

A MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO GENRE-BASED ANALYSIS OF
AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL WAR ADDRESSES

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UNIVERSITI TEKNOLOGI MALAYSIA

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AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL WAR ADDRESSES

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Language Academy
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my father, a strong and affectionate man who taught me to trust in Allah and believe in hard work. It is also dedicated to my mother, whose affection, love, encouragement, and prayers of day and night have enabled me to accomplish my goals.

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ABSTRACT

Presidential war rhetoric has attracted the interests of several studies on critical discourse analysis and rhetoric. Little research considers, so far, the application of genre analysis in identifying presidential war rhetoric as a genre. This study explored the typicality of the obligatory rhetorical moves of the texts and how they are employed to justify American military actions as the communicative purpose of the genre in question. The study also investigated the lower-level patterns employed within these moves. Specifically, the study identified what Aristotle's types of rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative or forensic), illocutionary speech acts, and lexico-grammatical features are used in these rhetorical moves and how they are employed to realise their communicative functions. This study is a genre-based analysis to identify and explain 'what is said' and 'how is said' in American presidential war addresses. A total of twelve American presidential war addresses were selected. The analysis adopted Bhatia's model on genre analysis along with Aristotle's types of rhetoric, and Bach and Harnish's model on speech acts. NVivo 12 was used in the analysis of the data. The findings indicated that the presidents at the onset of any military action organised their war addresses on a succession of seven obligatory moves taking into account not only the speaker's communicative purpose, but also the surrounding events, the needs of the audience, and the ethics of the Just War Theory. In addition, the consistency between the communicative function of each rhetorical move and its rhetorical, and linguistic structures explained why the presidents write their discourses the way they do. For example, an epideictic type of rhetoric and an informative type of speech acts were frequently employed in strategy 1, precipitating event showing the enemy's act of aggression of move 1 to report about the newly happening event, and to provide a sense of comfort through familiarising audiences with the event. The same was also true for the linguistic features in this specific strategy of move 1. Lexicon was aimed to label the time of the aggression and divide the world into two contrastive realms, before and after the aggression. Past tense was also employed to narrate recently happened aggressions and to mark the boundary of the divided world. As such, the study implies that genre analysis is not only applied to investigating academic and professional discourses, but is also insightful in investigating the generic competence of presidential discourse. Understanding presidential war addresses as a genre type of presidential discourse helps the ESL/EFL teachers and students to learn and acquire the generic competence of producing and interpreting this specific type of genre. The study concludes that presidential war rhetoric as a genre is carefully crafted in terms of its communicative ends, and a fusion of its varied rhetorical and linguistic strategic typifications.

ABSTRAK

Retorik perang presiden telah mendapat tumpuan beberapa kajian analisis kritikal wacana dan retorik. Setakat ini, terdapat kekurangan kajian yang mempertimbangkan penerapan analisis genre dalam mengenal pasti retorik perang presiden sebagai genre. Kajian ini mengkaji pergerakan tipikal retorik wajib dalam teks dan bagaimana ia digunakan untuk membenarkan tindakan ketenteraan Amerika sebagai tujuan komunikatif genre yang dikaji. Kajian ini juga mengkaji pola aras rendah yang digunakan dalam pergerakan tersebut. Secara khusus, kajian ini mengenal pasti jenis retorik Aristotele (*epideictic*, perundangan atau forensik), lakuan tuturan ilokusi, dan ciri-ciri leksikal tatabahasa yang digunakan dalam pergerakan retorik dan bagaimana ia digunakan untuk merealisasikan fungsi komunikatif. Kajian ini adalah analisis berdasarkan genre untuk mengenal pasti dan menjelaskan "apa yang dikatakan" dan "bagaimana ia dikatakan" dalam perbahasan perang presiden Amerika. Sebanyak dua belas perbahasan perang presiden Amerika dipilih. Analisis ini menggunakan model Bhatia bagi analisis genre disamping jenis retorik Aristotele dan model lakuan tuturan Bach dan Harnish. NVivo 12 digunakan dalam analisis data. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa para presiden pada permulaan tindakan ketenteraan, mengatur perbahasan mereka mengikut tujuh pergerakan wajib dengan mengambil kira bukan sahaja tujuan komunikatif pengucap tetapi juga peristiwa sekitarnya, keperluan penonton dan etika Teori Perang Adil. Di samping itu, keselarasan antara fungsi komunikatif bagi setiap pergerakan retorik dan struktur retoriknya dan linguistik menjelaskan mengapa presiden menulis wacana mereka dengan cara tersebut. Sebagai contoh, jenis retorik epidiktif dan jenis pertuturan bermaklumat sering digunakan dalam strategi 1, pergerakan yang menunjukkan tindakan musuh serangan untuk melaporkan peristiwa yang baru berlaku dan untuk mewujudkan rasa tenang dengan membiasakan penonton dengan peristiwa tersebut. Hal yang sama juga dapat dilihat bagi ciri-ciri linguistik dalam strategi khusus pergerakan 1. Leksikon ini bertujuan untuk melabelkan masa tindakan serangan dan membahagikan dunia kepada dua dunia yang berbeza, iaitu sebelum dan selepas serangan. Ketegangan masa lalu juga digunakan untuk menceritakan serangan yang baru berlaku dan untuk menandakan sempadan dunia yang berpecah belah. Oleh itu, kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa analisis genre bukan hanya berlaku untuk mengkaji wacana akademik dan profesional, tetapi juga berguna untuk mengkaji kecekapan umum wacana presiden. Kefahaman terhadap perbahasan perang presiden sebagai jenis genre wacana presiden membantu guru dan pelajar ESL/EFL untuk mempelajari dan memperoleh kecekapan umum dalam menghasilkan dan mentafsirkan jenis genre khusus ini. Kajian ini menyimpulkan bahawa retorik perang presiden sebagai genre dikarang dengan teliti dari segi tujuan komunikatifnya, dan gabungan retorik dan tipifikasi strategi linguistik yang berbeza-beza.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PWR	-	Presidential War Rhetoric
ESP	-	English for Specific Purposes
PWAs	-	Presidential War Addresses
APWAs	-	American Presidential War Addresses
EFL	-	English as a Foreign Language
JWT	-	Just War Theory
EAP	-	English for Academic Purposes
APWR	-	American Presidential War Rhetoric
RGS	-	Rhetorical Genre Studies
SFL	-	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SAT	-	Speech Act Theory
MCBs		Mutual Contextual Beliefs

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In the mid-twentieth century, the imposition of several constitutional constraints on modern American presidents has limited their authority to govern the nation and smoothly pass their policy agenda. These constraints have included the separation of powers from financial balances espoused with ‘the anti-hierarchical ethos of American society and polity’ and ‘the frequency of a divided government’ towards policies especially waging wars (Patel, 2003, p. 22). Thus, to convince the Congress of their political decisions and to rally public support, the only real power that American presidents adopt could be the power of persuasion achieved by presidential rhetoric. Presidential rhetoric, as defined by Campbell and Jamieson (2008), is a source of executive power commonly adopted in the modern American presidency and reflected in the potential of presidents to speak on when, where and whatever topic they choose. Similarly, Hauser (1999) and Edwards (2003) agree in characterising presidential rhetoric as primarily dedicated to gain the citizen’s support and approval necessary to enact the presidents’ policies. In the same vein, presidential discourse has traditionally been viewed as having the adequate rhetorical power to convince the public towards a plan and to influence their attitudes and beliefs to accept, without controversy, the speakers’ decisions and justifications. In their innovative work, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) identified eleven genres of American presidential rhetoric devoting a chapter to each type of genre; presidential war rhetoric (PWR) is one of these genres which represents the focus and data of the present study.

Given the importance of presidential rhetoric, studies of this field are characterised as critical and distributed into four groups (Windt, 1986). The first group consists of the studies of single speeches which are described as intrinsic in the sense of explaining how a particular speech succeeded or failed to work on an audience.

They are also extrinsic in that they should offer raw materials for rich knowledge of how one specific president employed rhetoric for developing the theory of presidential rhetoric. The second group consists of movement studies in which scholars usually trace the chronological progression of a political agenda or the different arguments that a particular president utilised in pressing a single political idea or theme. The third group of studies comprises miscellaneous research in which a multitude of different subjects including accuracy of texts, preparation of speech, quantitative analyses of presidential discourse are included as essential contributions to specific inquiries of various aspects of presidential rhetoric (Windt, 1986). The fourth group of presidential rhetoric studies that Windt (1986) also identified is labelled as genre studies which concentrate on comparing what different presidents said on similar events and occasions, on same goals, or what they said to similar audiences. The last group is the focus of the study, where a genre-based analysis is the approach adopted to analyse the genre of PWR.

Traditionally, the concept genre was primarily employed to refer to a class of texts identified through a classification system and a descriptive analysis of its superficial linguistic features (Swales, 1990). It is this traditional view that Windt (1986) intended when he described, at the time of writing his work, genre studies as being still in 'an infant state'. Recently, however, genre views have changed, moving from a merely formalistic study of text classification to a rhetorical investigation of the generic practices of everyday readers and writers (Devitt, 2004). Thus, this shift has assisted in transforming genre trajectory of study from a descriptive to an explanatory trend. Among the theorists who directly outlined this new understanding of genre are Miller (1984), Campbell and Jamieson (1990; 2008), Bhatia (1993; 2004), Hyon (1996), Martin (1997), Paltridge (1997), Huckin (1997), Russell (1997), Devitt (2004), Swales (2009) and Berkenkotter and Huckin (2016).

Currently, the process of any genre analysis is based on two stages. First, a genre is characterised by communicative purposes. These communicative purposes are closely connected to discourse communities of genres' users (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993). Second, how a genre accomplishes the communicative purpose is conventionalised within the discourse community using that genre. Additionally, the

content of texts of a particular genre runs in given conventional manners to realise the generic structures – moves or stages - operating to fulfil the communicative purpose of the genre (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993). As such, the hypothesis that text-types of the same genre can have similar rhetorical, textual organisation and linguistic choices to realise the moves of the generic structure has turned to be an influential research field (Al-Ali, 1999). Accordingly, the present study adopts a multidisciplinary approach to genre-based analysis to address the relationship between the organisation of the text structure and the communicative purposes of these texts in their social contexts.

Although genre analysis has a long-established tradition in literature, interest in the analysis of non-literary genres has been relatively recent (Bhatia, 1993). Over the past twenty years, scholars have used genre analysis as a common framework for conducting different studies in academic and professional contexts (Bhatia, 1993). Some of these studies have focused on textual patterns typical for a certain academic culture (Mauranen, 1992; Ventola and Mauranen, 1996). Others have examined the linguistic features of scientific discourse (Nwogu, 1997; Kanoksilapatham, 2005; 2012; Lim, 2014), the rhetoric of written communication (Berkenkotter and Huckin, 1993; Freedman and Medway, 2003) and educational practices in areas such as academic writing and English for Specific Purposes (ESP) (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993; Martin, 1997; Samraj, 2005; Wang, 2006; Hassan, 2008; Sayfour, 2010; Tai, 2010; Osat, 2012; Tajri, 2013; Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2017; Leelertphan, 2017). As such, studies of a genre-based analysis have almost been confined to analysing academic and professional texts, and a few studies, so far, have attempted to conduct a genre-based analysis of presidential war discourse in particular (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008; Hodges, 2011, 2013). Some studies have adopted a genre-based analysis of presidential discourse (Weber, 2011; Liu, 2012; Khany and Hamzelou, 2014; Mirzaei et al., 2016). However, they mostly focused on presidential inaugural speeches which are deemed as a genre that is completely different from presidential war rhetoric.

