

Analysis of the Clause Relations in the Presidential Persuasion in a War against Iraq

Asst. Prof. Lubna Riyadh Abdul-Jabar*
Instructor, Rufaidah Kamal Abdul-Majeed**

Introduction:

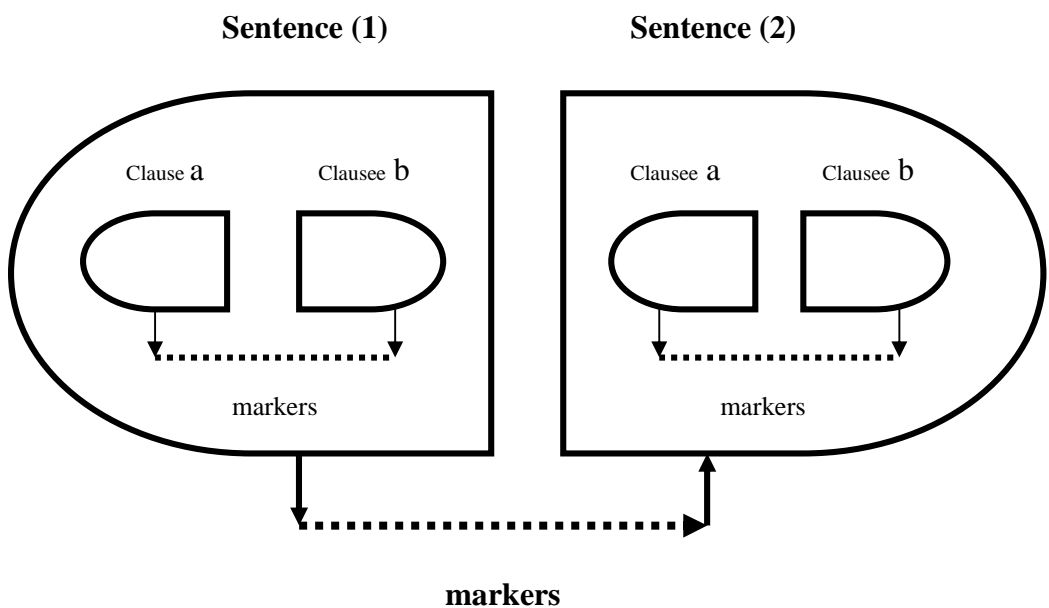
The Clause Relations in Discourse:

Theoretical Background

The term *Clause Relations* was first initiated by Winter (1968) to denote a limited set of predetermined logical relations holding between coherent clauses and sentences. He (1982:178, 1986:19) defines clause relations as follows:

A Clause Relation is the shared whereby we interpret the meaning of a clause or a group of clauses in the light of their adjoining clause or group of clauses. Where the clauses are independent, we can speak of "sentence relations"

One characteristic of these semantic relations is that they reveal a system of *predictability* of context in that given one sentence within its preceding contexts, the lexical selection of the next sentence is frequently predictable (Winter, 1977: 35). In other words, any two sentences are put together for the purpose of identifying clausal relations is of a twofold purpose: First, establishing what the current clause is related to– the previous clause or some larger segment in which it is embedded – Second, establishing what relation(s) hold between them (Webber, 2004:789). Winter also introduces the term *member* to denote “the unit of clause or group of clauses that is in binary relation with another member” (Winter, 1982: 87). Typically, the *interpretation* of one member depends on the lexical selection of the other. In essence, a clause relation can be indicated in the following diagram adapted from Jordan (1992: 180)and modified by the researchers .



* College of Arts- Baghdad University

** College of Education for Women, Baghdad University

The Lexico-Grammatical marker is encircled with a dotted line to indicate that a clause relation formed alone without the help of any marker. As shown in the following two sentences given by Hoey (1996:72).

1. The reason why she is in such trouble now is that she chose to ignore Mr. Heseltine's advice (Reason –Result)

2. She chose to ignore Mr. Heseltine's advice . Now she is in trouble (Reason –Result)

Where the second sentence has no connector. Furthermore, the sequential order of each binary set can be inverted or interpolated. And each member of the set can form certain additional logical relations by functioning as an element in a larger relational structure underlying the whole text.

Crombie (1985:2) adds that the study of semantic relations includes the study of discourse values which can be defined as:

the significance or the communicative function of an utterance which is distinct from the sentence meaning or the conceptual content of an utterance

In other words, discourse value deals with language in use in relation to its linguistic context as well as its situational context in which they occur. So a distinction is made between sentence meaning and discourse value. The sentence meaning of an utterance depends on the interaction between words and the structures; whereas the discourse value depends on the interaction between sentence meaning and context. Furthermore, discourse value can be sub-classified into two different types: unitary values and binary values. The unitary values include all types of speech acts that are proposed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1971) such as warn, persuade, insult and so. The binary values concerned with the binary relations between clauses. Both values are shown in the following example:

- (a) If you are late , (b) I will miss the bus. (Implicit speech act of order)

Condition ----- Consequence

The binary value of the above clause relation is Condition – Consequence

Whereas; the discourse value is implicit speech act of order, which holds the assumption (I order you not to be late).

