

PERSUASIVE LANGUAGE IN PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY BASED ON ARISTOTELIAN RHETORIC

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ABSTRACT

Persuasive strategies in political discourse provide opportunities for politicians to influence, guide, and control their audiences according to their desires and benefits. This study examines the persuasive side of the language used in presidential speeches delivered by Barack Obama and Hassan Rouhani. This contrastive study delineates persuasive strategies based on the Aristotelian approach towards the methodology of persuasion. Through extracting our corpus from the internet, we analyzed it using Aristotle's three means of persuasion (ethos, pathos, and logos). The corpus analysis was performed through qualitative content analysis according to the predefined themes and considering earlier investigations within the frame of Aristotelian rhetoric. The results indicated the prominent role of logos in presidential speeches as the most frequent strategy. Also, the analysis indicated three contrastive themes of religion, time, and participant names in the speeches of the presidents which signified their different cultural and political discourse. The impact of contextual aspects has also been discussed.

Keywords: contrastive analysis; persuasive strategies; political discourse; Aristotelian rhetoric

1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of most speeches is to persuade listeners to believe or perform an action. For instance, in order to make us believe that they are right, public speakers use an emotional language and various techniques to grab our attention, establish reliance, encourage a desire for the product or policy, and inspire us to act. Persuasion has been defined as the art of persuading audiences to focus their attention on our opinions (Osborn & Osborn, 1997) which gives us two components of persuasion, namely, acknowledging the artfulness of persuasion by delineating the ends of persuasion and persuading others to reflect favorably of our opinions. Specifically, the main purposes of persuasive speeches are to affect the attitudes, views, principles, and acts of

others (O’Hair & Stewart, 1999). Therefore, while in a persuasive speech the speaker endeavors to affect the public to think or behave in a specific way, in an informative speech the speaker provides some information known to an audience (Watt & Barnett, 2013).

Furthermore, leaders depend on the verbal power to persuade people of the profits that arise from their control in all kinds of political structures (Charteris-Black, 2005). As societies become more democratic, the responsibility of the leaders becomes greater to convince potential followers to ensure that their policies can be trusted. Also, speeches play a vital role for politicians in declaring their policies and convince others to agree with them (Beard, 2000). Therefore, political rhetoric used by activists, government officials, lobbyists, or politicians, by involving more emotional issues and editing by others is more difficult to analyze. The consequences of discourse become so significant by identifying the persuasion techniques in public discourse. Through knowing the language of persuasion, we may reform intricate emotional issues, describe the main arguments, and decide about the problems facing us. Furthermore, the language of politics become special when politician twist it to dispute for an item or an idea. In short, in an attempt to convince people, lecturers apply various methods or systems of persuasion (Beard, 2000).

This paper is an attempt to examine, identify, and contrast persuasive language and corresponding strategies used in presidential campaign speeches of English and Persian language which is a process to influence attitude, behavior, and opinion. Accordingly, there is an emphasis on the convincing role of political discourse and the types of persuading approaches used by the political figure in their lecture (Seifi, 2014).

2 REVIEW OF RELATED THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL BACKGROUND

The Aristotelian approach which consists of three categories of persuasions (Ethos, Pathos, and Logos) is the theoretical outline for the analysis of speeches. I will review the theoretical foundation and define the keywords that make the analytic component of this research.

2.1 ARISTOTELIAN RHETORIC

Rhetoric defined by Aristotle appears to have huge implications in the realm of convincing which was described more than 2300 years ago and many philosophers still discuss Aristotelian rhetoric through examining the issues of persuasion (Beard, 2000; Halmari, 2004). Aristotle considers a rhetorician as a person who has the capacity to perceive persuasive means, and similarly, rhetoric as the capacity to realize the available resources of persuasion in each specific

