**A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Language of Persuasion
Used in the Election Campaigns by American Parliaments
Iman Jebur Janam
M.A. in English Language & Linguistics
Baghdad University, College of Education (Ibn-Rushd) for
Human Sciences, English Department**
eman.jabur@ircoedu.uobaghdad.edu.iq

Abstract:

Persuasion can be defined as a scientific art which is closely connected with our life .Linguistically speaking, persuasion is achieved through many techniques termed "persuasive devices". These persuasive devices are covered in different domains of life. Accordingly, persuasion has been defined in various methods according to communication as *"a communication process in which a communicator searches to draw out a desired response from his receiver''.*

This paper investigates different strategies of persuasion used by different people in different domains of life and how those strategies differ when used in election parliament. The aim of this paper is to find out the strategies of persuasion used by different people and specifically in the election Campaigns.

It is hypothesized that Americans use different strategies of persuasion in order to affect others by changing their beliefs, attitudes and so on.

This paper explains what is meant by the term "critical discourse analysis", (henceforth CDA), elaborates on the political discourse analysis and shows how it differs from (CDA).Outlining persuasion with its strategies which are used to influence on the others. Besides, it analyzes the data selected for this study which is the speeches of Hillary Clinton and Donald trump through the polling, then discusses the results and conclusions.

Keywords: persuasion, strategies, critical, political, parliament.

تحليل نصي نقدي للغة الاقناع التي يستعملها اعضاء البرلمان الاميركي في الحملات الانتخابية

م.ايمان جبر جنام
قسم اللغة الإنكليزية/كليه التربية (ابن رشد)للعلوم الإنسانية/جامعه بغداد
ايميل:eman.jabur@ircoedu.Uobaghdad.edu.iq

الملخص :

" الاقناع" فن علمي له علاقه وثيقة بحياتنا .من الناحية اللغوية، ويتحقق الاقناع بوساطة استخدام عده تقنيات تسمى "ادوات الاقناع" التي يتم تغطيتها عادة في نواحي مختلفة من الحياة . نتيجة لذلك ، عرف الاقناع حسب الاتصال بطرائق مختلفة كعملية اتصالية يبحث بموجبها المتصل عن استجابة مرغوبة من المتلقي .

تفترض هذه الدراسة استخدام الامريكان لاستراتيجيات مختلفة من الاقناع للتأثير في آراء الآخرين و معتقداتهم . تقصت هذه الدراسة كهدف اساسي استراتيجيات الاقناع المختلفة عندما تستخدم شرائح مختلفة من الناس في مراحل مختلفة من الحياة.

تناولت الدراسة مفهوم "تحليل الخطاب النقدي "تحليل الخطاب السياسي" وبينت الفرق بينهما .و تناولت آليات الاقناع المختلفة المستخدمة في التأثير في الاخرين .بناءا على ما ذكر اعلاه

فقد حللت الدراسة نصوصا مختارة لكل من هيلاري كلنتون و دونالد ترامب خلال مدة الترشيح للرئاسة في الولايات المتحدة .واخيرا تنتهي الدراسة بمناقشه النتائج.
الكلمات المفتاحية: اقناع ، استراتيجيات ، نقدي ، سياسي ، برلمان

1. INTRODUCTION

The term "Critical" is used in order to show the connection like the connection between language, ideology and power. These connections may be hidden from people. According to Wodak and Meyer (2001), CDA is involved with analyzing relationships of dominance, control and power. This means that the goal of critical discourse analysis is investigating the social inequality as it is expressed, signaled or constituted.

Snyder and Higgins (1990) state that **"political discourse is a domain of discourse analysis that is focused on discourse in political form like debates, speeches and hearings."**

Wodak and Mayer (2009) argue that the need for interdisciplinary work is emphasized by (CDA) in order to understand the function of language in forming and sending knowledge. The study of (CDA) requires the relationship between text, talk, society and finally culture. Van Dijk (1998) states that (CDA) is a domain that is occupied with different texts to discover sources of bias, dominance and power.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 CDA

Discourse is defined, according to Brown and Yule (1983), as the **"communicative action in the medium of language"**. , i.e., it refers to any form of language in use, specially spoken language.