Taxonomy of Clause Relation

Many taxonomies (Beekman and Callow, (1974); Hoey, (1983); Jordan, (1983) (1992); Crombie, (1985); Winter,(1974),(1977),(1982) have been proposed for clause relations, each characterized by its own terminological distinction, but they all share the view that the number of clause relations is relatively stable. This is implied by the fact that since we are speaking of a shared cognitive process for the meaning of a clause relation, it follows, then there must be a limit to the number of relations we can share (Winter,1992:141). The general classification has been done by Winter (1974) and broadened by Crombie (1985).

Winter (1974) classifies clause relations into two broad categories: *matching* and *logical sequence* relations. The first category of relations imposes *comparison* or *contrast* among people, things, actions, or events. They answer the question: “How does X compare with Y in respect of Z?” The second category imposes the semantics of *reasoning* as well as the *logical sequence* by answering the question: “How does X event connect with Y event in time?” Logical sequence relations are of three types: *condition-consequence*, *instrument-achievement*, and *cause-consequence*.

Crombie (1985: 16) gives an outline of the general semantic relations. She has grouped them into categories under the following headings:

1. Temporal
2. Matching
3. Cause-Effect
4. Truth and Validity
5. Alternation
6. Bonding
7. Paraphrase
8. Amplification
9. Setting / conduct

Each one of those clause relations has its own meaning, classifications, and markers clarified in the following outline table of General Semantic Relations:

NO.	Types of clause Relations	Meaning	Classification	Grammatical Relation Markers
1	Temporal	Concerned with the temporal connections between events	i. Chronological sequence ii. Temporal overlap	Before, after ,once , since ,till, until, when, now, that, as soon as, sooner ..than , firstly , secondly, then, today, nowadays, after dinner...etc.
2.	Matching	Involve the comparison of two things ,events or abstractions in terms of some particular in respect of which they are similar	i. Simple contrast ii. Simple comparison	Whereas, while/whilst, contrastingly, conversely, in/by contrast, on the other hand, antonymic lexical items, negation of repeated lexical item or proform, negated synonyms, or comparative or superlative, and by number of lexical items, ex. Different, difference.
3	Cause-Effect	Three different semantic relations, each of which is concerned with cause and effect.	i. General causative: has three types: a. Reason- result b. Means-result c. Grounds-conclusion ii. Means-purpose iii. Condition-consequence	Because (of), as, since, now (that), seeing (that), considering (that), due to, from, in that, as a result, consequently, hence, therefore, bring about, cause, give rise to, lead to, effect, reason.

4	Truth and Validity	Four relations concerned, in a direct or indirect with truth or validity.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Statement-affirmation ii. Statement- denial iii. Denial-correction iiii. Concession contraexpectation 	(al)though...nevertheless/yet, despite, even though, if...at least/ nevertheless, in spite of much as/though, while, whereas, despite, for/with all, in spite of, notwithstanding, all/just the same, anyhow, anyway, at any rate, after all, even so, for/with all that, however, in any case/event, nevertheless, notwithstanding, only, still, yet
5.	Alternation	Involve choice. It is elective (i.e. involve	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Contrastive alternation ii. Supplementary alternation 	Exclusive disjunction, implicit or explicit, positive/negative opposition, choices between two or more than two things, events or abstraction not opposites. Either...or, nobody...or, or
6.	Bonding	It is additive relation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Bonding: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Coupling b. Contrastive coupling c. Statement-exemplification d. Statement-exception 	Non-elective, non-sequential relation between conjoined or juxtaposed propositions. Conjoined by (and), but, or non conjunction.
7	Paraphrase	Involves statement without amplification	i. Paraphrase	The same proposition is expressed in different ways. It may involve a negated antonym.
8	Amplification	Involves the substitution of a specific word or expression for a general one. It involves explicit or implicit repetition of one member in the other member.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Term specification ii. Predicate specification iii. Term exemplification 	One member amplifies, the information in the other by providing a specific term, or by specifying the content of the predicate, or a general term is illustrated with reference to a particular.
9.	Setting/ conduct		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Event /state - location ii. Event-direction iii. Event-manner 	Adverbials give location of the event, give the direction of an event, and give the manner in which an event was conducted.

The Identity of persuasion

The theory of persuasion dates back to Aristotel (384-322 B.C) who links rhetoric with persuasion as when he says: "Let rhetoric be [defined as] an ability, in each [particular] case, to see the available means of persuasion". In other words, rhetoric is the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever. Those means are classified into:

- 1- Argument
- 2- The character of the speaker
- 3- The disposition created in the hearer

(Cited in Christopher, 1994: 32)

The latter two types have been sub- classified into: Pathos (Emotions) and Ethos (Moral and Character). By Pathos is meant the creating of a certain disposition in the audience" (*Rhetoric* 1356a, 1377b). An emotional appeal that secures the goodwill of the hearer, which can be achieved by the following ways:

- a. lay claim to qualities that the audience will respect
- b. stress disadvantages of speaker's situation as a claim to pity
- c. arouse hostility against opponent
- d. generate prejudice against the opponent through irrelevant information
- e. incite fear
- f. plea for pity

Ethos, on the other hand, makes use of claims about speaker's moral character to gain trust of audience. The province of ethos is wisdom, virtue, and goodwill achieved by:

- g. appeal to age & experience
- h. reverence for civic virtue
- i. patriotism and public-spiritedness
- j. displays of piety
- k. follow rules of decorum (e.g. avoid delicate subjects)
- l. model restraint

