropped up that some of the persuasive acts are remarkably and excessively used whereas

others are less in use. At last, the conclusions were reached at by the two researchers.

2 On Defining Persuasiveness

Persuasion is an old Greek term where its aim was to accomplish effectiveness in court of law. Around 350 BC, the art of persuasion was first referred to as that frame of “rhetoric” in Plato’s “Gorgias”, in any case, it was systematically studied and described in Aristotle’s “On Rhetoric” (1991:B555b26) where rhetoric was defined as “the capacity to see, in any given case, the available method of persuasion”. (c.f. Larson, 1998:2 – 4). Aristotle in this domain made a notable connection between correspondence and persuasion referred to as three principle methods for influence:

- a) Appeal by reasoning
- b) Appeal by morals; and
- c) Appeal by Emotions .

The word 'persuasion' ,as mentioned earlier, has been described in various routes, such as affecting, persuading or treating. This was clearly realized in the original meanings of persuasion which focused on how a powerful message can be impact. Different meanings of persuasion focused on how the receiver’s activities and attitudes may have some sort of impact on the accomplishment of a persuasive message. In Fogg's opinion (2007:15) it is too important to take a close look at the contrast between persuasion and the coercion terms that are once in a while confused; coercion means force while it might change conduct since it isn't the same as flounce or persuasion, which means the change in conduct, state of mind or both. According to (Gulledge, 2004:3) persuasion is that ability of conveying information to convince audience about what is said is trust, valid and/or honesty. For instance,

Fotheringham (1966: 7) defined persuasion “that body of effects in audiences, relevant and instrumental to source desired aims, brought about by a process in which messages have been a major determinant of those effects”. In this respect, Fotheringham incisively focused on receivers rather than the producers and emphasized the psychological effect of persuasive communication. On the other hand, Scheidel (1967: 1) added that persuasion depends on two aspects: communication and intention to persuade the audience.

3 Speech Act Theory

Briefly speaking, Austin’s (1962) Speech Act Theory equipped with a tool to help in the analysis of any discourse pragmatically. It is appertained with the meanings assigned to speech acts by the participants as it based on their relationship and context. Substantially, it has a great influence on the field of speech since it ,i.e., theory focuses on the subject of what individuals are doing when they use language (Renkema. 2004:13). In a work of the great impact the philosopher Jhon Austin (1962) recognized among three kinds of act, that are usually performed by anyone who produces an utterance:- locution, illocution and per-locution (Newmeyer 1988:183). According to Brennstuhl and Ballmer (1981:55), Searle's classification presents the same number of basic categories of illocutionary acts as Austin, i.e. five taxonomies. There are:- assertive , directive, commissive, expressive and declaration.

3.1 Locution, Illocution, and Per-locution

Locution act is "the act of an utterance The genuine expression and it's clear importance and hectic acts contrasting with verbal, syntactic and Semantic parts of meaningful utterance." (www.wikipedia.com). Illocution, as indicated by Fairclough , is that promise and request which reveals the objective and goal of the speaker through their intended expression (2001: 130). On the other hand, perlocutionary act deals with the effect of the expression on the audience, for example, to impact, persuade, threaten, please, so on (Stubbs, 1983: 23).

3.2 Searle's Typology in Discourse

Understanding speech acts would be simple if the connection between illocutionary and per-locutionary acts were dependably simple which is not constantly the case (Stubbs, 1983:12) For example as an illocutionary speech act, a demand plan to get the listener to accomplish something, a per-locutionary effect For the situation of promising, however, the per-locutionary impact isn't exactly clear (Searle's 1978:18). Moreover, the maker of any expression or speech event may be at the same time creating numerous speech acts with emphasis on one speech act or the other (Searle's 1978:91). For all that, even whether the expression includes on explicit per-formative verb, it's illocutionary power should not be particularly decide by that per-formative verb, however it is easier to recognize the illocutionary force in highly conventionalized and formal settings (Stubbs , 1983:12). Only a good learning of context of the utterance may reveal the intended illocutionary act, which is the core of pragmatics as the study of language inside its specific situation (Fairclough,2001:3). It is worth nothing, although, that as Austin (1962:19) asserts, the whole speech act of a statement should be analyzed , even though it may not contain an express verb "what are we to call a sentence or an utterance of this types? I propose to call it a per-formative sentence or per-formative utterance or far short, a per-formative.(Austin, 1962:6) A directive such as "Go out!" may be replaced by "Out!" ,which does not explicit per-formative verb but still has the same per-formative function and illocution act. Searle(1978:p.15) classifies illocutionary force into five categories in what