circumstance. Even though the rhetorician could not persuade everybody, he has complete control of his approaches by discovering the available resources of persuasion (Rapp, 2002). Furthermore, Aristotle (1967) believed that everyone can gain knowledge in the art of rhetoric, and does not limit to those who hope to persuade people while hiding their real intents. Thus, even a person who only attempts to deliver a true and honest point requires the tools of persuasion, provided by the art of rhetoric (Fudold, 2010). In other words, even if that person might own great knowledge and expertise in the subject s/he tries to deliver, there is no guarantee that the audiences will listen and take the message. Accordingly, in order to persuade people, the speaker requires rhetorical expertise to grasp their attention. According to Halmari (2005), the capacity to look like a reliable individual and to have people's attention involves not only the speaker's rhetorical skills but other aspects of persuasiveness like performance skills. The basic conceptualization for Aristotle's perspective on the persuasion process is based on his three means of persuasion and appeals of ethos, pathos, and logos which will now be explained further (Fudold, 2010).

2.2 *PERSUASION*

Rhetoric means the art of convincing others which makes rhetoric and convincing inseparable since any definition of rhetoric inevitably involves the idea of persuasion. They differ in that, while persuasion involves both lecturer intentions and positive consequences, rhetoric means the act of communication from the listeners' viewpoint. In other words, only through the speaker's successful rhetoric, hearers are convinced (Charteris-Black, 2005).

2.3 *ETHOS (GREEK FOR 'CHARACTER')*

Ethos involves making the lecturer appear reliable since it could shape the second-order conclusion for the population to accept the propositions presented by a reliable speaker (Rapp, 2002). Therefore, the lecturers may easily persuade the population about their reasons and benefits. Through exhibiting (a) a righteous character, (b) practical intelligence, and (c) decent will, the lecturer looks like a reliable person and his/her propositions could not be logically suspected. In a nutshell, ethos is convincing through character and posture (Beard, 2000); and correspondingly, rhetoricians can construct a personality that appears clever through appearing knowledgeable about the matters they argue (Crowley & Howhee, 2004).

2.4 *LOGOS (GREEK FOR 'WORD')*

Simply, persuasion by reasoning is considered Logos (Beard, 2003) and it is one of the principles of persuasion through utilizing opinions that look to be,

or are rational. In other words, through demonstrating that something is true, we try to persuade through the case itself (Rapp, 2002). Persuasion, as stated by Aristotle (2007), is essentially realized by rational discussion because using reasoning is the most valid way of persuasion. In other words, if a dispute seems to be logical it would be irrational to contradict it. Nevertheless, it is inadequate to attempt to convince only by utilizing rational discussion (logos), and it should consist of the other two principles of persuasion: ethos and pathos too (Fudold, 2010).

2.5 *PATHOS (GREEK FOR 'SUFFERING' OR 'EXPERIENCE')*

According to Halmari (2005), pathos as an additional means of convincing is the method of generating positive emotions and associations in the thoughts of audiences. Through pathos, the audiences would often be susceptible to believe, accept, and perform upon the disseminated information without a comprehensive rational examination. According to Rapp (2002), Aristotle considers pathos as promoting emotions by the lecturer, since emotions have the power to revise our decisions and conclusions.

2.6 *STUDIES ON PERSUASION STRATEGIES*

There have been some empirical inquiries on persuasion methods that have identified and examined specific strategies with specific underlying theoretical assumptions and in different discourses that develop certain perspectives in the application of the science of persuasion. For instance, the role of persuasive language has been considered in advertisement and communication (Lapierre, 2013; Wright, Friestad, & Boush, 2005; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986; Umi F. 2010). In addition, the impact and use of persuasive strategies in speeches have been considered by some researchers who explored the application of persuasive strategies in political discourse and communications. For instance, Grice (2010) who analyzed the content of presidential speeches to school children in order to recognize persuasive strategies and image development within such discourses, and sought to investigate the application of persuasive theories to the analysis of speeches designed for children. This study suggested that persuasive strategies, based on persuasive theories established for adult applications, are used in presidential speeches to school children. In another study by Jarraya (2013), persuasion in political discourse in the last speech of the former Tunisian president has been investigated through analyzing sentences to explore their illocutionary force in light of Searle's typology of Speech Act Theory and through using the three appeals of Aristotle. The findings of this study indicated that multiple speech acts are utilized in the same utterances and the use of ethos, which is a crucial strategy of persuasion in political discourse, was evident in his speech.