In the intellectual scene of the twentieth century, Charles L. Stevenson (1938,1944) proposed his theory of persuasive definitions. It is concerned with how people often engage in ethical disputes because of disagreement in beliefs (Cited in Walton, 2005: 161). The theory is based on a distinction between emotional and descriptive meaning used in natural language. On the one hand, descriptive meaning is the disposition to affect cognition due to a "process of conditioning" fixed by linguistic rules(*ibid.*). Emotive meaning, on the other hand, is the "the disposition of a term to evoke attitude and feelings (positive or negative)". In other words, the selection of specific terms with emotive meaning can be a persuasive argumentation tactic that manipulate in an audience 's mind and puts it in an allusion. (*ibid.*)

In the past three decades, the term persuasion has been defined by so many linguists and scholars corresponding to their interests and purposes. However, there is a general agreement as to the main characteristics of persuasive speeches which can be detected from the following table. The table offers a roughly chronological survey of the uses of the term persuasion in the works of a number of linguists in this field:

Definitions of the term 'Persuasion' for the past three decades

AUTHOR	DEFINITION OF THE TERM
Petty, R.E., & Cacioppo, J.T. (1981:4)	“We use the term persuasion to refer to any instance in which an active attempt is made to change a person’s mind.”
O'Donnell, V., & Kable, J. (1982:9)	"Persuasion is a complex, continuing, interactive process in which a sender and receiver are linked by symbols, verbal and nonverbal, through which the persuader attempts to influence the persuadee to adopt a change in a given attitude or behavior because the persuadee has had his perceptions enlarged or changed."
Bostrum, R.N. (1983 :8)	“Persuasion is the name we give to the type of communication that brings about change in people.”
Cegala, D.J. (1987:13)	"Persuasion is intended communication that affects how others think, feel, and/or act toward some object, person, group or idea."
Woodward, G.C., & Denton, R.E. (1992:21)	"Persuasion is the process of preparing and delivering verbal and nonverbal messages to autonomous individuals in order to alter or strengthen their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors"
Perloff, R.M. (1993:15)	"Persuasion is an activity or process in which a communicator attempts to induce a change in the belief, attitude, or behavior of another person or group of persons through the transmission of a message in a context in which the persuadee has some degree of free choice."
Johnston, D.D. (1994:7)	Persuasion is a transactional process among two or more persons whereby the management of symbolic meaning reconstructs reality, resulting in a voluntary change in beliefs, attitudes, and/or behaviors."

Wierzbicka, (1987: 63) adds that the verb *Persuade* is "a rather unusual verb, it embodies both the speaker's attitude (aim, assumption, etc.) and the effect of the act." Without achieving the desired effect, the act would be reported as 'trying to persuade' rather than 'persuading.' Persuasion is used with two different meanings : actions and opinions. Each has its syntactic frame as shown in the following equations:

X persuaded Y to do Z'
X persuaded Y that Z

Actions are achieved when the speaker anticipates some resistance ('I know that you don't want to do it'), and assumes that he will be able to get the addressee to change his attitude. This is usually done by a number of things. In other words, the speaker presents his reasons one after the other in order to convince the addressee. And he expects that the addressee should do the things in question. (ibid.) Whereas, attitudes are activated when the speaker addresses the receiver's emotions and wills. It could be said that the speaker is keen to bring about a change in the addressee's attitude ('I want you to come to think about it in a different way') than to say that he is keen to bring about the action as such ('I want you to do it'). (ibid.)

Strategies of Persuasion

Louis Kriesberg (1982 :5-9) suggests five ways in which one party might influence another in moving toward resolution of a dispute:

1- The Strategy of being defensive

It involves establishing an argument through suggesting a similarity to something better known to the reader. Party A may ask Party B to look at the situation from Party A's point of view, to take on the role of Party A. This may serve to help Party B understand that Party A's intentions are, for example, defensive rather than aggressive.

2- The strategy of getting benefit

Party B may benefit in a different way from the right or privilege that Party A seeks. One argument in pleas of the oppressed is that oppression hurts the oppressor as well as the oppressed.

3- The face – saving strategy

A third kind of persuasive argument tries to turn a divisive issue into a problem that is shared and needs a mutually satisfactory solution. This is also called reframing. Reframing allows the adversary to see the issue differently and to retreat from a previously stated singular position to a new, shared one; it may also serve as a *face-saving* mechanism. The more publicly I have committed myself to a position, the more embarrassing it is for me to back away from it. If, however, the issue is reframed, it is the situation rather than my stance that has changed.

4- The superordinate goal Strategy(Shared Antagonist)

While Parties A and B may be locked in conflict over one set of issues, they may also share an antagonist against whom they can work together. This antagonist need not be another party; it may be a shared issue. If the concern is shared and its importance is higher than those issues which separate the parties, it becomes a *superordinate* goal.

5- Ethical Appeal Strategy

Persuasion may also occur through "appeals to common values and norms ... The appeal is made to abstract principles, shared identifications or previously

neglected values. There are three types of appeals: (a) conscience; (b) logic and data; and (c) emotion. In an *appeal to conscience*, the speaker is relying on shared values it is crucial that she or he is seen as acting in accord with these values. *Appeals to data and logic* typically rely on new information or on the reorganization of existing information. It is also called the strategy of induction for it involves Aristotle identifies an effective *emotional appeal* as "excit(ing) the required state of emotion in your hearer". A strong argument needs facts at its base, and even the strongest may not "move" the other to change behavior without an appropriate emotional appeal.