known as Searle's typology of speech act : assertive , directive , commissive , expressive and declarations . Assertive speech acts, or representative , are spoken by speaker's self-of reality of what is said, as in giving conclusions , complaining , boasting or describing events or states in the world. Directive speech acts are attempt to get the listener to do something , and are typified by command, invitations or requests, commissive speech acts, such as promises , dangers or offerings , express the speaker's goal to take certain activities; in political speech's , usually "fair and responsible" one (Fairclough and fairclough , 2012:122). An expressive speech act is performed whenever there is an expressive of mental state by the producer of the utterance , as when apologizing and thanking. Declaratives are speech acts that change the world by declaring that that new situation has appeared , such as a declaration of war , to have any impact, they must be pronounced by the ideal individual in the correct context.

4 Deictic Pronoun "We"

No doubt that politicians picked one deictic class instead of another to express the level of their personal involvement. Fairclough, in this realm (2001: 100) has fixated two relational values of various sort for pronouns. Accordingly, there are two values for 'we': inclusive *we* and exclusive *we*. The previous, inclusive "we", includes addresser and addressees, and the last mentioned, the exclusive one, includes addresser in addition to at least one others but not the addresses.

5 Aristotelian Strategies of Persuasiveness

Fetzer (2013:75) states that rhetorical contention makes use of all logos, ethos and pathos which may play a part viewed as similarly important space. Logos as a term concerns with the discourse itself, its course of action, length, unpredictable sorts of guide and argument and so on (Hyland, 2005:65). In other words, it is attached to reasoning. To satisfy the prerequisite of evaluating persuasive contentions is to take a gender at the spots where people may be persuaded. Whereas ethos is concerned with good character, individual manner and moral. Hyland demonstrates to "pathos" that it includes loaded of feeling and focuses on the characteristics of the gathering of people rather than speaker, considering its education level, gender, age and so on (Ibid, 2005).

6 Procedure and Method of the Study

In this work, an extra quantitative analysis of data was incorporated and attempt was to interpret and understand the messages that the two American presidents want to present through their speeches. Firstly, the researchers collected the data from the two war declarations gathering the various persuasive speech acts that performed according to Austin (1962) and his student Searle (1978) After that, to make the study more clear and precise, the researchers tabulated all the statistic results and the frequent occurrence of these acts in order to show which forms in the two speeches are assertive, commissive and so on.

7 Aim of the Study

The aim of this study is to analyze and discuss some examples of persuasive speech acts used in some selected American presidential war declaration speeches to investigate which act has the most fundamental position and what the reasons behind the excessive use of one than the others.

8. Discussion and Results

8.1 The Analysis of the First War Declaration(Franklin D. Roosevelt Speech)

On December the 7th ,1941 Pearl Harbor was attacked by Japanese force. So, on the next day, Franklin D. Roosevelt addresses the United State congress with his memorable speech " a date which will live in infamy"

This speech had two purposes:

1. To urge congress to formally declare war on Japan(which they did just minutes later),and
2. To rally the American people to support the war effort.

In this speech analysis, the researchers focus on Roosevelt's use of(Searle's classification of persuasive speech acts to see which one is widely and excessively used and what the reason is . The table below

illustrates the frequent use of those acts in speech no.1 depending on their occurrence in the sentences:

	Assertive	Directive	Commissive	Expressive	Declarative	Total
Freq.	20	2	7	2	2	33
Perc.	61%	6%	21%	6%	6%	100%