In this regard, presidential war addresses (PWAs), as text-types of presidential rhetoric, are inherited with the underlying use of language to influence the public and

achieve a particular communicative purpose (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). Accordingly, in investigating presidential war discourse in particular, it is necessary to make a careful distinction among the sources adopted in the text to serve its communicative purpose. As a qualitative content analysis, this study attempts to identify the American presidential war addresses (APWAs) as a genre. It describes the way presidential war discourse is constructed and interpreted by the expert members of a discourse community in its socio-political context to achieve the intended communicative purpose. More specifically, the current study explores the set of macro and micro levels such as text organisation, rhetorical structures, and lexicogrammatical choices which systematically constitute the genre of presidential war discourse and its communicative purpose.

1.2 Problem Statement

In its history, the United States of America had formally declared wars five times against foreign nations. Those wars had been officially approved by the American Congress. They are the War of 1812 with Great Britain, the US-Mexican War in 1846, the Spanish-American War in 1898, the World War I in 1917 and the World War II in 1941. The United States had also engaged in major military actions in places like Korea, Vietnam, Kuwait and Iraq over the last 70 years without formal declarations of war by the American government. In addition, more than 100 military ventures have been led by the United States without any form of congressional ratification (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). These included the military actions represented by the presidential addresses under question in the present study. Thus, sometimes, without any congressional ratification or formal declaration of wars by the government, the nation's troops are sent to carry out major military actions. As a result, a significant debate about wars may exist, and possible robust opposition appears as to the illegitimacy of the authorities' decisions. In this situation, the use of PWR becomes necessary and increasingly dominant in presidential discourse to help presidents justify the military actions, reshape situations and legitimise their initiatives (Hart, 1987; Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). PWR has been potentially advocated by American presidents in times of war to gain the Congress and public support for undertaken

military actions to prove that the taken military action was the right and the only option required to protect America particularly when public opposition exists. To achieve their intended policies, presidents advocate the power of language use (Campbell and Jamieson, 1990). Hence, in war times, presidents rely heavily on their linguistic performance to make their discourses more compelling and persuasive (Charteris-Black, 2011). Accordingly, language and PWR are inseparable in the sense that an investigation of the language of presidential war discourse helps us go through the insight of how this genre is produced, structured and interpreted (Thomas, Wareing, Jones and Thornborrow, 2004).

War discourse has been well examined and studied drawing on tools of critical discourse analysis (Chouliaraki, 2005; Bacharach, 2006; Dunmire, 2007; Maggio, 2007; Aghagolzadeh and Bahrami-Khorshid, 2009; Cap, 2010; Oddo, 2011; Sahlane, 2012; Sarfo and Krampa, 2012; Klymenko, 2015; Mirhosseini, 2017; Beshara, 2018; Bartolucci, 2019), and rhetoric (Hubanks, 2009; Ramos, 2010; Bostdorff, 2011; Alemi, Latifi and Nematzadeh, 2018). However, little work has been carried out, so far, to conduct a genre-based analysis of PWR to uncover what and how structures are employed to define the language of war discourse and identify it as a genre (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008; Hodges, 2011, 2013). As for critical discourse analysis, it ‘focuses on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination’ (van Dijk, 2001, p. 96). Similarly, Wodak (2001) sees it as essentially focusing on investigating and identifying opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as demonstrated in language. Genre analysis, on the other hand, focuses on the description of the way the language of texts is structured into coherent parts. Thus, a type of discourse analysis that approaches written and spoken texts in terms of regularities of moves and other patterns of style, structure and content (Bhatia, 1993). Studies of this genre analysis are quite limited if we consider their importance to the discourse community, speech community and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). As such, this represents a gap in the knowledge of this specific genre. Even the genre analyses that have been conducted on presidential discourse are mainly concerned with presidential inaugural speeches and states of the union speeches delivered by state presidents (Weber, 2011; Liu, 2012; Khany and Hamzelou, 2014; Mirzaei, Hashemian and Safari, 2016; Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2017). In response, the present study,

through a qualitative content analysis of the presidential war language, aims at identifying presidential war discourse as a genre by analysing and interpreting its text structure in terms of its communicative purpose, needs of audiences and context.

Notably, genre often segments content of a text into what is said and how is said in the social context in which it is situated. In relation, the question of how things in a message are said and variously structured is more important, relevant and more impressive to an audience than the message itself regardless of the amount of information conveyed by a spoken unit (Sornig, 1989; Beard, 2000). This tendency conforms to an understanding of genres as conventionalised, typical regularities of contextual, communicative-functional, and structural (grammatical and thematic) characteristics (Bhatia, 1993). As such, the present study sets out to identify the obligatory rhetorical moves of the generic structure employed by presidents to achieve the communicative purpose of justifying American wars and military actions. According to the above views, an understanding of PWR as a genre that fuses structures constituted from variant forms (Campbell and Jamieson, 1990), permits researchers to explore what these structures are and why they recur in their abstract generic model (Hodges, 2013). Additionally, the communicative goals of any genre give rise to regular structural forms by imposing restrictions on the use of discoursal resources and lexico-grammatical features (Bhatia, 2004). Accordingly, the study goes further to explore what rhetorical (Aristotle's types of rhetoric and illocutionary speech acts) and lexico-grammatical structures used by presidents to realise the communicative functions of the obligatory rhetorical moves.

Earlier researchers have also examined Aristotle's types of rhetoric (Hubanks, 2009; Ramos, 2010; Bostdorff, 2011; Flanagan, 2018; Gregory, 2020;) and the use of the speech acts (Łazuka, 2006; Widiatmoko, 2017; Alemi et al., 2018; Al-Ebadi, Kadhim and Murdas, 2020) in presidential war discourse. Yet, these structures have not been studied in terms of their appearance, use and function in each rhetorical move of the presidential war discourse. Prior research has examined these structures in the text as a whole in terms of the communicative purpose only. In response to this research gap, this study also investigates the use of these types of rhetorical structures in the obligatory moves of the APWAs and how they are employed to realise the

communicative functions of these moves. Aristotle's types of rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative, and forensic), as one of these structures, realise any type of discourse and cover some of the most common ways we communicate, even today.

Illocutionary speech acts are another rhetorical structure employed by presidents to accomplish the communicative functions of the rhetorical moves of the APWAs. Being a tool of communication, a theory of genre in itself (Hancher, 1981) and, thus, matching genre in having a communicative function, speech act theory is concerned with how words can be used to present information and communicate intentions (Cameron, 2001). This notion is consistent with the central premise of the current analysis that language is used to create communication and that 'competence in language is not simply the mastery of forms of language but the mastery of forms to accomplish the communicative functions of language' (Kaburise, 2004, p. 6). Accordingly, this study also sets out to analyse what illocutionary speech acts are performed and how they are used to realise the obligatory rhetorical moves of the APWAs.

The APWAs, in particular, like any other genre, are hypothesised to be constrained by their forms, contents and functions that are used and typified in specific conventional linguistic ways (Bhatia, 1993). Bhatia goes further to state that although investigating the generic structure (rhetorical moves) is an essential and basic part for conducting genre analysis, the analysis of the salient lexico-grammatical features is also equally important. Lexico-grammatical features are necessary and beneficial as they offer essential evidence 'to prove and disprove some of the intuitive and impressionistic implications' of their use in the rhetorical moves (Bhatia, 1993, p. 68). In the context of PWR, it would be interesting to examine and identify the salient regular linguistic features of the different rhetorical moves and how their selections and uses are indicative of and consistent with the communicative functions of each rhetorical move. As such, instead of identifying a set of predefined linguistic features, the study aims to examine the moves to identify those conventionalised linguistic features that are used to achieve their communicative functions. The matrix in Figure 1-1 below makes the storyline of the problem statement clear.

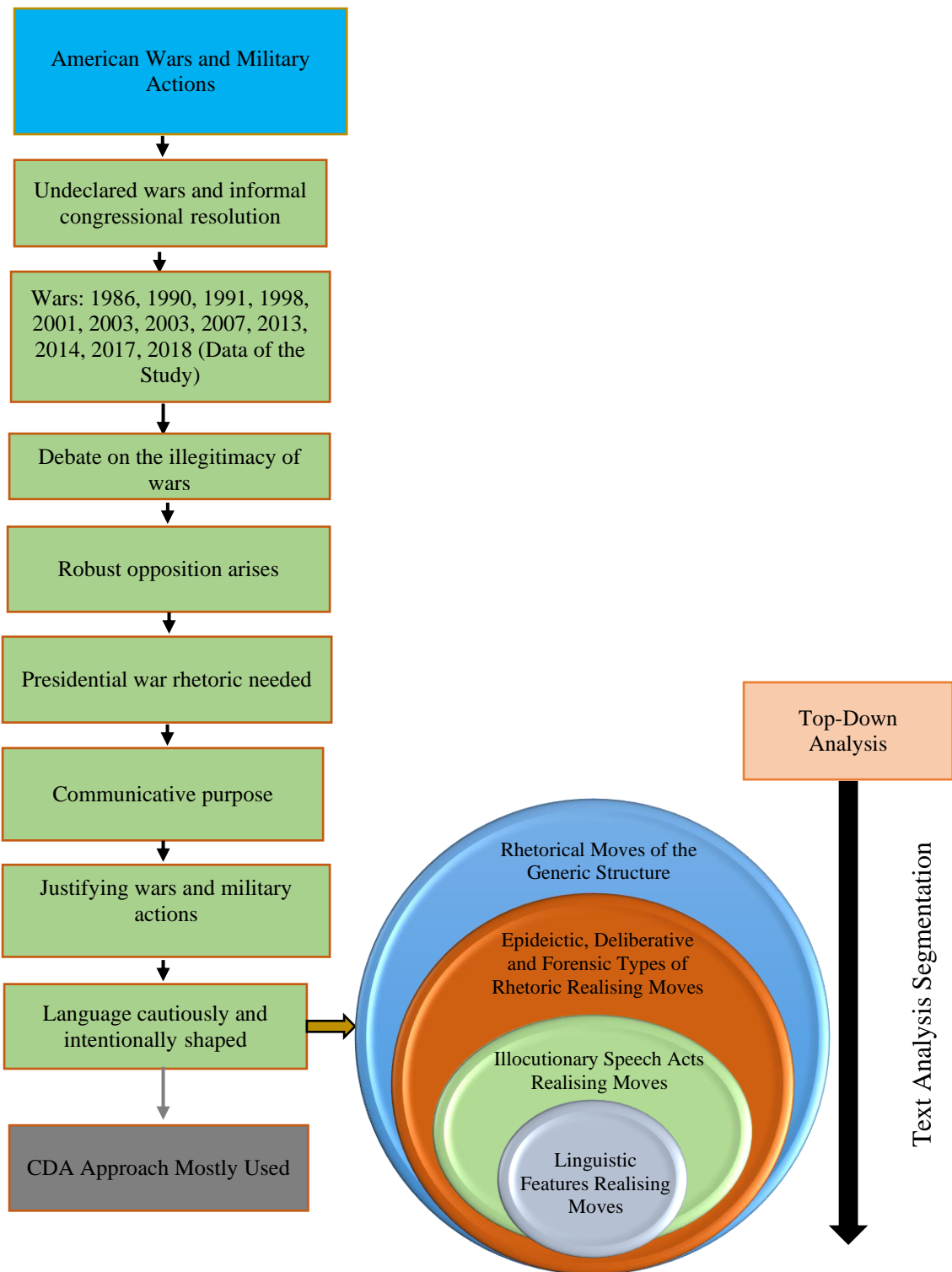


Figure 1-1 The storyline of the problem statement

To uncover how American presidents contend to justify American wars and military actions and to mitigate opposition voices, it is necessary to make a careful distinction between the sources adopted in the discourse of PWR. Genre analysis