Political discourse and rhetoric is multifunctional which means: it may be used to perform a variety of speech acts (to protest, legitimize, intimidate, particularly to persuade) by leading us to a certain view of political reality and to act in a consistent way with this view (Woods, 2006). Persuasion strategies in rhetoric are critical means that help us understand how persuasive discourse forms the way people act, think, and move audiences.

Due to the lack of contrastive study on the use of persuasive strategies on presidential speeches, this study was launched to critically analyze some properties of the presidential speech of the U.S former leader, Barack Obama, and president of Iran, Hassan Rouhani, to indicate how they could convince and motivate the nation and their potential followers to choose them as their presidents. Furthermore, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

RQ1: What persuasive strategies do presidential messages contain?

RQ2: What similarities and differences exist between Persian and English presidential speeches in the use of persuasive strategies?

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 CORPUS DESCRIPTION

Two presidential speeches were used for this study, one Persian speech given by President Rouhani and one English speech given by former President Obama which represents the speeches given by presidents in the modern era. The transcripts of these speeches were obtained from two internet archives like “<http://obamaspeeches.com>” and “<http://www.president.ir>”.

3.2 DATA ANALYSIS

After translating Rouhani’s speech by two independent translators, the selected corpus was analyzed qualitatively through content analysis of the messages and according to the Aristotelian appeals. By analyzing the whole chunks of sentences according to a coherent common meaning, the data then transformed into a graph.

4 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of the speech in light of the Aristotelian appeals, logos, ethos, and pathos, will be applied to coherent segments of meanings and not whole sentences. Below is the distribution of the three appeals and a brief analysis of each. In addition, the sentences in the tables may be incomplete due to the space issues, you may refer to the websites in the references to study the complete speech.

Table 1. The speech Obama made in Chicago on the day of his being elected to the post of President of the USA, Wednesday 5th November, 2008.

Sentences	Logos	Ethos	Pathos
1. 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.		- 'Tonight' is a recurring theme, he goes off on a topic then returns to 'tonight'(reminding of who he is now).	- Reference to the American dream (creating positive emotion).
2. 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.	- Repetitive use of "Answer & Difference": implying theme of change.		- Referencing schools and churches: 'good' places to create positive emotions.
3. 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 we are, and always will be, the United States of America.		- He shares the same answers and goals with others.	- USA as the final words for evoking emotion of patriotism.
4. 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.	- More important change is on the way: 'hands on the arc of history'.		- Final words: 'better day', evoking feel-good and hope (and healing the bad stuff in the beginning: cynical/fearful,).
5. 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.		- Time again, fixing into now.	- Final word: America (raising patriotic emotion)

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<p>6. A little bit earlier this evening I just received a very gracious call from Senator McCain. Senator McCain fought longI congratulate him, I congratulate governor Palin for all they have achieved, and I look forward to working with them to renew this nations promise in the months ahead.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Showing nobility in victory. Praising the defeated, not ignoring or trampling on him. Thus showing signs of being a great leader. - Interestingly, praising the competitor before friends. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Final words: 'months ahead' - looking to the promising future.
<p>7. I want to thank my partner in this journey, a man who campaigned from his heart and spoke for the men and women he grew up with on the streets of Scranton and rode with on that train home to Delaware, the Vice President-elect of the United States, Joe Biden.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Painting the Vice President as an ordinary man. Saying 'we're just like you' to connect with the audience. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creating tension by not naming the person until the end.
<p>8. I would not be standing here tonight without the unyielding support of my best friend for the last sixteen years, the rock of our family and the love of my life, our nation's next First Lady, Michelle Obama.....I am grateful tonight.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Showing himself as a normal family man (just like you). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mentioning the grandmother who just died but without: evoking sympathy. - Final words: 'grateful tonight'. Showing humility.
<p>9. To my campaign manager David Plouffe, the unsung hero of this campaign, who built the best political campaign, I think, in the history of United States of America... and I am forever grateful for what you sacrificed to get it done.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Final words: 'get it done'. Reasoning to be the man of action. 		
<p>10. But above all, I will never forget who this victory truly belongs to - it belongs to you. It belongs to you. 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.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Instead of going to them, Obama is now bringing them to him, showing how they have been his campaign managers (and so must continue to support him). 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 'Belongs to you', repeated. Bringing the audience in to raise their emotions.