The Practical Analysis of the Presidential speeches

The practical analysis of the presidential speeches has taken the following framework :

- The data that has been used for the purpose of analysis is presented in a table under the name *Justification for a war against Iraq*. The table consists of 44 speeches. They are extracts from different speeches in different places and events that president George W. Bush went through from the 20th Of January 2001 until the 26th of February 2003. The president's speeches have no comments on them and they are distributed on the months of the years. So a month may consist more than one speech. The speeches vary in their length, and all of them are about the 2003 war in Iraq. And for a systematic and objective way of selecting the data, the researchers have selected the last eight speeches from october 2002 until February 2003 for the purpose of analysis. The selection is based on the fact that those speeches are the closest one to the Iraq war 2003; they are only five months away from the war. So they are more original than the others.
- The model adapted for the taxonomy of clause relations is Crombie's. It has been drawn on a number of different sources which makes it collective and as comprehensive as possible.
- Of the four components of persuasion (Situation, Source, Message and Reciever), the analysis will focus on the Message itself and leave out the other components for the following reasons:
 1. There is one situation through out the whole speeches that is the war in Iraq.
 2. The source is president Bush and no other participants are involved.
 3. The receivers are multi, and can't be determined for they are out of the focus of this study.
- In the analysis, the speeches are written in italic forms to distinguish them from the rest of the research and they are numbered. The sentences of each speech have been enumerated in Arabic numbers; and if a sentence consists of more than one member then they are labelled as (a) (b) and soforth.
- The analysis of the speeches combines the binary values with the unitary values of the speeches. Thus it is of two folds: The first one gives the different types of clause relations .The Exclusive ones are labelled (1),(2),(3), etc. Whereas the inclusive are labelled (a), (b),(c),etc. The plus (+) mark combines members of clauses to each other. The second part of the analysis gives in details the different acts of persuasion that penetrate in the clause relations.
- The analysis is rounded off by a breakdown table that shows the frequent types of clause relations used in the analysis.

Speech (1)5 October 2002: Radio Address

(1)(a)American security, the safety of our friends, and the values of our country lead us (b)to confront this gathering threat.(2) (a)By supporting the resolution now before them, (b)members of Congress will send a clear message to Saddam.(3)(a) His only choice is to fully comply with the demands of the world, (b) and the time for that choice is limited.(4) (a)Supporting this resolution will also show the resolve of the United States, (b) and will help spur the United Nations to act."

Types of the Clause Relations :

Cause –Effect / Reason -Result	(1)(a)+(b)
Bonding / Statement -Exemplification	(1)+(2)
Cause –Effect / Means –Result	(2)(a)+(b)
Amplification / Term –Specification	(2)+(3)
Bonding / Coupling	(3)(a)+ (b)
Cause –Effect / Means –Result	(3)+ (4)
Bonding / Coupling	(4)(a)+(b)

Strategies of Persuasion used in the numbered sentences:

President Bush's first strategy of persuasion is that he tries the appeal of *logic*: he puts the reasons then states the action. They are all good reasons shown through the lexical items *security*, *safty* and *value*. So it could be said that he shows the good side before spitting out the bad ones. And even the bad ones are put in a defence position clarified by the verb *confront* which means that the country has been forced to bring face to face with the threat. In other words, they are obliged to do so. Moreover, the antonymy of the item *threat* with *safty* and *security* shows where the bad and good sides are. Thus, he is using the strategy of being *defensive* rather than aggressive.

The reference *our* and *us* show that the confrontation is not personal; everybody is included. It could be said that he is trying to persuade the audience by making the case general and everybody is going to be affected by its consequences. The marker *gathering* supports the previous idea and is used to attract the listeners' attention to the fact that they are facing gathering forces so they have to get gathered too. This time, persuasion is done through the implicit warning and the strategy of a shared antagonist is fulfilled.

The strategy of persuasion used in the second sentence is that he starts to add information (strategy of data) in order to clarify what he has already said. After stating the reasons, he now states the means to achieve the results of those reasons and one of those means is the shiny marker *Supporting*. He is using the appeal of emotion; he wants the audience to support his determination to stop his enemy. And when this is achieved, *members of Congress will send a clear message to Saddam*. Furthermore, he supports this strategy by the limitation of time. It seems that he is saying that time is cosumming and we need your support right now in order to send a message to Saddam. He is rushing them for a support. The next clause explains what the message is going to be. There is a logical appeal in which the speaker shows the means of solving the problem and then gives the results of those means stated through a doubled action: first, *show the resolve of the United States*, and second *the spur of the united nation*. Both form the strategy of *data*.

Speech (2) 7 October 2002: Cincinnati, Ohio

(1)(a)We agree(b) that the Iraqi dictator must not be permitted (c) to threaten America (d) and the world with horrible poisons and diseases and gases and atomic weapons."(2)(a)Over the years,(b)Iraq has provided safe haven to terrorists such as Abu Nidal,(c) whose terror organization carried out more than 90 terrorist attacks in 20 countries(d) that killed or injured nearly 900 people, including 12 Americans."(3) (a) I have asked Congress to authorize the use of America's military, (b)if it proves necessary, (c) to enforce U.N. Security Council demands."