addresses the higher (macro) and lower (micro) organisation levels of a text which are systematically used to serve the communicative purpose of the genre (Swales, 1990; Chilton and Schäffner, 2002). Accordingly, the present study adopts a genre-based analysis of the APWAs at both these higher and lower levels of structures (Swales, 1990; Toledo, 2005). The higher level of analysis is realised by the obligatory rhetorical moves of the generic structure which conform to the ethical understandings of war derived from the philosophical tradition of the Just War Theory (JWT). The lower level of structures is realised by Aristotle's types of rhetoric, types of illocutionary speech act and the salient lexico-grammatical features used to serve the communicative function of each of these moves. Previous studies of presidential discourse investigated Aristotle's types of rhetoric (Murphy, 2003; Ramos, 2010; Bostdorff, 2011; Flanagan, 2018) and speech acts (Ilic and Radulovic, 2015; Chinwendu Israel and Botchwey, 2017; Widiatmoko, 2017; Alemi et al., 2018) across the whole text taking into consideration the purpose of the speaker only. This study, however, carries out an analysis of these structures in terms of their use and function within each rhetorical move to achieve its communicative purpose. These obligatory rhetorical moves which are considered venues used to meet the exigencies created by the events and the needs of the audiences (what they want to be convinced).

1.3 Objectives of the Study

Informed as a genre-based analysis, the central aim of this study is to identify the APWAs as a genre and explore how the language of this genre was effectively used to achieve its communicative purpose. Against such a backdrop and to meet the central aim of the study, the following objectives are set:

1. To identify the obligatory rhetorical moves used to achieve the communicative purpose of the APWAs as a genre.
2. To identify Aristotle's types of rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative or forensic) and how they are employed to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs.

3. To identify the illocutionary speech acts and how they are performed to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs.
4. To identify the salient lexico-grammatical features that are used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs.

1.4 Research Questions

Based on the problem statement and the objectives of the present study, the following questions are raised:

1. What are the obligatory rhetorical moves used to achieve the communicative purpose of the APWAs as a genre?
2. What types of Aristotle's rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative or forensic) are employed and how are they used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs?
3. What types of illocutionary speech acts are performed and how are they used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs?
4. What are the salient lexico-grammatical features used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs?

1.5 Scope of the Study

Of the eleven genres of presidential rhetoric identified by Campbell and Jamieson (2008), PWR is the focus of the current study. Thus, twelve American presidential addresses declaring wars and military introductions on some Arab and Islamic countries were selected as the data of the analysis in this study. These represent war addresses extending during the period 1986-2018 from Ronald Reagan to Donald Trump. They involve one address of Ronald Reagan in 1986, two addresses of George

H. W. Bush: in 1990 and 1991, one address of Bill Clinton (1998), four addresses of George W. Bush: (2001), (2003), (2003) and (2007), two addresses of Barack Obama: (2013) and (2014), two addresses of Donald Trump: (2017) and (2018). In relation, the trajectory of data collection and analysis is based on a recursive process in that the researcher proceeded to analyse data until the study reaches a point where no new information can be obtained from the sample - data saturation (Johnson and Christensen, 2019; Mason, 2018; Tracy, 2019). Therefore, the saturation of findings is achieved with ten addresses with no different information that appears in the last two addresses. Thus, twelve addresses are considered logical to reflect the research objectives. The selection is made so as these military actions are among the American military ventures that have been carried out without formal declaration of wars or congressional authorisation by the government. Besides, these periods witnessed politically and historically significant events to the Middle East and the Islamic-American relations. Hence, visuals are excluded in this study because the focus is on the written versions of texts which implement the communicative purpose of the genre under scrutiny.

Ultimately, this study is limited to capture how American presidents employ rhetorical moves and their lower-level patterns (rhetorical and linguistic structures) in times of war to organise their presidential addresses to achieve the intended communicative purpose of justifying wars and military actions. In specific, it covers the analysis of Aristotle's types of rhetoric, speech acts and the most salient regular lexico-grammatical features used to realise the communicative functions of the obligatory rhetorical moves of the genre in question. An integrated and multidisciplinary analytical approach, drawing upon genre analysis theories, Aristotle's classical rhetoric and speech act theory are adopted to analyse the genre under examination.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The current study may be significant in that it draws an accurate map of the nature of presidential discourse in general and the APWAs in particular. In this respect,

applying genre analysis plays a crucial role in recognising and familiarising ourselves with the conventions and strategies employed in the discourse community of American presidents and their presidential war discourses (Bhatia, 1993). In the same sense, structural regularities associated with the APWAs provide members of its discourse community with the generic automation and rhetorical stability needed to construct effectively and persuasively all types of its knowledge (Paré and Smart, 2003). As such, this study is an attempt to add to one's knowledge in the field of presidential rhetoric in general and to contribute to genre studies of PWR in particular.

Subsequently, examining the variety and organisation of the rhetorical moves and their micro or lower-level structures can be of significance to language learners in general and ESP students in particular both as readers and writers of presidential genres. Hence, it may enhance their language awareness and equip them with necessary rhetorical structures and linguistic conventions for understanding and producing this type of discourse. The results of the study might be of great benefit and a useful guide for curriculum and training courses devoted to teaching politicians and students in the field of English and political science. In the same vein, being familiar with the generic structure, regular rhetorical structures and linguistic features of the genre will assist teachers of the presidential war rhetoric in changing the prescriptive way of teaching to be advantageous in future public oration classes (Wang, 2016).

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework employed in this study to analyse American presidential war rhetoric (APWR) as a genre is integrated and multidisciplinary. It involves the analysis of obligatory rhetorical moves used to realise the communicative purpose of this genre: justifying American military actions. The framework also includes a move-based analysis of the rhetorical structures and lexico-grammatical features employed to realise these moves. Bhatia (1993) sees that each genre reflects a set of communicative purposes. Consequently, texts are analysed at three levels: the communicative purpose of genre, its generic structure and the regular linguistic features inherent in a specific genre. The most significant standard for the

determination and distinction of genres is the designed communicative purpose which is attained, in this study, by the rhetorical moves distributed intentionally in genre texts and the rhetorical and linguistic tactics used to realise these moves. According to this view, a text is studied in terms of a predictable sequence of stages or moves that are utilised to attain particular communicative purposes (Bhatia, 1993).

Bhatia's (1993) model on genre analysis is applied to explore the typical obligatory rhetorical moves that operate to justify American wars and military actions as the communicative purpose of the APWR. Move analysis is the most commonly employed tool of such a specific genre-level analysis (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993). Bhatia's (1993) model relies on a move-based approach in analysing the generic structure and other linguistic features of the genre in question. The text is described as a sequence of 'moves', where each move represents a stretch of text serving a particular communicative (that is, semantic) function (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993). Bhatia's (1993) model is integrated as it contributes to the development of a theory of genre analysis made by scholars of theoretical and applied linguistics, sociology, psychology, cognitive as well as applied studies and communication research. Moreover, the study also investigates how lower-level signals - rhetorical and linguistic structures - are utilised to realise the communicative function of each move. As such, the study draws on two models: Aristotle's classical rhetoric (Aristotle, 2004; 2007; Condit, 1985) for the analysis of the types of rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative or forensic) and Bach and Harnish's (1979) model on illocutionary speech acts.

In relation, the multidisciplinary theoretical framework of the present study draws upon the trajectory of genre analysis moving linearly in the text. Move analysis was originally established as a top-down approach (where the focus is on meaning and ideas) to examine and identify the generic structure of texts (Upton and Cohen, 2009). In a top-down analysis to the discourse structure of the genre, the first step after identifying the communicative purpose of the genre is to develop the theoretical framework. Then, it is followed by determining the type of discourse or semantic unit based on a prior recognition of the major communicative functions of these units in these texts. That framework is then applied to the analysis of all texts of the genre in question. As such, the content of these texts is segmented into discourse or semantic

units by identifying stretches or parts of the text that serve specific communicative functions. Once content is segmented and discourse units are identified, they are then analysed and described for their micro or lower levels: rhetorical and lexicogrammatical structures. In relation, the present study starts with the analysis of rhetorical moves of the texts contributing to the accomplishment of the communicative purpose of the genre. Then, it moves to identify Aristotle's types of rhetoric, the types of illocutionary speech acts and the linguistic features used to realise the communicative functions of these rhetorical moves. The linear trajectory is realised when this approach conceives a text as goal-oriented staged moves designed to construct, read and understand the text and its communicative purpose (Bawarshi and Reiff, 2010). The theoretical framework of the study is summarised and shown below.

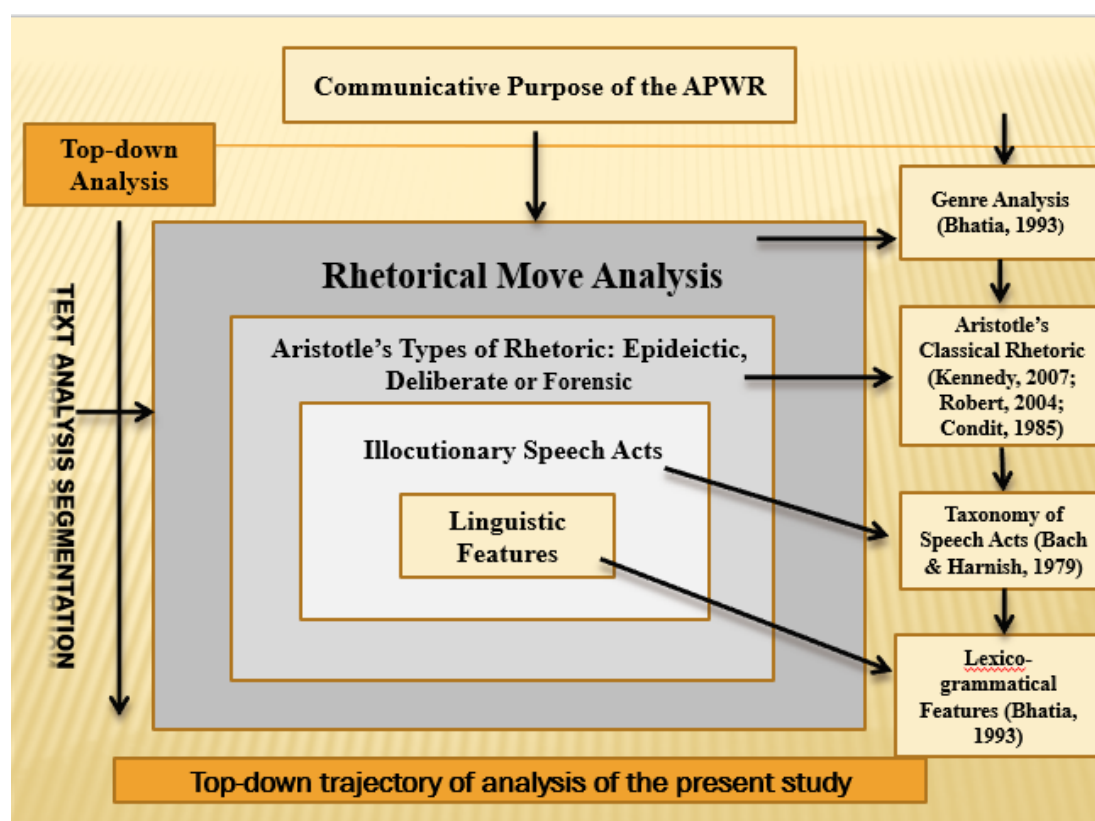


Figure 1-2 The theoretical framework adopted in the present study

Guided by the purposes of the study and the four research questions, the procedure of the data analysis is summarised and shown below in Table 1-1.