Table (1) The frequent occurrence of the persuasive acts in Franklin war Speech

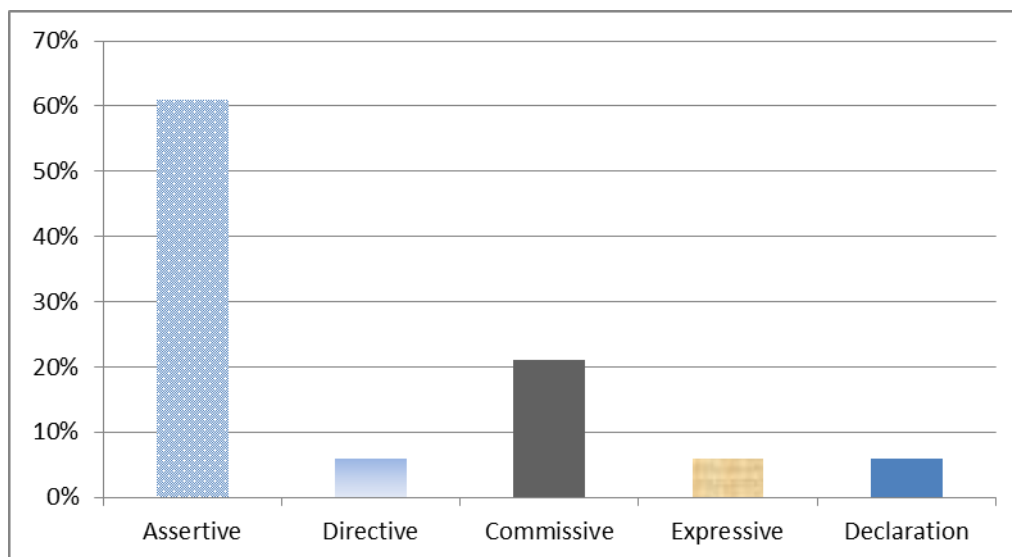


Figure 1 : speech act Types in Franklin's war declaration speeches

The figure above clearly demonstrates that the use of assertive speech act in Franklin speech was higher in percentage than other types of persuasive acts. It occurs (20 : 61%) out of 33 persuasive acts in the given speech. Throughout the upcoming analysis and discussion of the results ,it has been suggested that the use of assertive persuasive acts might be an artful medium to support the context and pass directly and smoothly to another speech act that is used intentionally, namely commissive ones. Assertive speech act has an illocutionary force of the speaker's belief and has a factual propositional content. So, it may represent a subjective state of the speaker's mind. They are either 'true' or 'false' and commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition. Conventionally, this act

is associated closely with the speaker's expressions towards the events and the goals he intends to achieve. Accordingly, assertive speech acts are excessively manipulated as that subtle medium to gain the goal of persuasion easily.

So far so Searle's typology of speech acts is concerned, assertive speech acts, employed to build the context, were used the most, in which declarations, point to crucial decisions; as in the example below

Roosevelt announced: ***" I ask that the congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, 1941, a state of his war has existed between the United States and Japanese Empire"*** this is illustrated in the following chunk of speech :

"the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan."

Doubtlessly, Franklin attempted to introduce his policies to bring about changes that would result in prevailing a lasting peace and recognizing the determinism of declaring war on Japan. Assertive persuasion in Franklin speech is appointed to assert 'a proposition to be true, using such verbs as" affirm, state, suggest, criticize, predict, disagree, believe, conclude, report, deny, etc"', such verbs provide the declaration with a remarkable kind of convincing.

"I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost"

Commissive acts of persuasive speech comes next with (7: 21%) in which such act holds an informed assurance and promise to "commit the speaker to some future course of action" ,it is connected to the speaker's promises and threats (Searle, 1978: 17). In Franklin war speech, there were many promises to make determined effort to achieve the goal and some other threats to put Japan down ,as in the following utterance :

"we will gain the inevitable triumph -- so help us God."

Furthermore., directive speech acts in persuasive discourse are used as influencing strategy in speech, it occurs with (2: 6%) out of the total number of occurrence. In this domain directive persuasion refers to the acts that are to cause the hearer to take a particular action, e.g. requests,

commands and advice **"As commander in chief of army and navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense"**. President Franklin planned intentionally in his announcement to encourage the American people to take their role in the war against Japanese Empire through the use of certain requests, commands and advices as in :

" The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. "

Expressive and declarative acts of persuasion occupy the same position that the directive one gains with the same frequencies and percentages, respectively they are used by the president Franklin Roosevelt to express his attitudes towards the invasion and how he feels towards the entire proposition as in:

" I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost."