There is another meaning of discourse made by Stubbs (1983) that is; language above the sentence or above the clause; that is studying a large linguistics unit like conversational exchanges or written text. Discourse can be used for particular signifier that refers to particular context of language, like genre or text type.

Foucault (1972: 49) demonstrates that discourse is **"practices which systemically form the objects of which they speak"**. Later, Burr (1990) develops the definition of Foucault and he defines discourse as a set of meaning, representation, metaphors, stories, statements and so on in some way together in order to produce version of events.

Brown and Yule (ibid) describe discourse analysis as how humans use language in order to communicate with each other. According to Richards, Platt and Webber(1985: 84), discourse analysis is defined as **"** *the study of how sentences in spoken and written language form a larger meaningful unit like paragraphs, conversational , and interview"*.

Fairclough (1993:135) clarifies that (CDA) is:

> **"analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony."**

2.2 Political Discourse Analysis

Politicians are known as people who play their role in the political activities through paid elections .Political discourse is different from other types of discourse such as medical, legal or educational in the sense that it involves in its political events different participants not only politicians, but also other groups of people.Therefore,the identification of political discourse must be extended to include not only those people who are politicians, but also other recipients in communicative modes.

In the light of the aforementioned remarks, it should be held in mind that political discourse involves not only professional politicians, but also includes different citizens who are concerned with politics like voters,dissidents,demonstrators,issue groups, and so on(verba,etal:1993).

2.3 Definitions of Persuasion

In its origin, 'Persuasion" is an English word of a Latin origin' **'persuade''** which can be analyzed into the prefix**"pre''** which means **"through'** 'and **"sude''**which means' **'to argue or advice''** (On line Etymological Dictionary, 2010, p.53).

There are many definitions of persuasion according to various scholars; all the definitions are relatively comparable in meaning. According to Oliver (1986), persuasion can be defined as any type of discourse which influences the feeling, thoughts, and behavior. This means that all speech is persuasive. The process of persuasion is complex because it refers to definite meanings like acceptance, comprehension and retention (–Pool and Frey, 1973: p. 221_222 and Prety and Brinol, 2008:P. 137).

One of the scholars who agrees with the idea of understanding persuasion as a process like Wilcox (2005), who says that persuasion is a**" complex, interactive process in which the persuader tries to effect the persuade to change a response "**.Likewise Heath (2006) who describes persuasion as a method in which the success of influence based on the way the receiver makes the signifier of the message. Abrams (1999) and Alire (2010) understand the debate surrounding the notion of persuasion. Persuasion can be defined not only as an art but also as a science. It is gained through**" having an innate and natural born skill''**.

Aims of persuasion is to change the person's beliefs , motivations ,intentions or behaviors towards some events in the business that is done through by using written , spoken words or visual instruments in order to convey the feeling , the information or reasoning . In order to change the people's attitude or behavior, persuasion can be interpreted as using one's personal or positional resources. (Wikipedia.org/Persuasion).

According to Kritzer (2009), Finn and Rensburg (1983) illustrate persuasion as a domain of scientific research .The language of mathematics and statistics are tools of persuasion. Some of the scholars like Power (1998) and Simons (2001) have relatively similar definitions of persuasions, Power (1998, p. 25) shows persuasion "*as a process of motivating someone through communication to change particular attitude or behavior* ".Simons (2001), clarifies that persuasion studies a human communication which designed in order to influence the others by modifying their beliefs, values or attitudes.

The definitions of persuasion can be different from one to another depending on the way that can be used to persuade. All the definitions above are clear for us for how we can use persuasion in different domains of life. All the definitions are relatively comparable. The researcher agrees with the definition of Power (1998) that is defined as a process of motivating, because the attitudes are different, and the behavior is also different from one person to another.