Table 1-1 The procedure of data analysis in the study

RQ	Objective/ Purpose	Theory or technique adopted
RQ 1	To identify the obligatory rhetorical moves used to achieve the communicative purpose of the APWAs as a genre.	Bhatia's (1993) model on genre analysis
RQ 2	To identify Aristotle's types of rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative, or forensic) and how they are employed to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs.	Aristotle's classical Rhetoric, Kennedy (2007) and Roberts (2004), and modern views of Aristotle's Rhetoric, Condit (1985)
RQ 3	To identify the illocutionary speech acts and how they are performed to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs.	Bach and Harnish's (1979) model on speech acts
RQ 4	To identify the salient lexico-grammatical features used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs.	Lexico-grammatical features (Bhatia, 1993).

1.8 Conceptual Definitions of Key Terms

This section adopts brief definitions for the primary key terms used in this study.

1.8.1 Genre

The concept 'genre' has been variously defined. One of the definitions characterises genre in the following way:

A use of language in a conventionalized communicative setting to give expression to a specific set of communicative goals of a disciplinary or social institution, which give rise to stable structural forms by imposing constraints on the use of lexico-grammatical as well as discursal resources (Bhatia, 2004, p. 23).

1.8.2 Genre-Based Analysis

Bhatia (2004) defines genre analysis or genre-based analysis as the study of the real written discourse that occurs naturally in a specific context focusing specifically on a comprehensive analysis beyond the level of the sentence. Genre analysis, as seen by Hyland (2012), is a discourse analysis of a specific form of communication focusing on the recurrent elements of language use.

1.8.3 Move

Swales (1990) defines a move as a structural segment having a specific communicative function and purpose. According to Bhatia (1993), a move has a particular characteristic related to genre in the sense that being familiar with the function of each move and the generic organisation of the whole text allows for a greater understanding of any specific genre.

1.8.4 Obligatory Rhetorical Move and Strategy

A structural segment or semantic unit that exists above the cut-off frequency of 50% of occurrence (Swales, 1990).

1.8.5 Discourse Community

Swales (1990) defines discourse community as people interacting through actions and discourses within a genre to accomplish a set of communicative purposes. It is a group of people who share a set of purposes and ways of communicating about these purposes. Accordingly, the discourse community of the APWAs is a term referring to American presidents or writers of presidential discourse who interact

according to the genre's constraints and ethics of the JWT to justify the American wars and military actions as the communicative purpose of the genre under scrutiny.

1.8.6 Presidential Rhetoric

Presidential rhetoric denotes a variety of rhetorical tools used by presidents in times of crisis and controversy to mobilise public support in line with their policies and agenda. It focuses on the ways that presidents obtain, maintain or lose public support (Windt, 1986).

1.8.7 Presidential War Rhetoric

PWR is a discourse inherited with all sources of the language used to influence the public and American Congress in line with justifying and legitimising the taken military action (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008).

1.8.8 Aristotle's rhetoric

According to Aristotle, rhetoric is defined as the ability of individuals in each particular case, to see and utilise the available means of persuasion. He describes three main modes of rhetoric: epideictic, deliberative, and forensic (Aristotle, 1991).

1.8.8.1 Epideictic Rhetoric

Epideictic rhetoric is defined as ceremonial speech or writing that is oriented to praising or blaming someone or something. Epideictic discourse is not used necessarily to move audiences to action but to establish and reinforce shared belief, through the tools of praise and blame (Aristotle, 1991).

1.8.8.2 Deliberative Rhetoric

Historically, deliberative (political) rhetoric is concerned with future actions or events (Aristotle, 1991; 2007). According to modern views, Dow (1989, p. 296) argues that presidents use deliberative rhetoric to ‘establish the expediency of action taken to gain public support’.

1.8.8.3 Forensic Rhetoric

According to Aristotle, forensic rhetoric is used mainly to either attack or defend someone (Aristotle, 2004). In the same context, Eisenstadt (2014) argues that forensic type of rhetoric is delivered by accusers and defenders, concentrating on events of the past, and rendered just or unjust by a judge or a group of judges.

1.8.9 (Illocutionary) Speech Act

An (illocutionary) speech act is an utterance defined in terms of a speaker's intention and the hearer's recognition of that intention. Essentially, it is a type of act that the speaker intends to provoke in his or her audiences (Bach and Harnish, 1979). Types of speech acts involve requests, warnings, promises, directives, confirmatives, informatives and so on.

1.8.10 Lexico-Grammatical Features

Lexico-grammatical features are defined as patterns of vocabulary and grammatical structures used to express the communicative functions of moves in a genre. As such, at a 'micro' level, genres can be examined for their regular lexico-grammatical features (Bhatia, 1993)

1.9 Organisation of the Study

This study is composed of five chapters. Chapter One presents the introduction of this study which includes the context of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, scope of the study, the significance of the study and theoretical framework. Alongside, some definitions of key terms are adopted to ensure clarity.

Chapter Two presents a critical synthesis of literature according to relevant themes or variables and discusses the approaches and theories which outline the theoretical framework of the study. It contextualises genre and surveys the different traditions of genre analysis. It also explores the relationship between rhetoric, politics and language, and characterises PWR as a specific genre of presidential discourse. This chapter also surveys Aristotle's types of rhetoric associated with any type of discourse and then extensively explains the modern views and conceptions of these types of rhetoric. Chapter Two also elucidates speech acts as a theory of pragmatics and then sets out to survey Bach and Harnish's (1979) model and taxonomy of speech acts. This chapter ends with a survey of previous research pertaining to the topic and an overview of how the present study is theoretically different from these studies.

Chapter Three provides a detailed description of the research methodology of the study. It designs the research methodology according to Saunders' et al. (2016) 'research onion'. It starts with an introduction and then describes research objectives, research philosophy and paradigm, research approach, methodological choice, research strategy, and data collection and analysis. This chapter also describes the detailed analytical framework. It also presents NVivo 12 as the software programme used to code the content and provides inter-rater reliability analysis. Moreover, the trustworthiness of the study is extensively discussed.

Chapter Four is devoted to an analysis of the twelve APWAs, and an interpretation and detailed discussion of the results. It also provides a summary of the discussion of the findings.

Chapter Five contains a summary of the findings, conclusions and interpretation of the analysis. It provides the study implications, study contributions and some suggestions for further studies.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with introducing the relationship between rhetoric and politics through surveying some important definitions of the term rhetoric. It also describes the interconnection of language and politics and how they form the field of political rhetoric and the process of producing political discourse. This chapter goes further to categorise presidential rhetoric as an activity processed in political discourse and identify presidential war discourse as a specific genre of presidential discourse. This chapter, besides, introduces the concept of genre and reveals its beginning and evolution. It also reviews different traditions of genre theories to design the methodology of genre analysis used in this study. These theories mainly cover Rhetorical Genre Studies (RGS), Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and ESP perspectives on genre. Then, this chapter defines the approach of genre analysis and the aims of its application to different texts. As for rhetoric, this chapter surveys Aristotle's types of rhetoric – epideictic, deliberative and forensic – and explains how they are used by speakers to achieve political ends. It also contextualises and explains speech acts theory, surveys its evolution in history, and focuses on Bach and Harnish's (1979) model as the one adopted to investigate the recurring speech acts performed in this genre. Furthermore, this chapter also reveals how presidential discourse, in general, has been approached in previous studies and in which aspects the current study is different. This chapter ends with a summary.

2.2 Rhetoric and Politics

2.2.1 Rhetoric: Definitions and an Introduction

Rhetoric is an incredibly difficult term to be defined because it refers to several different but related notions. Accordingly, the term rhetoric has been widely and diversely defined by theorists and rhetoricians. To begin with, rhetoric is an art of discovering the best alternatives of persuasion among the available ones (Aristotle, 2004). It does not have its specific area like other sciences or arts since it is dominant everywhere within them (Booth, 2004). Each art can use its available potential resources to persuade about its particular subject. In this line, rhetoric can be identified in different disciplines and subjects where both rhetoric and dialectic are considered distinct features of presenting arguments (Aristotle, 2008).

Rhetoric is defined as the ability to use language effectively (Metcalf, 2004). The function of rhetoric is to use words by one agent to induce another (McKay and McKay, 2009). Rhetoric is also defined as a strategy of the powerful human being and his form of control (Hartelius and Browning, 2008). Rhetoric is established to improve the speakers and writers' capability to inform and influence addressees on particular occasions. As a means of expression, Richards, Platt and Platt (1992) see rhetoric a topic of expressing oneself effectively and correctly in terms of the discourse topic, the targeted audience and the purpose of communication. In his definition of rhetoric, Mauranen (1992), also reiterated by Babae (2011), focuses on the means that linguists employ to realise rhetorical intentions including the means that form and organise the message in language. It might be said that rhetoric is the art and science of forming arguments and of exploiting all the possible uses of language towards achieving a consensus.

For centuries, the study of rhetoric has been considered as a fact to the education of a gentleman. If a man wanted to make his communication a persuasive one and to have an impact on others, he had to study rhetoric. Thus, the good rhetorician should have the proficiency to control arguments according to the procedures of the art of persuading (Staugaitė, 2014). In the same vein, Kock (2004)

elucidates that the power of rhetoric is not just confined to the use of words to do specific communicative functions; rhetoric is also seen as the on-going public discourse establishing human societies and connecting them. Similarly, Beard (2000) and Higgins and Walker (2012) refer to Aristotle's extensive efforts of writing on the 'art of rhetoric' as a significant part of human activity and an unavoidable section of everyday interaction and communication. It is also evidenced in Hartelius and Browning (2008) when they characterise rhetoric as an intentional means of participating in organisational interactions for all members. According to Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2014), rhetoric is one of the oldest systematic disciplines that survived in the world as a result of its ability to adapt to ideological and social variation and apply to any particular subjects and fields as they evolve. Referring to the views of rhetoric mentioned above, the sense of rhetoric, that the current study follows in analysing the data and addressing the research questions, is the aspect of language use that is oriented to the functional organisation of the texts to generate an intended effect on the target audience (Valesio, 1980); the way in which the structural selections are used in an intentional way to achieve the communicative functions of the rhetorical moves and, in turn, the communicative purpose of the genre (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993).