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Table 1. (Continued)

Sentences	Logos	Ethos	Pathos
<p>11. 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 the cause... It drew strength 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.....This is your victory.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Showing how great things come from small actions and hence encouraging future mass contribution. - off/by/for people: indicating American way 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Final words: 'your victory'. Feel-good, but also chaining them. Your victory today is your responsibility tomorrow.
<p>12. 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. For even as we celebrate tonight, we know the challenges that tomorrow will bring are the greatest of our lifetime - two wars, a planet in peril, the worst financial crisis in a century... There is new energy to harness and new jobs to be created; new schools to build and threats to meet, alliances to repair.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Showing the common touch, highlighting financial crisis with concern for family financial issues. - Emphasizes hope: new energy/jobs/schools. - Final words: 'alliances to repair'. - Signaling sea change in foreign policy. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Linking emotion of feel-good tonight with 'brave Americans', connecting audience with pride and war.
<p>13. 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.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Road/climb/get there - Making an inclusive promise, making a commitment for everyone. - Final words: 'we as a people will get there', showing inclusive determination. 		
<p>14. 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. ..I will ask you 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.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 'False starts' - problems: setbacks, won't agree, can't solve. Indicating possible failure in the future. - Inclusion again: involving the people in the change. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hinting at unpopular decisions that Obama may have to make, then linking it to honesty and listening. Building the picture of integrity in presidency. 	

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<p>15. What began twenty-one months ago in the depths of winter must not end on this autumn night. This victory alone is not the change we seek - it is only the chance for us to make that change. And that cannot happen if we go back to the way things were. It cannot happen without you. Without a new spirit of service. Without a new spirit of sacrifice.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Including the people again. 'It's your job too', but making it a glorious endeavor. - Final words: 'a new spirit of sacrifice'. Offering glory and being part of something great in return for personal effort and privation. 		
<p>16. So let us summon a new spirit of patriotism; of service and responsibility where each of us resolves to pitch in and work harder and look after not only ourselves, but each other. Let us remember that if this financial crisis taught us anything, it's that we cannot have a thriving Wall Street while Main Street suffers - in this country, we rise or fall as one nation; as one people.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clarifying the deal: work hard and feel good. Embrace the ideal of the collective. - Recognition of a recent concern and highlighting inequality in Wall Street excess. 		
<p>17. Let us resist the temptation to fall back on the same partisanship and pettiness and immaturity that has poisoned our politics for so long. 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.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inclusion: showing that Republicans share the same basic values. Thus speaking to all Republican voters. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Final words: 'I will be your President too.' - Dragging Republicans into the fold. Of course he is their president, but he is calling them into the emotional fold.
<p>18. 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. ... democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Addressing the individual with visceral words: 'huddled', 'forgotten corners'; it's a bit condescending, confirming American belief in their superiority. - 'Tonight' theme again. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 'We will defeat you'. Indicating the strength to make emotional involvement. - A whole string of emotional words: wealth, power, democracy, liberty, opportunity, hope.

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Table 1. (Continued)

Sentences	Logos	Ethos	Pathos
<p>19. 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.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Final words: 'must achieve tomorrow'. Confirming the necessity of what must be done. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Casting America and Americans as genius and hence capable of many things.
<p>20. This election had many firsts and many stories that will be told for generations. 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. when someone like her couldn't vote for two reasons - because she was a woman and because of the color of her skin.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Referring to history. - Using Ann Nixon Cooper's life to re-paint history 		
<p>21. And tonight, I think about all that she's seen throughout her century in America - the heartache and the hope; the struggle and the progress; the times we were told that we can't, and the people who pressed on with that American creed: Yes, we can.... When there was despair in the dust bowl and depression across the land, she saw a nation conquer fear itself with a New Deal, new jobs and a new sense of common purpose. Yes we can.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Showing historical struggle, connecting the audience again with it. - Response to despair with hope and determination. - 3 times "new". Evoking a sense of rebirth. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Starting the final theme of 'yes we can'.