It has been supposed that F. Roosevelt employed the expressive act of persuasion to profit the public and the other countries sympathy and sharing the intended social values. It is worth mentioning that the expressive speech acts might occur at the beginning and closing part of his speech. Furthermore, the declarative act of speech also played a crucial role in the process of convincing the audience since its main use is concerned with the change reality to be in accord with the proposition the president wants as in:

" I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7th, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese empire."

8.2 The Analysis of the Second War Declaration(George W. Bush Speech)

In March 19th, 2003, Bush decided to invade Iraq. He addressed his people to declare what he called the 'war on Iraq' with support of 35 countries, including Australia and British.

The US administration gives a set of justifications to convince the American public and the other world. Some of justifications that mentioned when Bush declared war on Iraq, that they want to suppression of terrorism, make democratic ideas in the middle east which change of official government system and the main justifications that Iraq's own of weapons of mass destruction. Bush used these justifications to convince people to participate in the war.

The table below illustrates the frequent use of those acts in speech no. 2 depending on their occurrence in the sentences:

	Assertive	Directive	Commissive	Expressive	Declarative	Total
Freq.	12	2	11	3	2	30
Perc.	43%	7%	33%	10%	7%	100%

Table (2) The frequent occurrence of the persuasive acts in Bush war Speech

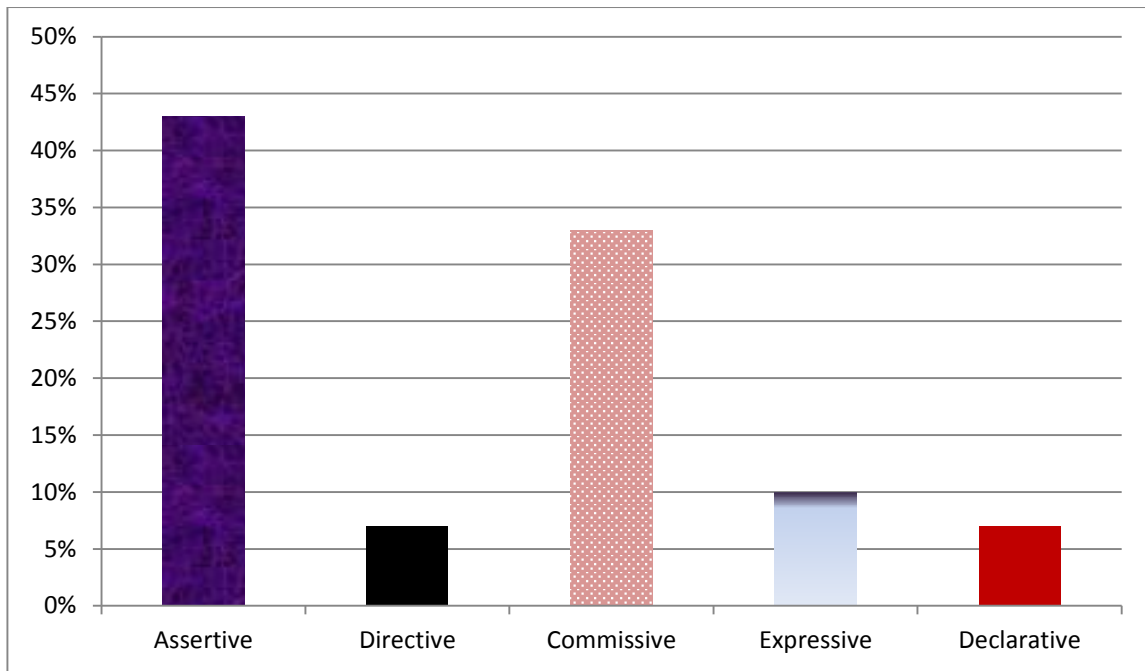


Figure 2 : speech act Types in Bush's war declaration speeches

In Figure 2, it has been showed that the use of assertive speech acts in Bush's speech achieved the highest percentage. It accounts (12: 43%) out of 30 persuasive acts in the given speech which used for events descriptions. It may represent a subjective state of the speaker's mind. They are either 'true' or 'false' and commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition. Bush has used the persuasive tactics of asserting his belief in the equality factor of men and women to convince the addressees that this is one of the axes of the new era to gain the aim of persuasion easily as in :

" That trust is well placed. "