2.3 Political Rhetoric

Rhetoric and politics have been intimately connected during their histories. Gronbeck (2004) elucidates the long historical relationship between rhetoric and politics when he talks of the difficulty in conceptualising rhetoric and politics. This difficulty has been attributed to the rhetoricians' tendency in history to fold these two concepts into each other to make them one area of research. Rhetoric, the art of employing any possible means of persuasion (Aristotle, 2007), is considered the oldest approach used for the analysis of political language (De Landtsheer, 1998). Gronbeck (2004) displays Aristotle's definition of rhetoric as a practical art located at the boundary between ethics and politics. By this meaning, rhetoric is seen as a discipline combining the social-personal values and the political issues answering the question of why the history of rhetoric and the history of politics often have run down the same

path (Gronbeck, 2004). Thus, the Aristotelian conceptualisation of rhetoric and politics cannot be understood without conceiving politics as underlying the citizens' needs and conventions, and rhetoric as a means for the symbolic transferring of citizens' mores and needs into the bases of public policy.

Gronbeck (2004) claims that although American political science in the 20th-century was associated with rational-choice arguments, the earliest meanings of the idea of politics reflected principles of rhetoric practice. Subsequently, it is not only politics that has been claimed to have operative principles of rhetoric; rhetoric itself has been indulged in political debate for 24 centuries (Gronbeck, 2004). Rhetoric or the idea of rhetoric itself has fallen in the web of political significations for a long course of time. In other words, rhetoric is a word originally coined to achieve political purposes to help Platonic epistemological idealism and political fascism in their fights with competing theories of knowledge and public processes (Gronbeck, 2004).

Political rhetoric is a discipline that concerns itself with the language and how it is used by speakers and writers (Thomas et al., 2004). Accordingly, political rhetoric represents the employment of the possible available means of persuasion whereby politicians or presidents, in the political systems of democratic governments, utilise all the possible cultural and moral values and beliefs of audiences to achieve political aims in the process of social communication. Public discussions are one of the pillars of democratic governments, and persuasion is central in their political systems (Staugaitė, 2014). This notion is also endorsed by Kane and Patapan (2010) arguing that since public discussion and debate are crucial in a democracy, and leaders are forced to rule the sovereign people through constant persuasion, rhetoric becomes inevitable and central. By democracy, they mean its most basic principle of 'popular sovereignty' or the people's rule. Thus, political rhetoric as a topic studies the rhetorical strategies and structures employed by politicians to form effective narratives and arguments in political discourse as a specific genre. Further, Dryzek (2010) asserts that rhetoric is necessary when the need comes to invoke different emotions and discourses in the minds of those addressees to conform to the claims made by the representative. Consequently, political rhetoric creates an effective channel of

communication between differently situated actors and, thus, establishes for deliberative systems and ends.

2.3.1 The Interaction of Language and Politics

Language is defined as lifeblood and essence of politics. Because of the intimate connection between language and politics, it is still controversial if language has been developed without politics or politics has never existed or developed without language (Charteris-Black, 2011). Some highly specified and influential scholars of the last two decades working in the origin of language have considered the view that language evolved essentially for political reasons. Likewise, Dunbar (1998) suggests that language was first employed to manufacture a sense of emotional equality and solidarity between allies. On the other hand, Joseph (2006) translates Dessalles' view of locating the origin of language stating that it is traced back to the need of constituting coalitions of a big size and of representing the initial form of political and social organisation. Chilton and Schäffner (2002) refer to Aristotle's emphasis of humans as creatures embedded with nature to live in a polis and their unique human capacity for speech. Inspired by Aristotle, Joseph (2006) claims that all humans are political. Still, some are characterised as more political than others and, among all humans, there is particular one who is the most political of all. Language is the reason and mediator of this.

Consequently, it is obvious from the above description that political activity and language use exist together and cannot be detached. Political leaders realise the great role that language plays in affecting people's opinions and beliefs, and that politics relies largely on language (Chilton, 2004). Thus, in the practice of politics, language is mainly seen as a powerful strategy to influence opinions (De Landtsheer, 1998). In addition, Beard (2000) emphasises the effect of language use and the way ideas in political discourse are presented and organised. Moreover, language is regarded as a way of expressing ideas, and there is no way that language is separate from the ideas it contains. How language is used elaborates greatly about how the ideas have been reflected and shaped (Beard, 2000). Hence, language as a means of

acquiring trust and persuading audiences is a notion significantly evidenced in the more democratic societies. These democratic societies have a greater onus on their leaders to influence potential followers that their plans and politics are trustable (Charteris-Black, 2011). Any written or spoken discourse attempting to put into practice the politicians' claims and ends is known as political discourse which is the focus of the next section.

2.3.2 Political Discourse

Political speeches are one of the traditional forms of mediatized national politics at which 'research in political genres is thus far best documented' (Cap and Okulska, 2013, p. 8). Van Dijk (1997) asserts that political discourse is a form by which political information, political action and participation are processed. He adds that there is an interactive and functional relation between the discourse structure of the political discourse and properties of political processes which makes the study of political discourse theoretically and empirically relevant and attractive.

De Landtsheer (1998) points out that scientists, politicians and journalists utilise the terms of political language, political discourse, political speech and political rhetoric interchangeably to indicate the correlation between language and politics. When the objective of political discourse is to influence power, this means that we are tackling the political function of language. Thus, the language of politics and language of power are equal. De Landtsheer (1998) goes further to explain that the concept of political discourse denotes ideas of both language and politics and he agrees with Edelman's definition of politics as, basically, a matter of words and power of persuasion (Edelman, cited in De Landtsheer, 1998). In other words, political discourse means public communication on issues of politics and that one can find it in the language of newspapers, radio, television, propaganda, and administrative, judicial and diplomatic language (De Landtsheer, 1998).

As the presidential address is a type of political discourse, making addresses is the essential role presidents do to display their future policy and convince audiences

to agree with it. Given this, one of the goals of political discourse, in general, and presidential discourse, in particular, must be to persuade people of the soundness of the presidents' beliefs and to influence public opinion to meet their interests. Charteris-Black (2011) explains that presidential addresses are texts written by more than one author to legitimise the political speaker and his claims. By this, the political speaker or president is not seen as a mouthpiece in the process of speech making. In contrast, the president finally has the authority to edit the content of the speech that is delivered to invited audiences or supporters on different occasions at party conferences and party rallies (Charteris-Black, 2011).

2.3.3 American Presidency and Presidential Discourse as a Political Genre

Political discourse is dominantly significant in the American culture and its significance has been profoundly experienced in the office of the presidency. Scholars in the field of political discourse analysis have characterised the presidency of the 20th century as the rhetorical presidency that denotes a style of leadership which is heavily based on public discourse (Tulis, 2017). Campbell and Jamieson (2008, p. 6) argue that 'the allure of the presidency is its influence on domestic and foreign affairs'. They also understand presidency as being piled due to the recurrent actions of the American presidents where, during history, rhetorical practices in their presidential discourse have been ascribed as particularly important. As such, Campbell and Jamieson (2008, p. 6) define the presidency as 'an amalgam of roles and practices shaped by what presidents have done'. In this respect, Hart (1987, p. 77) mentions that 'the American presidency... reaches directly into the lives of the American people daily largely through the efforts of a second great institution – the mass media'.

Subsequently, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) affirm that presidential discourse is a symbolic representation of the American presidency and its policies. Hart (1987) identifies presidential discourse/rhetoric as a genre of itself since the functions that the institution of the American presidency performs are undeniably unique. The president's aim beyond producing presidential discourse is not only to

establish persuasion of his views within his political party but also to convince the public for whom he is the leader and responsible.

The power of the persuasiveness of the presidential discourse caused studies on political discourse to be undertaken with different disciplines (Goetsch, 1994). Campbell and Jamieson (2008), for example, view the rhetoric of presidential discourse as a source of executive power dominantly reflected in the modern American presidency and the potential of presidents to speak about when, where and whatever topic they choose. Windt (1986, p. 103) argues that ‘the raw materials [for this field] are the public statements by a president’. Besides, Tulis (2017) states that presidential rhetoric has long been characterised as an essential tool of presidential governance. Tulis (2017, p. 4) elaborates more, arguing that some of the duties of presidents are to ‘defend themselves publicly, promote initiatives nationwide, and inspire the population’. These duties can be grouped to form the rhetorical presidency that is daily performed by presidents while they are in their presidential terms and to form the heart of democratic citizenship (Tulis, 2017). Leff (1998), Hauser (1999) and Glover (2007) support the view that presidents are known of their regular task of delivering addresses to the nation at large to support legislation, foreign policy and gain the citizen support and approval necessary to enact the presidents’ policies. Thus, as argued by Glover (2007), the public’s acceptance or rejection of the president’s policies and proposed actions relies partly on the power of the president’s public language, namely presidential rhetoric. Furthermore, Glover comments that the function of presidential rhetoric extends not only to represent a component of the public sphere to work as a marker of the US identity, but ‘a compelling voice in public debate, and a medium through which social understanding is built’ (Glover, 2007, p. 5). This view is also supported by Hart (1987), who thinks that presidents influence their environment only by speaking, and it is largely through this medium of communication that their environment reacts and responds to them.

Admittedly, presidential rhetoric is primarily aimed at using words by presidents in times of crisis to form attitudes or to encourage moves into action consistent with the presidents’ policies. Presidential rhetoric is mainly concerned with manipulating audiences’ beliefs for political ends (Burke, cited in Warner, 2009).

People adopt practices in support of policy goals if they are ‘promoted by government officials as important, high priority issues, consistent with their values, beliefs, and preferences, [and] associated with positive symbols, labels, images, and events’(Schneider and Ingram, 1990, pp. 519-520). In comparison, Stuckey (1991, p. 1) argues that the president in presidential rhetoric acts as ‘the nation’s chief storyteller, its interpreter-in-chief’ whereby this process influences the relationship between the president and the American people. In acting as a chief interpreter and storyteller telling us stories about ourselves, the president identifies who we are. Presidents ‘increasingly resort to dramatic forms – storytelling – to make the world intelligible’ (Stuckey, 1991, p. 5). Through delivering presidential statements like the State of the Union address and War Rhetoric, the president identifies national priorities and establishes guidelines and limits for the discussion (Stuckey, 1991). Stuckey (1991, p. 1) claims that ‘the president has become a presenter; the public argument has been largely supplanted by public assertion’. Currently, presidents no longer present their audiences with arguments that they can assess and evaluate. Rather, they provide emotionally charged stories that people passively and without challenge accept (Stuckey, 1991).

In their work, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) evaluate the effectiveness of the rhetorical ways used by presidents in their presidential discourse through generating a generic framework that investigates how presidential rhetoric is exploited by them to develop and govern presidential power. Thus, in advocating presidential rhetoric, presidents not only appeal to their audiences but also attract and motivate those who hear them into the target audiences they would like to deliver their statements to (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). Also, presidents, by employing rhetoric, can create and establish in their audience’s minds a particular self-understanding. For example, they can motivate Americans to imagine and identify themselves as unique patriots or world savers through calling patriotism or recalling traditional American values; the process depends on political necessities (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008).