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<p>22. When the bombs fell on our harbor and tyranny threatened the world, she was there to witness a generation rise to greatness and a democracy was saved. Yes, we can.... A man touched down on the moon, a wall came down in Berlin, a world was connected by our own science and imagination. 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. Yes we can.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - History of oppression and heroic response, saving not just the day but the whole of democracy (and hence all that is good). - Recall of the Selma and Martin Luther King, the 'preacher from Atlanta'. - Touching on the moon landing (a proud American moment) and the symbolic fall of communism (and implied victory of capitalism). 	
<p>23. America, we have come so far. We have seen so much. But there is so much more to do. 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? What progress will we have made?</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 'America' -addressing the nation with easy familiarity.
<p>24. This is our chance to answer that call. 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:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Return to theme of hope and positive benefits. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Explicit recall of the American Dream. - Final words: 'spirit of the people'
<p>25. Yes We Can. Thank you, God bless you, and may God Bless the United States of America.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Restating the 'yes we can' theme. Traditional final blessing, almost as a priest of the new order. 	

Table 2. The speech President Rouhani made in Tehran on the day of his being elected to the post of President of the Iran, Sunday 4th August 2013

Sentences	Logos	Ethos	Pathos
<p>1. Greetings and peace be upon the prophets of the noble, and on the authority of the Prophet and the Imam and the martyrs and imams of the martyrs (Holy Quds) and on the supreme leader of the Revolution (supreme blessings be upon him) ... I take the symmetry of this legal ritual with the closing days of the holy month of Ramadan, and bless the words of martyr Ramadan, the Emir of the Faithful Ali (AS), who said that the foundations of the government were based on "wisdom".</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Referring to virtual sources in validating and supporting his victory. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Using the names who have emotional load for people.
<p>2. The July elections, although started with suspicion of part of society, ended with the approval and acceptance of the general public. The elections were held in full transparency, competition and calm, and many were surprised. Iran, which was destined to emerge as a result of boycotts and isolation in an internal strife and a huge rift between the state and the nation, became the epitome of a process that, with passionate elections and wide participation by various strata of the people, became an epic process. Relying on collective wisdom and with the participation of all activists committed to the system, it was shaped to reflect the maturity of the system and to build greater trust between the sovereign and the people. All the people and elites of the society understood the national interests and conditions of the country well and walked in the way of the glory of the homeland.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introducing the defeat of the ill-wishers and victory by people. - Initiating with bad stuff: ill-wishers, suspension, strife, gap, but end with connecting and resourceful words. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Praising people for their participation and recognition to create positive emotions. - Use of Epic metaphor.
<p>3. The election was not the result of a rift between the people and the sovereign; the Iranian people elected a president who had been in charge of the systems for many years. This election demonstrates the dignity of the Iranian people and underscores the fact that democracy in Iran is institutionalized and sustained, and that the Islamic Revolution of Iran has maturity and stability.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relating his victory to the people's need of honor. - Emphasizing the connection between people and the government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introducing himself as the capable person who had important jobs done. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Again, flattering people to justify their choice and introducing them as the source of the power.