2.4 What is Persuasion?

When changing the response of the others, there is an influential role in everyday life. Persuasion means a persuader's determination to persuade the others. There are some factors that influence in deciding which act is right and which act is wrong like gender, age, social rank and so on. Different strategies of persuasion are used for different purposes such as the using of companies and organizations of persuasion in order to get an advantage from the persuade, so that they try to persuade others to sell them a product, more election sounds.

2.5 Persuasion between Past and Present

Whalen (1996) says that the study of persuasion is not a new field, it can be found in old era. The study of persuasion becomes one of the major sources that fertilize history of persuasion research because it was shared rhetoric.

Carox (in 476 B.C.) was the first person who modify the rhetorical and persuasion (Dillard, 2009). In the 18th century a great rhetorical works appeared and continued to the 19th and 20th century. According to woolbart (1916), who argues about the development of new field "*speech science*" which breaks with humanistic traditions and scientific methods.

Perloff (2010), states that communication and persuasions are the modern turns which recently developed. It was found that there are a lot of things about persuasion like books, articles and so on. Persuasion becomes part of the contemporary life .However, in many companies, offices and departments, persuasion considers as an art which spent a lot of money in order to get them learn how to be a good persuasive persons.

2.6 Strategies of Persuasion

Various strategies of persuasion are used to attain this process. There are six strategies of persuasion that Morris (2010) mentions it: *"reciprocity, commitment and consistency, social proof, liking authority and scarcity"*.

While it was mentioned that there are three strategies of persuasion according to Johnston (1989): quasilegal, presentation and analogy. Vocabulary and structures are used by persuaders in the quasilegal strategy to have a rhetorical impact. In the

presentation strategy, it is depended on the claim that in order to have the ability to persuade, you have to be a moved and swept person.

As far as the final strategy, i.e., analogy, it means the similarity between the present events and past issues.   There is another strategy of persuasion that remained by Aristotle (2007). These strategies like the development of a logical argument that he called it "*logos*". The strategy which refers to the character of the speaker. He called this strategy "*ethos*" .The last strategy which is mentioned by Aristotle in order to refer to the appealing to emotions. The researcher discusses the strategies of persuasion by Aristotle   in detail.

2.6.1 Logos which is also called Logic

According to Lucas (2009) who explains that there are two elements that Aristotle points to as "*logos*". These elements are called **evidence** and **reasoning**. In order to make the speaker's claim persuader, these two elements are working together in a combination as complementary, since reasoning stems its conclusion from evidence .He explains that reasoning is concerned with two things:

- First: The certainty of the speaker's reasoning as being sound.
- Second: The speaker should agree with his reasoning.

2.6.2 Ethos which is called Character

It is important to look upon the character of the speaker "*ethos*"   . According to Aristotle (2007) who identifies that there are three reasoning in order to be persuasive for a speaker: practical wisdom, virtue and good will. While in (2009) Lucas added that ethos refers to the truthfulness which effects by two elements. Knowledge, sincerity and intelligence are factors which refer to such factors regarded by the audience like reputation and appearance.

After that Lucas (ibid), demonstrates that credibility occurs in the mind if the audience not in the mind of the speaker and it is changed by discourse. There are three kinds of credibility made by Lucas (ibid); 1.initial before speech, 2.derived during speaking, and 3. Terminal at the end of speech.

2.6.3 Pathos which is also called Passion

According to Thompson (1998), who identifies pathos as the feelings or passions of the heart in which the speaker is conveyed in order to demonstrate feelings, sympathy or suffering.

In (2007), Aristotle takes part that the audience can be persuaded to feel emotions through speaking like calmness, pity, love, shame, anger, and favor.

While Lucas (ibid) mentions emotions that developed through the public in the following:

1. Fear: The wrath of the God , the torture of the God
2. Pride : The struggle of the children , the homeless of the people
3. Pride : Speaker's children or speaker's beliefs
4. Anger : That of the God or the anger of the parents
5. Guilt: The sins which was committed or the poor that no one helps them.

The use of emotional expression is promoted by   Aristotle, since it makes the feelings of the audience is shared with the feelings of the speakers. When audience shared similar feelings, the speaker shared charged language for persuasion in order to be successful (Larson, 2010).