2.3.3.1 Presidential War Rhetoric/Narrative as a Type of Presidential Genre

According to Campbell and Jamieson (2008), the rhetorical presidency is recognised through some specific genres of a presidential statement. In their work, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) identify eleven genres of American presidential rhetoric devoting a chapter to each type of genre: PWR is one of these genres. It is worth to mention here that war rhetoric and war narrative are often used interchangeably by some scholars (Campbell and Jamieson, 1990, 2008; Kant, 1991; Hodges, 2011; 2013) to mean the same. Early American presidents only sent written requests to Congress for declarations of war. Delivering speeches personally by the president to joint sessions of Congress has turned to be the norm in the twentieth century. Hodges (2013) states that the United States of America began to avoid formal declarations of war by Congress after the two world wars. Thus, because modern communication technologies allow presidents to directly deliver their addresses to the nation, modern presidents are oriented to deliver their addresses directly to the American public at times of inchoate military actions. Although American presidents' addresses are delivered before Congress, these addresses are intentionally aimed at the wider American public (Hodges, 2013).

Subsequently, without formal declaration of war by the American Congress, the nation's troops are sometimes sent to carry out major military actions. In this situation, the use of PWR becomes necessary and increasingly dominant in presidential discourse to help presidents justify the wars and military actions (Hart, 1987; Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). Accordingly, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) comment on PWR defining it as the need of the presidents to legitimise and justify presidential employment of war powers for achieving an end. Presidents, in times of crisis such as war, are called upon and demanded to build support for proposed policies, including proposed or undertaken military actions. Glover (2007) exemplifies this when he argues that when a nation is attacked, the understanding of the crisis as shared by the public will be shaped and reflected by the president's language choices while describing the event. Basically, war rhetoric is established and processed when American presidents attempt to justify the use of force and prove that the military action proposed or undertaken was the right and the only option required to protect

America. The president moves Congress and the public and pushes them to follow him to go to war all for the sake of preserving the nation (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). Consequently, the communicative purpose of war narrative or rhetoric is to justify war where the president responds to and anticipates numerous possible objections to the use of military force (Hodges, 2013). This notion was already evidenced by Campbell and Jamieson (2008, p. 224) claiming that ‘the justification [for war] is embodied in a dramatic narrative from which, in turn, an argument is extracted’. As such, each new call to arms establishes PWR and aims it in line with current exigencies or needs. This new narrative is inspired by the generic framework of war narrative projecting it in a harmony with the new situation (Hodges, 2013).

Fundamentally, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) adopt the language of the war power Resolution of 1973 in identifying statements constituting PWR. They define this type of genre as a discourse used to ground the justification for introducing the US armed forces in battles against hostilities or in situations where hostilities are imminently involved. PWR has played a great role in transforming the original constitutional cooperative model – ‘a president goes to Congress to request authorization for acting as commander in chief’ - into a justificatory genre used mainly to recruit legislative ratification (Gross and Aoláin, 2014, p. 247). Using war narrative or rhetoric to frame the events of 9/ 11 allowed President Bush to represent himself as a war president, playing directly to the desire of presidents ‘to see themselves as the most immediate embodiments of a popular unitary will, standing above normal politics and in possession of super-mundane talents and a special aura’ (Scheuerman, 2008, p. 266).

As for the relation of narrative to genre, implementing the presidential war narrative according to a generic structure that meets the needs of the speaker, audiences and events, impairs any debate about distinguishing acceptable defensive issues to protect the world from overreaching offensive uses of armed forces (Hodges, 2013). Accordingly, Hodges (2013) argues that the fundamental tool used by the narrative to achieve the task of giving real meanings and interpretations to the human happenings is through the use of genre. Genres assist to place ‘the particulars of narrated events within conventional models ... for interpreting those particulars’, and they also assist

narrators to use ‘a generic precedent to frame a story by mapping the particulars of the narrated events onto that framework’ (Hodges, 2013, p. 50). The genre, therefore, provides a conventional schematic structure to report and interpret a new narrative. Also, in narrating PWR according to the current exigencies or needs that are reflected by its generic structure, presidents build their war narrative upon shared ethical understandings of the philosophical tradition of the JWT (Hodges, 2013). JWT primarily deals with the right to go to war (*Jus ad Bellum*), which rallies support for it through a group of elements to be possessed by a nation. These elements include just cause, right intention, proper authority, last resort, and certainty of success in war (Mosley, 2009; Ngai, 2019). To discursively justify military actions, presidents frequently resort to the narration of common PWR that is based on several layers of precedent narrative. Earlier presidents, in times of war, addressed the nation similarly in the same situations in terms of the same seals of presidential authority by which they were allowed to spell the magic of the spokesperson (Hodges, 2013). Finally, it should be mentioned here that Campbell and Jamieson’s (2008) conception of PWR is adopted as the communicative purpose intended to be achieved through generating the APWAs.

2.3.4 Persuasion and Persuasive Strategies

Politics has always revolved around persuasion, for achieving both good ends and sometimes bad ends. Persuasion is the key target of the political process. It is found in every political discourse in the sense that persuasion is the stuff of the political process. It is highly dominant in the political discourse in general and presidential addresses in particular (Mutz, Sniderman and Brody, 1996). The more successful politicians and presidents are those who are skilful at communicating their ideas with a large scale of persuasion. Persuasion has a long and well-known history in antique rhetoric (Hogan, 2012). Going further, rhetoric was given birth to be used for educating citizens. As a result, rhetoric has been concerned, throughout history, with the techniques and morals of civic persuasion and it concentrated on the responsibilities of the right of free speech in democratic governments (Hogan, 2012).

Furthermore, the concept of persuasion has been widely defined by linguists and rhetoricians. Charteris-Black (2011), for example, defines the term persuasion as one party's language use to influence another party to accept one's viewpoints. It is differentiated from rhetoric as being the ultimate aim that rhetoric attempts to fulfil. By this meaning, it is understood that although rhetoric and persuasion are not separable, and that the idea of persuasion is necessarily included whenever rhetoric is defined, rhetoric and persuasion are not identical. In his characterisation of persuasion, Charteris-Black (2011) refers to three important notions: intention, act and effect that influence the changing of the thinking of an audience. As such, he makes these three terms clear when he views persuasion as assuming the priority of an intention owned by one party before acting upon another passive party which is generally known as an audience. The effect of persuasion is highlighted when we realise an audience as being persuaded or as accepting the persuader's beliefs or viewpoints whereby the notion effect means a change in the viewpoint of the passive party is taking place. As for act, it is emphasised when persuasion is considered a speech act, that is, a type of language influencing and changing cognition, rather than simply describing (Charteris-Black, 2011). Importantly, rhetoric is employed when focusing on the way persuasion is undertaken where rhetoric here, as adopted in the current study, refers specifically to the methods that the speaker exploits to persuade, rather than to the whole gestalt of intention, act and effect (Charteris-Black, 2011). Similarly, Mauranen (1992), in his characterisation of the persuasive discourse, assumes three important elements mostly similar to those of Charteris-Black (2011) for achieving persuasion: intention, effect and discourse. Therefore, to attract public conviction, everyone is cautious in selecting appropriate rhetorical devices and linguistic structures that extend through the text, and presidents are no exceptions of that (Khany and Hamzelou, 2014).

Consequently, the persuasive [presidential] discourse is a multifaceted and multi-layered area, and its academic study requires an operation on different levels of analysis (Perloff, 2013). The linguistic choices and strategies that a writer or speaker of PWAs brings to his text determine his underlying path of persuasion. The construction of persuasion created by a writer or speaker is defined as a line formed of a series of linguistic and rhetorical selections appearing throughout the text. Besides, Mauranen (1992) sees that the choice and employment of rhetorical strategies rely on the method in which the writer or speaker conceives persuasion in terms of both the

form and way of presentation (order, strategies of development, explicitness, etc.), and the arguments selected, i.e. the content. Rhetorical strategies are varied and many. However, in the present study, the rhetorical arguments that will be analysed are represented by obligatory rhetorical moves that the speaker utilises to convey the intended communicative purpose of the genre. Other rhetorical structures included in the present study are Aristotle's types of rhetoric, the types of illocutionary speech acts and the salient lexico-grammatical features employed in each move of the generic structure of the APWAs. The next sections provide information about these rhetorical structures and their consistency with the rhetorical moves in which they are situated.

2.4 Genre and Its Context: Traditional and Recent Conceptions

Genre has a long history. The French word *genre* has been applied to English literature to indicate literary taxonomies of texts (such as kinds of novel, or short story) in terms of a set of structural and stylistic properties (Bishop and Starkey, 2006; Bruce, 2008; Ren, 2010). Genre theorists and scholars continued basically to use genre as an organising means in textual practice (Devitt, 2004). Conceptually, traditional literary genre studies have meant the study of the textual or formal features that identify a genre: the meter, the layout, the organisation, the level of diction, and so on. In relation, Devitt (1993) assures that such formal features reflect the traces of the physical markings of a genre and, thus, may be quite attracting and revealing. Even in its most positive aspect, genre is traditionally known as a classification system building on literary and rhetorical criticism that classifies types of texts in terms of their forms. Such a view of genre falls short of offering contemporary understandings of how language operates (Devitt, 2004). Accordingly, understanding genre needs understanding more than just a taxonomy approach; it also calls for understanding the origins of the patterns on which that taxonomy is based (Devitt, 1993). In the same vein, Martin, Christie and Rothery (1987) write that it is very important to recognise that genres are discourses intentionally processed to create meaning. Genres are not simply containers of formal structures into which world meanings and realities are poured.

Evidently, in the last three decades, linguistic research has been conducted to study the unit above the text, namely genre. The emergence of this new field of study has drawn the attention of a variety of linguistic specialisations including sociolinguistics, ethnography, anthropology, rhetoric, language education and even philosophy (Paltridge, 1997; Ren, 2010). Moreover, genre has also been used to analyse non-literary written texts, sometimes for the sake of characterising the linguistic patterns of such texts for the teaching of writing skill. Instances of non-literary categories are newspaper editorials, letters and various kinds of academic texts that have also been denoted as genres. These genres are often distinguished according to regularities and staging of the content and the linguistic resources employed (Bruce, 2008).

Recently, as Swales (1990) demonstrates, the term genre is used to mean a distinctive category of any type of discourse, spoken or written, with or without literary aspirations. As such, a genre has been characterised as having a multi-faceted nature as well, often attracting varied views on analysing genre (Bhatia, 2002). Devitt (1993) argues that the theory of genre, consequently, must assist in seeing behind particular classifications (which change because of the change of purposes) and forms (which mark but do not define genre). Genre should involve purposes, participants and themes. Understanding genre means acknowledging the relationship between the rhetorical and semiotic situation and a socially situated frame. Additionally, recent conceptions of genre as a dynamic and semiotic construct explain how to incorporate form and function, place text within context, make a balance between process and product, and understand the role of both the individual and the social. This recent view of the genre may even give rise to a unified theory of writing (Devitt, 1993).