Types of the Clause Relations :

Amplification / predicate –Specification	(1)(a)+(b)
Setting Conduct / Event-Location	(1)(b)+(c)
Bonding / Coupling	(1)(c)+(d)
Bonding /Statement –Exemplification .	(1)+(2)
Temporal/ Temporal overlap	(2)(a)+(b)
Bonding / Coupling	(2)(b)+(c)
Amplification / Predicate – Specification	(2)(c)+(d)
Cause –Effect /Ground-Conclusion	(2) +(3)
Cause –Effect /Condition-Consequence	(3)(a)+(b)
Cause –Effect / Reason – Result	(3)(b)+(c)

Strategies of Persuasion used in the numbered sentences:

In this speech, Bush is using the strategy of a *superordinate shared goal* which is signaled by the reference marker *WE*. And he is trying to confirm this goal and making it sure signaled by the lexical item *agree*. He then resorts to the strategy of *data* through which past and new information are given to remind the listeners on the points they agreed upon and at the same time confirm that Saddam is a shared antagonist deserved to be punished for his deeds. In the last sentence, the speaker states his conclusion and the action to be taken in the future. He is foreshadowing for a military action. He is trying to make people understand that he is not hasty in doing that and he is going to do only if it is necessary. It may be said that the overall clause relation is Ground – Conclusion. The ground is the superordinate goal, which is to save America from terrorist, and the conclusion is a stand by action.

Speech (3)10 October 2002:Press Statement

"(1)(a)The House of Representatives has spoken clearly to the world(b) and to the United Nations Security Council (c): the gathering threat of Iraq must be confronted fully and finally. (2)(a)Today's vote also sends a clear message to the Iraqi regime:(b) it must disarm and comply with all existing U.N. resolutions,(c) or it will be forced to comply. (3)(a)There are no other options for the Iraqi regime,(b)there can be no negotiations,(c)the days of Iraq acting as an outlaw state are coming to an end."

Types of the Clause Relations :

Bonding / Coupling	(1) (a)+(b)
amplification / Predicate-Specification	(1)(b)+(c)
Bonding / Coupling	(1)+(2)
Amplification / Predicate-Specification	(2)(a)+(b)
Alternation /Contrastive Alternation	(2)(b)+(c)

Cause –Effect /Ground-Conclusion	(2)+(3)
Paraphrase/Paraphrase	(3)(a)+(b)
Paraphrase/Paraphrase	(3)(b)+(c)

Strategies of Persuasion used in the numbered sentences:

In the first sentence and in clause (a) specifically, the speaker has used the strategy of *reframing* and tried to make the case as public as possible marked by the *house of representatives* and confirmed in the second clause with *the united nations*. The coupling has been used to put some weight on the case and announce it as a public one. In the final clause of sentence (1) the speaker spells out that the house of representative and the United Nations must be gathered to confront the danger fully and finally. By this sentence, he uses the strategy of *sharing antagonist*. This antagonist is another party. Sentence (2) shows cause and effect. It is an appeal of *conscience* strategy when the speaker is relying on shared norms and values. Sentence (2), clause (b) and (c) specifically express a hidden threatening against Iraqi regime. Here Bush is sending a clear sign of his intention for attacking Iraq. This intention is indicated by the words *disarm, forced to comply, no options, no negotiation, acting an outlaw*. Here the strategy of *conscience* if fulfilled.

Speech(4) 21 October 2002:Press Conference, Washington

(1)(a)We've tried diplomacy; (b)we're trying it one more time. (2)(a)I believe the free world,(b) if we make up our mind to, can disarm this man peacefully. (3)(a)But, if not – (b)if not, (c)we have the will and the desire, (d) as do other nations, (e)to disarm Saddam.(4)(a) It's up to him to make that decision(b) and it's up to the United Nations.(5)(a) And we'll determine here soon (b)whether the United Nations has got the will, (c)and then it's up to Saddam to make the decision. "

Types of the Clause Relations :

Bonding / Coupling	(1)(a)+(b)
Bonding / Statement-Exemplification	(1)+(2)
Cause-Effect /Condition-Consequence	(2)(a)+(b)
Bonding /Contrastive Coupling	(2)+(3)
Bonding / Coupling	(3)(a)+(b)
Cause-Effect /Condition-Consequence	(3)(b)+(c)
Matching / Simple Comparison	(3)(c)+(d)
Setting -Conduct / Event- Direction	(3)(d)+(e)
Cause- Effect / Ground-Conclusion	(3) +(4)
Bonding / coupling	(4)(a) +(b)
Bonding / coupling	(4) +(5)
Cause-Effect /Condition-Consequence	(5)(a) +(b)
Bonding / coupling	(5)(a) +(b)

Strategies of Persuasion used in the numbered sentences:

Here Bush is using the appeal of *emotion*; he wants the audience to support his determination to stop his enemy. He states the common values and norms by saying *We are trying diplomacy*. Furthermore, he uses the appeal of *conscience* by which he relies on shared values and acting in accord with these values. By saying *peacefully, decision, will, United Nations*, all these words are related to the strategy of *logic*. He is reorganizing the facts that he is not taking the decision of attacking the

enemy on his own only but he wants this happen peacefully and with the global will throughout the *United Nations*. He keeps on using the reference *We* to show that the confrontation is not personal; everybody is included. He is making the case general and everybody should make up his mind and decid as he makes this issue as the others' will and desire by using the words, *make up our mind, desire*. Then, he uses the strategy of *being defensive* rather than *agreesive*. He makes his audience believe that he doesn't want to initiate an aggressive actions against his enemy and start hostile attacks without the will of the United Nations to prove that he is defending himself under the hat of the International Institution. He puts the reasons then states the action. The lexical items *diplomacy, one more time* are all good reasons for him to appear as a reasonable and irrational figure seeking for logic but has a will supported by the global will. This is the strategy of being defensive when he makes the whole world looks at the issue from his point of view. In sentence (3), we find cause and consequence, and cause and effect as he is inducting his audience to get along with him totally.