2.7 Persuasive Devices

They are used in order to understand a person's reaction to what is said. There are many devices that are used in persuasion.

2.7.1. Syntactic Devices

Crystal (2003:451) demonstrates that syntax" is the study of the rules governing the construction of sentences through the accumulation of words. They can be achieved by:

2.7.1.1. Rhetorical Question

Such a device can be defined as a device which is used to persuade or subtly influence the audience. This device is used not for requesting information, but for the sake of persuasive effect. It encourages the listener to think in advance about what his response to the question should be like (Abioy, 2009).

There is another definition for rhetorical question made by Yule (2006), who describes rhetorical question as the question which has the form of question but affect something while Downing and Lock (1992) refer to the rhetorical question in which the response is not expected but it is used in order to give comment or explanation, On the other hand, Crystal (1999), defines a rhetorical question as a sentence in its structure like a question but the speaker doesn't expect the answer.

- Who cares?   means there is no one cares.

There are many types of Rhetorical questions

1. Positive and Negative Rhetorical Questions

These questions can take two forms either as wh- questions dend yes/no- questions . Leech and Svartivik (1975) state that positive wh- questions convey negative attitudes:

-What differences does it make ?

This example gives the meaning of a negative answer that it makes no difference while negative wh-questions conveyey positive attitudes

- Who doesn't know that?

2. A Tag Question:

This type is used in order to check whether something is true or false and is also used in order to take the agreement of the listener .It occur at the end of the sentence and it is always short for example :

- That is the school. Isn't it?

Quirk and Greenbaum (1990, p.179) denote that the tag question consists of an operator and a pronoun and the super ordinate which determines the choice and the tense of the operator. The tag question will be negative if the super ordinate clause is positive and vice versa :

- She likes her mother. Doesn't she?

2.7.1.2. Ironical Rhetorical Questions

This type of rhetorical questions contains a great deal of sarcasm. These questions are usually funny and are not used to get an answer but to add a sense of humor.

 -If a cow laugh hard, would milk come out of her nose?

- Do fish get thirsty?

2.7.2. Semantic Devices

As far as the semantic meanings of persuasion are concerned, three meanings can be identified:

1. Simile

This word is of a Latin origin "similes" that means "like". It is a type of speech that one thing is linked to another. For example:

- His head and hair were white like wool.

The use of simile is created a more interesting persuasive device.

2. Metaphor

Without using "as" or "like" as explicit markers in simile, metaphor is used in an implicit comparison. For instance:

-I am a flower of Baghdad.

3. Metonymy

Cuddon (1998) states that metonymy is a figurative device that replaces a concept by something closely related to it. For instance:

- Let me give you a hand. (Hand for help)

2.7.3. Phonological Devices

(Crystal, 2003:p. 350) explains the function of sounds in languages, phonology is the concerned with studying the phonological system of the sounds of languages. There are two types of phonological devices.

1. Alliteration

McManus (1998,p. 623) identifies alliteration as "the repetition of the same phoneme at the start of words in order to make persons' words and opinions notable and promotive.For example :

- A soft tongue breaks bones.

2. Assonance

To excite a great persuasive effect, this device means repeating the same phonemes in the neighboring words (Cuddon, 1998:p.58). For example:

-A greedy man trouble to his family.

3. Data Analysis

The researcher takes two basic candidates (Hillary Clinton & Donald Trump) in 2016 US presidency polling period. Trump starts his 16 minutes talk to America with an act which states the beginning of his four years era of the rule of America. During this talk, Trump accosted his people, promising America to be in the first rank. While Hillary Clinton, when she lost the presidency polling of the US on 11,8[th] 2016, she transmitted a wonderful and propitious talk for all the people around the world.

3.1 Data Collection

The researcher takes the data for this paper from parts of the utterances in the speeches of the two basic candidates (Hillary Clinton & Donald Trump), and the researcher selects the data in these speeches that contain Grammatical Function: Modals, Pronouns and rhetorical devices.

3.2 The Modal for Analysis

The researcher takes Lacus (2009) modal as the modal for the analysis of this paper is and the data selected from the speeches of the two candidates in American Election parliament (Clinton and Trump) in the 2016 US presidency polling result which is taken from the internet.