Specifically, the latest approaches, influenced by cognitive theories, link recognition of regularities in writings with a broader understanding of language in its social and cultural use (Freedman and Medway, 2003). These latest conceptions of genre have derived their insights from definitions of genre belonging to theorists and scholars working within differing approaches of genre study and research: Swales and Bhatia within ESP, Martin and Devitt within SFL and Miller and Huckin within RGS genre approach, to name just a few (Toledo, 2005).

2.5 Approaches to Genre Analysis

Genre theorists and scholars generally agree that genres are viewed as socially realised ways of using language. However, they vary in the emphasis they place to either the social context or text, whether they take an ethnographic or social approach or they take a linguistic approach to the study of texts (Martín, 2003). Accordingly, three broad approaches are concerned with genre analysis and they vary, according to Hyon (1996), in terms of their different ways of defining genre and their pedagogical approaches to genre. These involve SFL also referred to as the Sydney School, North American New Rhetoric studies or RGS and the ESP research. Thus, each of these traditions to genre analysis regards genre as a social process with shared conventions and constraints based on communicative purpose, language use and targeted audience. Overall, the ESP and SFL approaches share a fundamental view that linguistic features of texts are connected to social context and function. Hence, both of the approaches take on a linguistic approach in describing genres. RGS, in contrast, investigates genres through the study of society in which genre is being used, thus taking an ethnographic approach to the analysis of genres (Fakhruddin and Hassan, 2015).

2.5.1 Genre in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Australian SFL has developed in an independent path from RGS and ESP (Fakhruddin and Hassan, 2015). Halliday's (1978) work represents the rich source upon which work in SFL has been constructed and evolved. In his work, every use of language is considered an act of meaning and a social semiotic resource reflected by its semantic system that is adopted by people to fulfil meaningful activities and purposes in their contexts of situation (Halliday, 1978). Drawn greatly on the works of Michael Halliday, SFL is based on the fundamental assumption that communication and textual meanings are integrally based on and are related to the contextual and social factors (Caballero, 2008). In other words, every linguistic element is selected purposefully to do a specific function (Moshtaghi, 2010).

Notably, the systemic or Hallidayan linguists have also studied and discussed the concept of genre. However, there was no clear-cut distinction between genre and the long-established concept of register. Register, which is defined as a language variety used to achieve functional objectives, is a contextual category linking sets of linguistic features with features of a recurrent situation (Swales, 1990). Generally speaking, in SFL, the forms of language appear to be shaped by key elements of the surrounding social context, defined by Halliday as field (what is going on), tenor (who is involved) and mode (what role language is doing) (Halliday and Hasan, 1989). Those social variables or components, forming the surrounding context of situation, establish register (Hyon, 1996; Swales, 1990). Registers are analysed in terms of these situational variables which, at the same time, cooperate systematically with the corresponding linguistic system through the functional sources of semantics. This systematic cooperation achieves what Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) call language meta-functions: ideational (representation of action- field), interpersonal (interactions between participants – tenor) and textual (organisation of information within and between texts – mode). Thus, as these situation types become conventionalised over time, they begin to assign and specify the semantic configurations and selections speakers will typically fashion (Halliday, 1978). Although the term genre has only recently been studied and discussed widely in the systemic school, however, the two terms register and genre have been employed interchangeably by authors (Bhatia, 1996; Al-Ali, 1999).

The key concept that is of vital importance to SFL is that of realisation. SFL highlights the concept of realisation as a vital notion describing how language dynamically realises social purposes and contexts as particular linguistic interactions, and simultaneously how social purposes and contexts realise language as specific social actions and meanings (Bawarshi and Reiff, 2010). Therefore, between defining genre on the basis of the linguistic properties or the contextual properties (Caballero, 2008; Hyland, 2002; Yunick, 1997), those working within SFL are interested in both the contexts in which genres are created and in the linguistic characteristics of genres themselves.

Some theorists, most notably Jim Martin, have developed theories of genre within a systemic functional framework and have not confined themselves to Halliday's description of the connection of text to immediate situations (Hyon, 1996). However, those theorists have moved to address the contextual interaction between social purposes and text meanings (Chen, 2008). Additionally, Martin (1984, p. 25) defines genres as 'staged, goal-oriented and purposeful social activity that people engage in as members of their culture'. According to this definition, many different genres are resulting from the existence of many recognisable purposeful activity types in culture (e.g., short-stories, recipes, lectures, etc.). Genres are reflected in complete texts in terms of the conventions attached to their global form or structure (Martín, 2003). Martin and his colleagues characterise genres as staged, goal-oriented social processes. Genres are social as we take part in genres with other people, goal-oriented because we employ genres to get things done, and staged because it frequently takes us a set of steps to realise our goals. Martin (1984), inspired and influenced by Halliday's (1978) work on register, extends Halliday's concept of genre when he locates genre in relation to register, so that genre and register realise each other in significant ways. According to him, register operates at the level of 'context of situation' whereas genre operates at the level of 'context of culture' (See also Ventola, 1986). In such an approach, genre links culture to situation, and register links situation to language. Evidently, Martin (1997) formulates this relationship in the following way: register which encompasses field, tenor, and mode contextualises language, and register is in turn contextualised by genre.

Another linguist, working within SFL approach to genre, Eggins (2004, p. 9) views genre as 'the impact of the context of culture on language by exploring the staged, step-by-step structure cultures institutionalize as ways of achieving goals'. In certain cultures, the members of a certain discourse community may impose certain restrictions regarding language use that requires particular typical and stabilised structures for its communicative purpose to be achieved (Hassan, 2008). Further, Eggins (2004) points out that a genre is established when the situational variables of field, tenor and mode identified by register regularly co-occur and eventually become stabilised and conventionalised in the culture as typical situations. However, it is only in recent times in the systemic functional school that genre and register have been disassembled from each other (Swales, 1990). It is one of the linguistic contributions

of SFL to genre study especially in viewing genres as types of goal-based communicative events or social activities, and as reflecting schematic structures (Martín, 2003).

Indeed, theorists working in SFL look at genre as the cultural end that a specific text attempts to accomplish through structural patterns that the text expresses (Eggins, 2004). Those theorists and analysts, inspired by Halliday (1978) and the Sydney School, have viewed genre as texts with conventionalised structures in terms of recurring social purposes and contexts of use (Herrington and Moran, 2005). Similarly, Martín (2003, p. 250) defines genres as ‘how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them’. For theorists and analysts working within SFL, a text can be analysed according to two complementary variables: the immediate situational context in which the text is used (register or context of situation) and the entire purpose or function of the interaction (genre or context of culture) (Martín, 2003). Primarily, genre analysis within this SFL approach aims at examining the stages or moves existing within genres along with the lexical, grammatical and cohesive properties which establish the purposes or functions of the stages of the genres (Rothery, 1996). A typical expository essay, for example, would involve, as stages forming and organising the text, an initiating stage where the thesis is introduced, followed by several argument stages to support the thesis, and concluding with reinforcement stages of the thesis presented (Chen, 2008). In the same vein, Ren (2010) illustrates that text structure simply refers to the staged organisation of the genre, or reflects the positive contribution a genre makes to a text: moving from A to B in the way a particular culture accomplishes regardless to what the genre in question serves in that culture. As such, Bawarshi and Reiff (2010) elucidate that the main trajectory in SFL to genre has been to move from identifying social purpose as reflected in generic structural elements to the analysis of the register of the text as formed by field, tenor and mode to language meta-functions, to more micro analysis of semantic, lexicogrammatical and phonological/graphological features.

Systematists emphasise the necessity of teaching the social functions and contexts of texts. Notwithstanding, their focus of attention has been centred on teaching students the formal, staged qualities of genre to help them recognise these

features (i.e. the functions, schematic structures and lexico-grammatical features) in the texts they read and the text they write (Martín, 2003). In the beginning, this approach was oriented to meet the needs for language and literacy education, namely among those studying in primary schools and adult migrant programmes in Australia. Currently, this approach has gained strong proponents internationally through an evolving number of studies analysing genres across a variety of contexts and languages.

2.5.2 The New Rhetoric/ Rhetorical Genre Studies (RGS)

The members of the genre school known as New Rhetoric studies offer a slightly different trend to the conceptualisation and analysis of genre than that found in ESP and SFL (Hyon, 1996). Instead of emphasising the formal features of the texts in isolation, members of RGS are concerned with the socio-contextual dimensions of genres, placing special focus on the social purposes or actions that these genres perform within situations (Berkenkotter and Huckin, 2016; Chen, 2008; Martín, 2003; Paltridge, 1997). Generally, New Rhetoric research represents a body of North American scholars from a group of disciplines concerned with L1 teaching including rhetoric, composition studies and professional writing (Schryer, 1993; Hyon, 1996; Miller, 2003; Van Nostrand, 2003). Miller's (1984) article *Genre as Social Action* and her upgraded version (2003) have been innovative in inspiring theorists and scholars in New Rhetoric tradition. In her upgraded work, Miller (2003) points out that a definition of genre that is theoretically sound must focus not on the form of discourse but on the action it is established to accomplish.

Notably, several theorists and scholars talk about the primary emphasis of RGS (Bazerman, 1994; 2003a; 2003b; Devitt, 1996; 2004; Flowerdew and Wan, 2010). Mostly, they argue that the main focus of genre analysis within RGS is to explore and understand the contexts of genres and their performance. Within RGS, then, context occupies great importance where it offers more significant valuable background knowledge of communicative purpose(s), discourse community, genre nomenclature or even genre chains (Bawarshi and Reiff, 2010).

Significantly, genres in RGS are not only stable forms comprising meaning; they are dynamic forms involving discursive content used to fulfil particular social purposes and actions, language events and interpersonal relations (Reiff, 2004). In reality, RGS focuses on the way genre mediates texts and contexts (Bazerman, 2003a; Devitt, 2004). It focuses on gaining insights on the dynamic relationship of genres to exigencies, situations and social motives of how people construct, interpret and act within specific situations through the study of the society (Fakhruddin and Hassan, 2015). To view genres as actions is partially to confirm that genres are neither classifications nor forms. According to the North American theorists, a standard definition of genre is to view it as a rhetorical site where a rhetorical event is specifically delivered to particular audiences to accomplish a particular purpose, and as responsive to the rhetorical demands of specific situations (Huckin, 1997). Consequently, New Rhetoric analysts and scholars have examined contexts of social actions such as texts of professional biologists (Myers, 1990), or the production of experimental articles (Bazerman, 1988). Freedman and Medway (2003) demonstrate that the studies in this vein of research reveal the complex social, cultural, institutional and disciplinary factors that play a role in producing specific kinds of writing.

Significantly, Miller (1984) views genres as intersubjective and rhetorical typifications that are socially derived. Genres help us recognise and act within recurrent situations. One revealing method of justifying the social nature of genre is to say that genres operate for several language users to perform the group's needs. The rhetorical situation of a genre comes from the functional needs of a group of people who encounter that situation and need to use that genre (Miller, 1984). Without explicitly using the concept of genre, recurrent rhetorical situations are framed in the way below:

From day to day, year to year, comparable situations occur, prompting comparable responses; hence rhetorical forms are born, and a special vocabulary, grammar, and style are established (Bitzer, 1968, p. 13).

Thereby, Miller (1984) relates the idea of recurrence of rhetorical situations to the typicality of responses.