Throughout the upcoming analysis and discussion of the results, it has been suggested that the use of assertive persuasive acts might be an artful medium to support the context and pass directly and smoothly to another speech act that is used intentionally, namely commissive ones. With commissive gains (11: 33%) , Bush used promises for the purpose of convincing people, especially, if people public trust in their president that he does what he promise them. Bush wants to show his love for peace not only to his country but for all world. The following are some examples extracted from his speech:

" And you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done.",

" The enemies you confront will come to know your skill and bravery. "

Next to commissive, expressive achieved (3: 10%) In Bush's speech which uses in his speech for the sake of raising sympathy in the heart of the Americans Bush is used expressive acts to express his attitudes towards the invasion and how he feels towards the entire proposition as in::

" Millions of Americans are praying with you for the safety of your loved ones and for the protection of the innocent."

In Bush's speech, there was a similar ratio between directive and Declarative. They account (2: 7%). Bush intended to use directive act to be more persuasive in motivating and urging the Americans to respond to his requests, requirements to reach the desired goal of change:

" On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war. "

In Bush's speech, he used declarative act to declare the war. He gives verities or reasons that make him declare war since declarative act also played an important role in the process of persuade the audience since its main use is concerned with the change as in:

" My fellow citizens, at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger. "

Conclusions

1. The analysis of Franklin war declaration speech shows that the use of assertive speech act was higher as it reflects how Roosevelt successfully made all his audience connect with his intended goal and engage them all in his war declaration speech. Co- missive acts come second to reflect the president.
2. The analysis of Bush's speech shows that Bush tried to persuade the American people to declare war against Iraq by using promises and suggestions.
3. Persuasion is an important means of achieving the goals of the American presidents whether for declaring wars against other countries or to adopt a certain policy.
4. Some war speeches serve as a prime example of how persuasion can effectively guide audience in direction under an ideology.
5. Bush used his language tactics to make the audience agree with his perspectives concerning different issues indirectly such as those of responsibility, education, how to face hurdles and danger, etc.
6. The comparison of the two speeches presents that assertive is the most frequent illocutionary act found in the analysis and it is intentionally used to achieve the main goal of persuasion.
7. The use of commissive act reflects the president Franklin promises his audience in his speech to achieve the goal and put Japan down.

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https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Locutionary_act

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Illocutionary_act

Appendices

1. Franklin D. Roosevelt war speech:

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives:

Yesterday, December 7th, 1941 -- a date which will live in infamy -- the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its government and its emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific.

Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in the American island of Oahu, the Japanese ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. And while this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or of armed attack. It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time, the Japanese government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace. The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition, American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday, the Japanese government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night, Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night, Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night, Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night, the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

And this morning, the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area.

The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.

As commander in chief of the Army and Navy, I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense. But always will our whole nation remember the character of the onslaught against us. No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost, but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph -- so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7th, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese empire.

2. George W. Bush War Speech

My fellow citizens, at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger.

On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war. These are opening stages of what will be a broad and concerted campaign. More than 35 countries are giving crucial support — from the use of naval and air bases, to help with intelligence and logistics, to the deployment of combat units. Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense.

To all the men and women of the United States Armed Forces now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled world and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you. That trust is well placed.

The enemies you confront will come to know your skill and bravery. The people you liberate will witness the honorable and decent spirit of the American military. In this conflict, America faces an enemy who has no regard for conventions of war or rules of morality. Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas, attempting to use innocent men, women and children as shields for his own military — a final atrocity against his people.

I want Americans and all the world to know that coalition forces will make every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm. A campaign on the harsh terrain of a nation as large as California could be longer and more difficult than some predict. And helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable and free country will require our sustained commitment.

We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization and for the religious faiths they practice. We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people.

I know that the families of our military are praying that all those who serve will return safely and soon. Millions of Americans are praying with you for the safety of your loved ones and for the protection of the innocent. For your sacrifice, you have the gratitude and respect of the American people. And you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done. Our nation enters this conflict reluctantly — yet, our purpose is sure. The people of the United States and our friends and allies will

not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder. We will meet that threat now, with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines, so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of firefighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities.

Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force. And I assure you, this will not be a campaign of half measures, and we will accept no outcome but victory.

My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail.

May God bless our country and all who defend her.