Speech (5)25 October 2002:

Press Conference with President Jiang Zemin

(1)(a)I made it clear to the President of China (b)that I am interested in seeing to it (c)that the United Nations is effective – (d)effective in disarming Saddam Hussein.(2)(a) That's what the United Nations has said for 11 years,(b) that Saddam ought to disarm.(3) And, therefore, any resolution that evolves must be one(b) which does the job of holding Saddam Hussein to account. (4)(a)That includes a rigorous, new and vibrant inspections regime,(b) the purpose of which is disarmament,(c) not inspections for the sake of inspections."

Types of the Clause Relations :

Temporal/ Temporal overlap	(1)(a)+(b)
Bonding / Statement -Exemplification	(1) (b)+(c)
Amplification/ Predicate-Specification	(1) (c)+(d)
Amplification / Term -Specification	(1)+(2)
Amplification/ Predicate-Specification	(2)(a)+(b)
Cause -Effect / Reason –Result	(2)+(3)
Cause -Effect / Means –Result	(3)(a)+ (b)
Cause -Effect / Reason -Result	(3)+ (4)
Cause -Effect / Reason –Result	(4)(a)+(b)

Strategies of Persuasion used in the numbered sentences:

Bush is using a strategy of appealing *emotion* in sentence (1). He is trying to persuade the President of China at that time that they share a common values and norms and they look at this subject from the same angle. In sentence (2), he exposes facts and states consequences. This is the strategy of appealing *data* and *logic*, by which he is inducting the President of China to stand by him and back up him as Chins is one of the permanent members in the United Nations. He is exciting the required states of logic in his counterpart audience. In sentence (4), the strategy of *reframing* is being used here, which allows the President of China to see the issue differently and to retreat from his previous position to a new one. By declaring their position publicly, it is embarrassing for the two Presidents to back away from it

because it is the situation, rather than their stances, has changed. He states the cause and effect, by saying that the reason for *inspection* is *disarming the enemy*.

Speech (6)20 November 2002:

Press Conference With President Havel

(1) *We did talk about Iraq.* (2)(a) *There is universal recognition* (b) *that Saddam Hussein is a threat to world peace.* (3)(a) *There's clear understanding* (b) *that he must disarm in the name of peace.* (4) *We hope he chooses to do so.* (5) *Tomorrow we'll discuss the issue.* (6)(a) *We'll consider* (b) *what happens* (c) *if he chooses not to disarm.* (7)(a) *But one thing is certain;* (b) *he'll be disarmed,* (c) *one way or the other in the name of peace."*

Types of the Clause Relations

Bonding / Statement –Exemplification	(1)+(2)
Amplification / Predicate –Specification	(2)(a)+(b)
Bonding / Coupling	(2)+(3)
Amplification / Predicate –Specification	(3)(a)+(b)
Cause –Effect /Ground-Conclusion	(3)+(4)
Bonding / Coupling	(4)+(5)
Paraphrase /Paraphrase	(5)+(6)
Amplification / Predicate –Specification	(6)a+(b)
Cause –Effect / Condition–Consequence	(6)(b)+(c)
Bonding / Contrastive – Coupling	(6)+(7)
Amplification / Predicate –Specification	(7)(a)+(b)
Matching /Simple Contrast	(7)(b)+(c)

Strategies of Persuasion used in the numbered sentences:

As he does in all the previous speeches, Bush is using *We* in almost all the time to allege that the danger is coming and will sweep the whole glob. Nobody will escape it. The *sharing of antagonist* strategy is being used in the sentences (1) and (2) when both Bush and President Haval in their press conference share a common ground against enemy. They have mutual interest in facing this challenge and work together later on. Sentence (3) shows the strategy of *defensive* rather than aggressive. The speaker establishes an argument through suggesting something better known to the hearer that is *disarm, peace*. The speaker uses these lexical items which may serve to help his interactant to understand that he is defensive rather than aggressive. Sentence (4) reveals the appealing of emotion by exciting the required state of emotion in the hearer when he says that *We hope, he chooses*. By saying *tomorrow, discuss, consider*, Bush is intending to give facts and new information and reorganizing the existing information. He is inducting the hearer's new supporting position towards his aims. He keeps on saying the word *peace* to appeal the emotion of the hearers in one way or another.

Speech (7)28 January 2003:State of the Union Address

(1)(a) *In all these efforts, however,* (b) *America's purpose is more than to follow a process –(c) it is to achieve a result: (d)the end of terrible threats to the civilized world.* (2) *All free nations have a stake in preventing sudden and catastrophic attacks.* (3)(a) *And we're asking them to join us,* (b) *and many are doing so.* (4) *Yet the course of*

this nation does not depend on the decisions of others. (5)(a)Whatever action is required, (b)whenever action is necessary, (c)I will defend the freedom and security of the American people."