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<p>4. The people created a great epic in the July elections and with their unique presence at the ballot box, they narrowed the social, political and cultural divisions and emphasized the unity and convergence of Iran's more global and regional dignity. Joy, hope, and the confidence gained from these elections provided Iran with new social capital. A capital that not only made it possible to eliminate the various dangers and threats from the country but also created new opportunities to jumpstart the country's comprehensive development and development process.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introducing the theme of unity and their role in decreasing the gap. - Initiating the line of promises to justify his election. The promises he may never keep. 		
<p>5. Although the finger of hope in this election was more of a discourse that was embodied in the plans of this small slave, many social, economic and political factors must be involved in the emergence of this situation. We should appreciate the leadership of the system and the active and effective presence of all groups, strata and social classes and the role played by prominent personalities, scholars, authorities, elites and political currents in the country. All Iranian citizens, with different opinions and political orientations, acted with great hope and confidence in the context of the system. Of course, my main responsibility now is to maintain the same love, hope and trust of the people.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Referring to the theme of "hope" again. - He attributes his victory to various groups of people particularly religious ones. Again another justification (support of the leader). 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Final words: love, hope, confidence: promising future
<p>6. People were amazed at this election. After that, it is our responsibility for the officials to accept the message of this change and to be committed to respect at all levels of the system. The rights and obligations between the people and the government find meaning here..... the future plans of the country. The least expectation of the people in this election for the new government is to stabilize all areas and address the various concerns facing the country today.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introducing the theme of change. - Criticizing the present presidency, present himself as an angel to save people and grant them peace. 		
<p>7. I know the ability of the government to strengthen its social base and to abide by the covenant it has made with the people. This commitment requires loyalty and honesty in front of people. In our religion the basis of religion is faithfulness and covenant. Truthfulness improves affairs, and lying causes corruption. That Imam Ali (AS) said: "Asl al-Din al-A-dani and al-Ufa wa al-Majid".</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mentioning prominent saying by imam Ali could be another reference to the previous president and government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Praising himself and present and relate his government to the prominent saying by imam Ali. - Themes of loyalty, honesty, religious 	

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Table 2. (Continued)

Sentences	Logos	Ethos	Pathos
<p>8. This government will be faithful to its commitment to flourishing Islamic ethics and striving to explain and fulfill the enlightening rulings of Islam. . . Our society, especially the younger generation, must continually apply mechanisms of dialogue, the right to know and to be in the running of things, to persuade rationally. . .</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Praising again himself and introduce contrastive words (poverty, wealth, honor, dishonor) to emphasize the theme of change and the utopian Iran in the future. - Necessity of reasonable request by people is in direct contrast with what he just promised. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The promise of utopia has a great emotional load.
<p>9. Continuing people's hope and trust is the key to solving the country's current problems. This space and opportunity can be sustained through interactive and modest approaches. The country needs a national resolve to move away from extremism in policy and management, focusing on the rule of law.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The starting words: hope, trust, key - Emphasizing the theme of moderation in his government. 		
<p>10. The same was the discourse and program that was won by the majority of the population in the elections - "moderation and interaction". That is the common ground of all political and social currents and forces, which both support the great achievements of the revolution and respect the efforts of post-revolutionary governments and are concerned with the critical situation of the country and the deficiencies of the present situation. Moderation is a hallmark of Iranian-Islamic culture. . . . On the basis of my approach to elections and the limited knowledge and experience gained in various fields of revolution and responsibility, I am obliged to pursue this concept in the form of government programs and measures. I adhere strictly to the ethics and individual behavior of the moderate, but I see beyond the moderation policies of governing the country.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emphasizing his campaign theme and providing supportive quotes to validate his election. - Persuading people to follow his theme because of its connection with several Islamic and historical values. - Again criticizing present situation and suggest a solution by moderation theme and relate it to the great Iranian revolution. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mentioning his work experience and presenting his plan to follow his theme. - This theme gives him capability to be elected and worthy of presidency. 	

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<p>11. The main practical application of moderation will be those measures and programs of the government that are structured and increase the ability of the state to respond to the needs of society. Therefore, the structural imbalances of the country with scientific pathologies must be properly recognized, and with structural reforms, the existing capacities of the state institution by transformational society must be upgraded.</p>	<p>- Stating his plans according to the moderation theme again to justify his future actions and again refers to the present unstable situation.</p>		
<p>12. Our society is in critical condition. The livelihood of the people must be increased and their living space opened, and the economy, especially industrial and agricultural production, should be given another boost. The government's orientation will be to save the Iranian economy, restore morality, and build productive engagement with the world. The government will seek, above all, for people's livelihoods, and for the prevention of social harm. At the same time, in the field of international relations, it will take new steps to improve Iran's dignity by securing national interests and removing the current cruel sanctions. Although there are many problems in the country, the horizons for the future are bright and promising. let reconciliation instead of envy, and friendship instead of enmity. Let Islam continue to create epic with its ruthless face, Iran with its rational face, revolution with its human face and system with its emotional face</p>	<p>- Again present situation and plans, promises, hopes, and bright future for Iranians. - Contrastive words again and words that are important for people and their life like economic, policy, suspensions, future of Iran, wealth, personal virtues... - He is going to present a new Iran which nobody knows or recognizes but everybody wants.</p>		<p>- These promises and hopes make people believe that they have made the right choice.</p>
<p>13. Here, I need to thank the services of past governments, especially the government, and honor the former President, and wish them all the best.</p>	<p>- Brief thanks for previous president and his men after so much indirect reproaches.</p>		