3.3 Data Analysis of Clinton's speech

The researcher shows the data finding depending on analyzing Hillary Clinton's talk which lasted about 12 minutes and comprised of 1.172 words with 62 sentences. The researcher started analyzing rhetorical devices finding out that one of which is repetition for emphatic purposes that help the speaker to get his or intention and people's attention'. Harris (2013) states that rhetorical devices are used in writing or speech to help to add effectiveness, beauty, and emphasis. Whereas Crystal, Robson and Stockwell(as mentioned in Swerwani (2010)) point out that rhetorical device is based on figurative language to achieve different purposes such as expressing things in an unrealistic way, giving speech and writing emphasis, beauty and effectiveness, also granting the speaker's thought a source of freedom.

1. **Repetition of Terminal Syllables**

Alliteration

Alliteration is a device of rhetorical assertion means repeating syllables of a sentence.

Extract 1

"So now, our responsibility as citizens is to keep doing our part to build that better, stronger, fairer America we seek".

This extract shows that using three words (better, stronger, fairer) ending up with 'er' as a marker of comparative degree clarifies Hillary's used alliteration to attract the supporters' attention to keep trying to build better, stronger and fairer America. In this regard, Harris (2013:p. 44) points out that **"the function of alliteration is to call attention to the phrase and fixes it in the audience's mind and it is useful for emphasis as well as art"**.

2. Repetition of Words

a. Anaphora

Anaphora is a device of rhetorical assertion means repeating the front word or words.

Extract 2

"So my friends, let us have faith in each other, let us not grow weary, let us not lose heart, for there are more seasons to come and there is more work to do".

   Through using the triple "let us" and mentioning "more" twice, Clinton is commanding her supporters to keep going ahead, accurately using anaphora for reinforcement.

b. Diacope

Nichol (2011) points out that diacope is a rhetorical method of assertion meaning repeating a preceding word or words after the interval of one or more words. Using diacope is employed in this extract from Clinton's concession speech.

Extract 3

"This loss hurts, but please never stops believing that fighting for what is right is worth it. It is, it is worth it".

   In this extract, Clinton is repeating the phrase "worth it" to her supporters for the sake of emphasis. This is enhanced by Zimmer (2009) who states that **"in diacope the repeated words are emphasized."** The emphasized phrase here is describing her struggle with her supporters for the campaign .Also indicating that Clinton is an example of women who never surrender fighting to fulfill her aims.

3.4 Data Analysis of Trump's speech

   Two functions will be analyzed in Trump's talk during the ceremony of Washington on January 21, 2017; these are the grammatical and textual functions.

3.4.1 Grammatical Function: Modals and Pronouns

1. Modality Analysis:

   According to Thornburg(2004:p. 30-1), when talking about the future, the most frequent modal verb used is 'will' to make promises, requests).While when expressing obligation and necessity, the modal 'must' is usually used. Considering what is mentioned above, Donald Trump's use of the auxiliaries 'will' and 'must' in his speech is well justified.

Through the analysis of Trump's speech, his excessive use of the modal auxiliary 'will' shows clearly his focus on the future, requesting his supporters to exert efforts to build a prosperous future for America.

Extract

"…we will determine the course of America…we will face challenges…we will confront hardships"

Personal pronouns functions as the head s of pronoun or noun phrases. They also take the place of common and proper nouns .They are grammatical items which represent nouns (Huddleston, 1984).

2.   Pronoun Analysis:

Accounting the number of occurrences of personal pronouns in Trump's speech, data analysis shows that Trump has used the personal pronoun 'I' and 'MY' only 3 times, while used 'WE' and 'US' 35 times. This indicates that Trump focuses not only on himself, but also all the Americans. He believes in the idea of unity that he shares everything with the Americans.

As far as possessive pronouns are concerned, they are considered a subcategory of the noun. They usually express possession .They express five functions in clauses: prepositional complement, subject complement, direct object, subject, and indirect object (Laurel and Brinton, 2010).