Types of the Clause Relations

Truth-Value /Concession/Contraexpectation	(1)(a)+(b)
Bonding / Statement -Exemplification	(1)(b)+(c)
Amplification / Predicate-Specification	(1)(c)+(d)
Cause - Effect /Ground-Conclusion	(1)+(2)
Bonding / Coupling	(2)+(3)
Matching / Simple Contrast	(3)(a)+(b)
Truth-Value/Concession/ Contraexpectation	(3)+(4)
Cause-Effect /Ground-Conclusion	(4)+(5)
Bonding / Coupling	(5)(a)+(b)
Temporal/ Temporal Overlap	(5)(b)+(c)

Strategies of Persuasion used in the numbered sentences:

The whole speech shows an appeal of emotions inside Americans through addressing them about the state of the Union. Need not to mention that, all American presidents exploit this occasion to tell their people that they are doing well through out their course of time. The words *efforts, process, achieve results, action* are all indicating this status. Therefore, in this speech, Bush is telling his people that he is seeking *defend, freedom, security, free nations* for them. He is appealing their emotions by establishing a required state of sympathy with his aims by stating facts to let them change their behaviour by saying *terrible, threats, catastrophic attack*. That does not occur without appealing their emotions.

Speech (8)26 February 2003: On the Future of Iraq, AEI

(1)(a)The danger posed by Saddam Hussein and his weapons cannot be ignored (b) or wished away.(2)The danger must be confronted. (3)(a)We hope (b) that the Iraqi regime will meet the demands of the United Nations(c) and disarm,(c) fully and peacefully. (4)If it does not, we are prepared to disarm Iraq by force. (5)Either way, this danger will be removed." (6)The safety of the American people depends on ending this direct and growing threat. (7)(a) Acting against the danger will also contribute greatly (b)to the long-term safety and stability of our world. (8)(a)The current Iraqi regime has shown the power of tyranny (b)to spread discord and violence in the Middle East.(9)(a) A liberated Iraq can show the power of freedom(b) to transform that vital region,(c) by bringing hope and progress into the lives of millions. (10)(a)America's interests in security, (b)and America's belief in liberty, (c)both lead in the same direction: (d)to a free and peaceful Iraq. "

Types of the Clause Relations

Alternation /Supplementary Alternation	(1)(a)+(b)
Cause -Effect /Ground-Conclusion	(1)+(2)
Bonding / Coupling	(2)+(3)
Amplification / Predicate-Specification	(3)(a)+(b)
Bonding / Coupling	(3)(b)+(c)
Setting Conduct / Event-Manner	(3)(c)+(d)
Cause -Effect / Reason -Result	(3)+(4)

Cause -Effect /Condition-Consequence	(4)(a)+(b)
Alternation / Contrastive Alternation	(4)+(5)
Alternation /Supplementary Alternation	(5)(a)+(b)
Cause -Effect /Ground-Conclusion	(5)+(6)
Bonding / Coupling	(6)+(7)
Setting Conduct / Event-direction	(7)(a)+(b)
Cause -Effect /Ground-Conclusion	(7)+(8)
Setting Conduct / Event-direction	(8)(a)+(b)
Bonding / Contrastive Coupling	(8)+(9)
Amplification / Predicate-Specification	(9)(a)+(b)
Cause -Effect /Means –Result	(9)(b)+(c)
Cause -Effect /Ground-Conclusion	(9)+(10)
Bonding / Coupling	(10)(a)+(b)
Setting Conduct / Event-direction	(10)(b)+(c)
Amplification / Term-Specification	(10)(c)+(d)

Strategies of Persuasion used in the numbered sentences:

The first strategy used in this speech is again the strategy of *logic*. This time the speaker is putting the ground or the base for his discussion and then draws the conclusion. The strategy is distributed between sentence (1) and sentence (2). And what links both sentences is the repetition of the lexical item *danger* which is repeated in the three clauses as the main subject. Though the use of this item is implicit in clause (b) of sentence (1), but its function is so important. In other words, the ellipsis of this item puts emphasis on the topic of washing away the danger. The speaker tries to put the image of washing away the big danger in front of his audience.

Being defensive is the second strategy signaled by the items *hope*, *peacefully*, *hopefully*, and *disarm* in sentence (3). But this type of defense is conditioned which is clearly shown in the sentence (4) with the conditional clause. Again the ellipsis in sentence (4) *If it does not* coincide with the topic which is to disarm Iraq. Here Bush is forwarding an implicit warning to the Iraqi regime, so he may seem defensive rather than aggressive. In sentences (6) and (7), he appeals the emotion of the Americans by saying *safety*, *direct threat*, *long-term safety*, *stability*, in order to get them stand side by side with him. He is exciting them to get them change their behaviour. In sentence (8), he describes the Iraqi leader as a *tyranny*. As this horrible image is contradicted with the splendid state of Iraqis being *liberated*, *power of freedom*, so it presented the *logic* strategy. He reorganizes the old information and presents a new one. By this opposition in the present and future status of Iraqis, he evokes the emotion of the hearers to support him and get along with him. The words *hope*, *progress*, *interest in security*, *belief in liberty* in sentence (10) stimulate the emotion of Americans towards the danger of Iraqi regime.