(Continued)

Table 2. (Continued)

Sentences	Logos	Ethos	Pathos
<p>14. In the end, I would like to once again thank the great people who have emerged beyond the pinnacle of the analysis of researchers and theorists, and have shown that when the country is in critical and dangerous situations, they will not hesitate for a moment to support their country and the system. I warmly shake the hands of these millions of noble people, and I sincerely thank everyone who said yes to the election, and I hope I deserve their trust.</p>			<p>- Final thanks goes for people.</p>
<p>15. I feel the heavy burden of this vote and this supplication, and I solicit God alone. I call upon the arrogant and sincere servant of this poor servant to free himself from the pride, arrogance, greed and envy. Lord, I take refuge in you in the despotism of the vote, in the rush to make a decision, in the interest of the individual and in the group over the public interest, and in the mouths of competitors and critics.</p>	<p>- Maybe another implied warning for his critics.</p>	<p>- New and desirable picture of our president and again something that may never happen, (but we like to believe.) - Self-degrading-great strategy to elevate oneself.</p>	<p>- New president with great features, (implying "yes we win and we are proud of you")</p>

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Before discussing the analysis of speeches from the Aristotelian appeals perspective, I will consider some features dominant in these speeches. The first contrastive element evident in the speeches is the theme of religion which has been excessively utilized in Iranian presidential speech regarding its Islamic and religious nature and its prominent role in the policy and persuasion. This theme has been rarely used by Obama in his speech and has been compensated by stating personal virtues like integrity. The second factor is the theme of time. By the time, I mean how they represent and refer to the past, the present, and the future. Obviously, both presidents hope a promising future, but considering the present and past time we may simply conclude that President Obama chooses the past over the present by so many references to historical events and values. On the other side, we see Rouhani's frequent reflections on the present situation which indicate his choice according to his purpose. The third contrastive factor is the participants and names present in these speeches which indicate American's president free will in mentioning his family (even his grandmother), his competitor (Senator Mc. Cain), and prominent figures (Luther King). But, we see no trace of a family name, or competitor name in Rouhani's speech and the prominent figures which have been frequently used are simply religious. The other contrastive factor is the use of important values for them and their people in creating pathos and have emotional loads. While Obama refers to the American dream in his speech and the American way of creating change, Rouhani refers to Iran's great revolution and its values to create a sense of loyalty and pathos. For instance, Obama employed effective human wishes for the concern of others and spoke about being a group that would make a difference in order to generate great positive emotions and social character by using slogans such as "Yes We Can" and "We Believe". On the other side, Rouhani made consecutive references to the prominent religious quotes (e.g. Imam Ali) and concepts (e.g. Justice) to strengthen ethos and logos which is regarded as an appeal to authority in order to justify the credibility of his character and his argument. The appeal to authority or old wisdom is considered to be an effective tool to present practical intelligence, a virtuous character, and justification for a point of view. (Halmay, 2005).

Consequently, the use of personal pronouns in political discourse has been considered to affect the message transition process. According to Jones and Wareing (1999), while the first person singular pronoun "I" evidently defines who is accountable, the first person plural pronoun "we" makes the position of accountability vague. Even by a cursory look at the two corpora, you may recognize, almost, the proliferation of the first person singular and plural pronouns in Obama's and Rouhani's speech which indicate their attempt to provide clear and uncertain information, hopes, and plans and to share their responsibility with people in uncertain situations.

Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate that the three appeals are used in an intertwined way most of the time, as described by Aristotle (1967) which is a persuasive strategy that is driven by a good knowledge of the context. Although

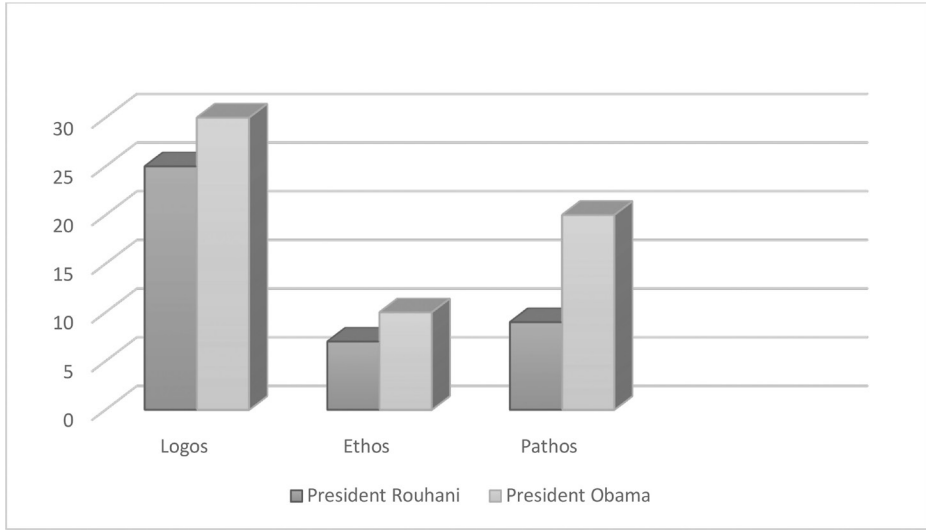


Figure 1. Frequencies of persuasive strategies in the presidential speeches.

“self-representation” (Poggi, 2005, p. 314) is of great importance, Logos was the prominent appeal used in these speeches.

According to Figure 1, logos and pathos are the common persuasive strategies identified in the presidential speeches, and ethos is infrequently utilized in our corpus. The role of logos in persuasion has been emphasized by Aristotle who considers persuasion to be mainly achieved through logical argumentation since the appeal to logic is the powerful way of convincing. Simply put, if a dispute seems to be logical it would be irrational to contradict it. But, as Cockcroft (2004) claimed ethos is the strongest appeal since it expresses values shared by the persuader and the persuadee and is intended to establish a rapport with the audience, in these instances you can evidently see examples of ethos in their speeches by different techniques like self-degrading and request for help. Therefore, Aristotelian appeals are mostly intertwined with an emphasis on ethos and logos in political discourse to create a trustworthy and credible image of the persuader. Furthermore, Aristotle considers the role of pathos and emphasizes the influence of emotions like pity, anger, fear, and oppositions on our logical conclusions. Correspondingly, lots of advertising, as well as political discourses we see, is focused on affecting our feelings like irritation which is considered as a very strong stimulating force. Interestingly, these speeches had been designed according to the contextual aspects and addressed specific instances of contextual factors in achieving certain persuasive appeals. For instance, Obama indicated signs of being a great leader and nobility in victory by praising the defeated and had rarely criticized the present situation to direct people’s attention to the failure of the previous president. But, Rouhani did the reverse and did not mention

his competitors and severely referred to the present situation and only briefly thanked the last president in the end. Rouhani, also, did not shake hands or talk to him before or after his speech despite two meters distance. So, contextual factors also may determine the content of the speech and corresponding persuasive strategies.

5 CONCLUSION

The present study aimed at providing an understanding of persuasion in political discourse through the use of different strategies. However, no hasty generalization can be formed, since a larger corpus of data, such as the previous speeches of these presidents, would be required in order to evaluate any deviation from the way they used to deliver their speeches. Moreover, the corpus was originally delivered in oral form. This can be beneficial in scrutinizing paralinguistic features such as voice quality, intonation, pitch, postures and gestures, and to check whether they have any correlation with the Aristotelian appeals. Nonetheless, the findings of this study indicate that much work can be done in the field of political discourse, and provide a ground for further investigation of persuasion.

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