Data analysis draws the number of occurrences of the possessive pronouns in Trump's speech. He has used the possessive pronoun 'I' only once, while used 'YOUR/YOURS' 11 times, and 'OUR/OURS' 38 times. This indicates Trump's desire to achieve unity with his people.

He wants to impress and persuade the Americans that he is ready to serve them **"with every breath "**of his body.

Accordingly, Trump's speech is a perfect sample which shows that language links itself with the situation to achieve the desired purpose. His language is highly persuasive as it uses conversational features that control the topics.

44

Conclusion

This paper has focused on the way that persuasion is used in the election parliament. It is found that there are different strategies of persuasion used in order to influence on the others.

The paper also has revealed that there are differences in linguistic features in using persuasion in parliament Election.

The data chosen for the analysis was taken from the political discourse of the two main candidates (Hillary Clinton & Donald Trump) during the presidency polling period. To achieve the objective of the study, it has analyzed their speeches during the election. The results have shown that both of them uses different persuasive devices in order to give a chance to the audience to come to the intended meaning naturally .Hence, their speeches were a good sample stating that language links itself with the situation to achieve the desired purpose.

References

Anderson,K.(1971).Persuasion: Theory   and   Practice.Boston:Allyn& Bacon.Blackwell.Blackwell Limited.

Aristotle. (2007)On Rhetorical. Kennedy .G.A. ((Trans.) New York: Oxford University Press.

Abrams, M.H. (1999) .A Glossary of Literature Term. United States: Heinle and Heinle.

Cegela, E. (1987). Communication Theory. New York: Oxford University Press.

Crystal,D. (2003) . A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. New York: Blackwell Publishing .

Dillard, J. P (2009) ".Persuasion" .In C. R. Berger. , M. Roloff, & D. Roskos -Ewoldsen (Eds.), Handbook of Communication Science. Thousand Oaks, CA: Saga.

Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and Social change (Vol. 73). Cambridge: Polity press.

---------------------- (1995). Critical Discourse Analysis: Papers in the Critical Study of Language. London: Longman.

Finn, M. and Resburg, R. S. (1983). Professional Persuasion. Umtata: Butterworth Publishers, Inc.

Johnston, B.(1989)."Linguistics Strategies and Culture Style for Persuasive Discourse". In Ting-Tomey, Stella, and Felipe Krozenny (1989). Language, Communication and Culture: Current Directions.Oxford: Oxford University Press

Lakoff, R.T. (1982).<u>Persuasive Discourse and Ordinary Conversation, Analyzing Discourse: Text and Talk</u> .Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press.

Lucas, S.E. (2009). <u>The Art of Public Speaking</u>.Newyork: The McGrew-Hill Companies .

Morris,M.(2013),http://www.mattmorris.com/Personal-development-2/top-6-Persuasion Strategies /20/Mar 2015 .

Oliver, R.T. (1968). <u>The Psychology of Persuasive Speech.</u> New York: David McKay Company, Inc. Online Etymology Dictionary (2010).http://www.etymonline.com/index.php? l=p&p=19 .

O'Keefe, D. J. (1990). <u>Persuasion: Theory and research</u>. Newbury Park, CA: Saga.

------------------ . (2001) ".Persuasion": In <u>Encyclopedia of Rhetorical ed</u>. Thomas O. Sloane. New York: Oxford University Press.

Perloff, R.M. (2010. <u>The Dynamic of Persuasion: and attitudes in the 21th Century</u>. (4th edition). New York: Taylor & Francis.

Richards, J. C. and Schmidt, R. (2010) .<u>Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics</u>. Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited .

Thompson, B. (1998<u>). Persuading Aristotle: the timeless art of Persuasion in business, negotiation and the media</u>. Australia, 9 Atchison Street: Allen & Unwin.

Wilcox, Laird (2005). <u>Propaganda, Persuasion and Deception</u>. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Whalen, D. J. (1996) .<u>I see what you mean: Persuasive Business Communication</u>. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

< http:// www.overalltech.net/pub/Quotations- Propaganda.pdf>.