Results and Conclusions

The general conclusions arrived at concerning the role and nature of clause relations in presidential persuasive texts can be summarized in the following points :

1. Persuasion is a conscious symbolic act by one individual or a group of individuals. It is the process of guiding people toward the adoption of an idea, attitude, or action by rational (though not only logical) means. It relies on "appeals" rather than force.
2. There are four components involved in the act of persuasion and they are: Situation, Source, Message, and Receiver in a given situation. Persuasion begins

with the communication of a verbal or non-verbal message by a source. This message consists of an idea discrepant from the receiver's ordinary beliefs.

3. The purpose of persuasion is to change, form, modify or strengthen the beliefs, opinions, values, attitudes and/or behaviors of another individual or group of individuals and sometimes of ourselves. The goal of persuasion is meant to benefit one or more parties in the end.
4. There are different strategies that the persuder may take in order to influence the target audience. The speaker in his argument has used all types of strategies of persuasion in order to convince the audience for a war against Iraq. Therefore, he has manipulated varied types of clause relations and markers to achieve his goal. The strategies are mainly pointed out between one sentence and another whereas their developments are exemplified between clauses of the involved sentences.
5. Lexical markers in persuasive texts gain an extra significance manifested in their contribution in signalling the way persuasive action is structured and developed. That lexical markers are one significant means whereby the logic of persuasion is constructed.
6. The role of a given cataphoric signal is setting up a particular expectation as to the nature of the coming clause relation. Whereas the role of an anaphoric signal is to provide a means whereby this expectation is verified. At the same time, the anaphoric signal serves as a basis for further prediction of what the speaker is going to say next.
7. Elements of a given clause relations may not all be signalled in a text; one lexically signalled member may serve as a possible key to the communicative value of the second unsignalled member.
8. The analysis has shown that persuasive texts are hierarchically structured. By hierarchical is meant the underlying network of interrelated discourse levels. The upper-most level is that the strategies of persuasion that govern the way argument develop, whereas the lexical markers are taken as the lowest level within this hierarchy. A sentence may consist more than one strategy, each clause may expose a strategy that is different from the other clauses in the same sentence.

In using the strategy of being defensive, the speaker tries to show the audience that he is passive while the other party is aggressive and ready to take actions. For the speaker, it is the time to move and face this aggressiveness. In other words, he has to confront the coming attacks and defend the nation. The lexical markers used for this purpose can be classified into two types: the first includes items that have the meaning of aggressiveness whereas the second type has the implicit meaning of being defensive. Consequently, the major types of clause relations used to clarify the idea of being defensive are cause-effect with the subclassification of ground-conclusion, condition-consequence and reason-result. The strategy of logic is realized by the cause and effect which is done either by stating the reasons and then put the results for those reasons or; stating the means followed by the results.

The strategy of logic is realized by the cause and effect which is done either by stating the reasons and then put the results for those reasons or; stating the means followed by the results.

Coupling is used for confirmation and gathering supporters of the same idea, in other words, when too many people agree on the same issue, this would make it more correct.

The table below summarizes the results in figures. From a quick review, we find that *Bonding* shows higher scores which means that this additive relation is predicting the meaning of the statement in a given context in relation to the context of

the preceding context. This technique interprets the mechanism utilized by the President. He uses a set of allegations supported by preceding allegations to back up his intention to attack Iraq. In the second class, we find cause-effect technique which gives indications that the President always presents causes to justify his deeds.

Total	SP8	SP7	SP6	SP5	SP4	SP3	SP2	SP1	Relation Type
2		1					1		Temporal
3		1	1		1				Matching
22	7	2	2		4	1	3	3	Cause-Effect
2		2							Truth and Validity
4	3					1			Alternation
27	5	3	4		7	2	3	3	Bonding
2						2			Paraphrase
12	3	1	3			2	2	1	Amplification
5	4							1	Setting/conduct

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تحليل روابط الجمل في الخطب الرئاسية للاقناع بالحرب ضد العراق

أ.م. د. لبنى رياض عبد الجبار* م. رفيدة كمال عبد المجيد**

* قسم اللغة الانكليزية - كلية الآداب - جامعة بغداد
** قسم اللغة الانكليزية- كلية التربية للبنات- جامعة بغداد

الخلاصة:

روابط الجمل هو مصطلح يشير الى مجموعة علاقات منطقية تقع بين الجمل واشباه الجمل المتسقة حيث تتمكن من معرفة معنى الجملة أو شبه الجملة في ضوء اشباه الجمل المتجاورة. ان مواصفات هذه الروابط المعنوية هي انها تظهر نظام التنبؤ بالمضمون في اية جملة من المضمون التالي. اما نظرية الاقناع فهي فعل رمزي يقوم به فرد او مجموعة افراد. انها عملية توجيه الناس تجاه تبني فكرة ما او سلوك ما او فعل ما بواسطة استعمال اساليب عقلانية. انها تقوم على اساس "مناشدة" او "التماس" اكثر منها استعمال القوة. هاتان النظريتان استعملتا في هذا البحث كاداة لتحليل خطب "بوش" الرئيس الامريكى التي وجهها الى كل العالم وخصوصا الشعب الامريكى بنية حثه على الموافقة على شن الحرب على العراق بحجة امتلاكه لاسلحة الدمار الشامل والتي تشكل ، حسب اعتقاده، كمصدر تهديد مفعج للعالم.