As such, a genre is a set of acts unified by a constellation of forms that recur in its varying sub-genres (Campbell and Jamieson, 1978). Miller (1984) and Coe (2003) agree that genre should be described as a motivated and functional relationship between a text type and a situation. When writers of genres pick up a text, readers of the text not only classify it and assign a form to it, but they also make expectations about the purposes of the text, the writer of the text, the subject matter and the expected reader (Devitt, 2004). For example, opening an envelope and finding a letter from a friend immediately motivates the reader to understand a friendly purpose of communicating news and keeping a relationship which is, in terms of scenario, different from opening an envelope and recognising a sales letter in the reader's hand. Here, the reader understands that a company will make an advertisement for its product and wants the reader to buy it. As such, to respond to these letters depends on the purposes of their writers. What the reader understands about each of the letters in his response to them is much more than a group of formal characteristics or textual conventions. As put by the recent theory, genre entails participants and communicative purposes, so understanding genre entails understanding the connection between a rhetorical situation and its social setting (Devitt, 2004).

Furthermore, Miller's (2003) understanding of rhetorical genre, as based in rhetorical practice, has nothing to do with classification, for genres change, evolve and decay; the number of genres existent in any society is indeterminate and varies according to the complexity and diversity of the society. Influenced by RGS, several scholars (Devitt, 1993; Russell, 1997; Bawarshi and Reiff, 2010; Berkenkotter and Huckin, 2016) have offered variant definitions of the concept genre. However, all these definitions iterate, in one way or another, elements of Miller's (1984) perspective of genre: genre is a typified action, that typification occurs as a result of recurring situations, and that those situations involve a social context (Devitt, 2004).

As far as the pedagogical trajectory of New Rhetoric research is concerned, Hyon (1996), as restated by Martín (2003), declares that this specific genre tradition focuses on teaching rhetoric, composition and professional writing in the mother tongue language. New Rhetoric works have generally fallen short of providing explicit instructional models for teaching students the language features and functions of

academic and professional genres. The chief reason for this lack of explicit teaching frameworks can be ascribed to the dynamic nature of genres (Martin, 2003).

2.5.3 Genre in English for Specific Purposes (ESP)

ESP is frequently viewed as an umbrella involving different areas of English studies like occupational English, academic English, medical English, business English, legal English, to mention just a few (Thompson, 1994; Hyland, 2002; Cheng, 2006). ESP is not a new field of study. Indeed, this major orientation to genre analysis emerged in the UK within the broader framework of discourse analysis for applied linguistic purposes (Bhatia, 1996; Freedman and Medway, 2003). It was traced back to the 1960s and evolved and blossomed in the 1980s. Still, the focus of researchers was, at that time, limited to studying genre analysis as a pedagogical tool with no bridge between ESP and genre analysis (Bawarshi and Reiff, 2010). Swales (1990) argues that ESP approaches can be related and traced back to quantitative investigations of linguistic properties, a study of the register of a language to identify the statistical numbers of certain linguistic choices to make the features obtained the focus of language teaching. It was until Swales' (1990) published pioneering book *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings* that mostly paved the way to the theory and development of the methodology for appropriating genre theory into ESP (Hyon, 1996). Admittedly, Swales' ground-breaking study and research have inspired genre theorists and analysts over the last thirty years that ESP and genre analysis have become in many ways synonymously equal (Bawarshi and Reiff, 2010).

Hence, ESP is not only viewed as an attempt to describe linguistic behaviour as being generally associated with the best of descriptive linguistics. It also provides what sociologists call a thick description, often attempting to find an answer to the question 'why members of specialist discourse communities use the language they do?' (Bhatia, 1996, p. 46). Specifically, this deeper textual account significantly contributes to assessing the reality and applicability of rhetorical purposes, identifying information structures and addressing syntactic and lexical selections (Swales, 1990).

The main concepts on which ESP approach to genre analysis is built are the concepts of discourse community, communicative purpose and genre (Martín, 2003). According to ESP tradition, genre represents a communicative event governed both by its communicative purposes, its various patterns of structure and intended audiences (Swales, 1990). As such, the key significance of ESP comes from the analysis of the communicative purpose and formal language patterns of genre in its context of use. By this, studies of ESP attempt to provide language learners with suitable language resources and skills required to understand the English language needs that they face in their studies or professions (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993). In contrast to the New Rhetoric tradition that does not apply the notion of explicitly teaching genre conventions, ESP analysts and researchers, like those within SFL tradition, place their main emphasis on teaching formal characteristics of texts, that is, rhetorical structures and grammatical features. As a result, students of non-English-speaking backgrounds can learn to master the rhetorical organisation and stylistic properties of the academic genres of English-speaking discourse communities. Consequently, ESP has gained an international character as it enhances the status of other non-English-speaking background students (Martín, 2003). In ESP approach, genres are deemed as imposing restrictions on allowable linguistic realisations with respect to its intent, position, form and functional value (Bhatia, 1993).

Arguably, the analysis trajectory in ESP to genre study moves from the schematic structure of the genre to its lexico-grammatical features where all of these are attended by the genre's communicative purposes and the discourse community which defines it. This trajectory is by no means linear or static, but it is oriented to move from context to text, where context provides knowledge of the communicative purposes and the identification of the discourse community members of the genre (Bawarshi and Reiff, 2010). Examples of genre studies with a trajectory of analysis moving from context to text are Swales' (1990) move analysis model in the structure of introductions of academic research articles, Bhatia's (1993) seven-step model of analysing genres and Swales' (2004) four-space model of written discourse analysis. Thus, framing genre as spoken and written discourses defined in the light of their formal characteristics as well as by their communicative purposes within social contexts is echoed in Swales and Bhatia's ESP definitions and studies of genre (Hyon, 1996) which are the focus of the next sections.

2.5.3.1 Swales' Concept of Genre

In his seminal work, Swales (1990) presents the most detailed definition for genre:

A class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognised by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style. Communicative purpose is both a privileged criterion and one that operates to keep the scope of a genre as here conceived narrowly focused on comparable rhetorical action. In addition to purpose, exemplars of a genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience (Swales, 1990, p. 58).

As entailed in his definition, Swales' (1990) approach to genre study is based on three important interrelated concepts: discourse community, communicative purpose and genre (Devitt, 2004; Freedman and Medway, 2003). Discourse communities have been defined by Swales (1990) as socio-rhetorical networks that are established to accomplish sets of common goals. A discourse community is regarded as a social group using language to perform goals and purposes in the world successfully and that discourse safeguards and extends knowledge of a group (Swales, 1990). Whether a communicative event occurs randomly or peculiarly driven by a particular purpose, a genre represents a class of communicative events created in response to a shared set of communicative purposes (Martín, 2003). Swales (1990) characterises the correlation between discourse community and the genres proposing that genres are related to discourse communities, not individual people.

By definition, a genre, therefore, is a class of linguistic and rhetorical events, relatively stable, used by members of a discourse community recursively to respond to and achieve shared communicative intentions (Bawarshi and Reiff, 2010). According to Swales' (1990) definition, the schematic structure of genre is, in turn, formed by conventionalised rhetorical components that are shaped by the discourse community members as a result of being experts and professionally trained within a

specific disciplinary community. As such, any digression in the choice of lexicogrammatical or discursive structures will be regarded as atypical by the discourse community experts and may cause negative consequences like the failure of a research paper (Ventola and Mauranen, 1996; Martín, 2003).

Evidently, in analysing genres, the text patterns of content and linguistic encoding are examined in terms of (a) rhetorical moves and steps and (b) linguistic structures related to these moves and steps (Bruce, 2008). Swales (2004) defines a move as a discursal or rhetorical unit that achieves a coherent communicative goal in a written or spoken text-type. Swales (1990) classifies texts into moves according to their functions and a move is further divided into steps. As shown in Table 2-1, Swales (1981, p. 22) suggests a four-move structure for the introductory section of research articles.

Table 2-1 Swales' (1981) first model for research article introduction

Move	Step
Establishing the research field;	A. Showing Centrality of the Topic, OR B. Stating Current Knowledge of the Topic, OR C. Ascribing Key Characteristics
Summarizing previous research;	
Preparing for present research;	A. Indicating a Gap, OR B. Question Raising, OR C. Extending a Finding
Introducing the present research.	A. Giving the Purpose, OR B. Describing Present Research

Swales (1990, p. 141) revises his model of moves suggesting a three-move CARS (Create a Research Space) structure, as shown in Table 2-2 below.

Table 2-2 Swales' (1990) CARS model for research article introduction

Move	Step
Establishing a territory;	Step 1 Claiming centrality AND/OR Step 2 Making topic generalization(s) AND/OR Step 3 Reviewing items of previous research
Establishing a niche;	Step 1A Counter-claiming OR Step 1B Indicating a gap OR Step 1C Question-raising OR Step 1D Continuing a tradition
Occupying the niche.	Step 1A Outlining purposes OR Step 1B Announcing present research

Move	Step
	Step 2 Announcing principal findings Step 3 Indicating RA structure

Therefore, the main characteristic of Swales' (1981; 1990) works is the division of the text into phases or moves, further subdivided in steps. For instance, in his CARS model for the analysis of the genre 'introduction to a scientific article', the starting point of inquiry would be the communicative purpose of texts, i.e., that of creating a research space for the new work. Each of the moves includes specific information, systematically divided into steps, needed to perform this purpose. After that, the lower level signals (i.e., syntactic and lexical) which are involved within the moves and steps, are investigated (Toledo, 2005). In later works, Swales (2002; 2004) recognises further significant variations of the CARS model of move-structures.

2.5.3.2 Bhatia's Concept of Genre

Though working in the same approach of genre analysis, Bhatia (1993) differs from that of Swales (1990) in stressing the notion of incorporating language structures with socio-cognitive and cultural dimensions. In other words, Bhatia (1993) moves the analysis from language description as form, language description as function and language description as interaction into language description as explanation: genre analysis. Thus, Bhatia (1993) claims that it is essential to make a combination of socio-cultural (including ethnographic) and psycholinguistic (including cognitive) aspects of text-construction and interpretation with linguistic contributions to know why specific discourse-genres are written the way they are. The answer takes into consideration not only socio-cultural but cognitive reasons too, thus attempting to describe not only the communicative goals of the discourse community in particular but also the cognitive strategies used by its members to accomplish these goals (Bhatia, 1993). As argued by Nielsen, Johansen, Engberg and Frandsen (1997), in their critical review of Bhatia's (1993) work, that discourse forms are fundamentally socio-cognitive though they are reflected by linguistic realisations. Being socio-cognitive in nature is highlighted especially when discourse forms are associated with institutionalised settings. They go further to highlight Bhatia's view that the connection between the linguistic forms and

their social meanings are interpreted not only through semantics, but pragmatics as well.

There is also a strong link between the generic structures of the text and the speaker's variation in text production, comprehension and interpretation. As such, the speaker's variation in text construction and interpretation is underplayed in genre theory and 'disciplinary community consensus is given foremost priority' (Nielsen et al., 1997, p. 237). Consequently, the tactical aspects of genre construction, its interpretation and use are probably the most significant factors that account for genre's current popularity in the field of discourse and communication studies (Bhatia, 1996). Genre analysis as perceptive and in-depth analysis of academic and professional texts has turned to be a strong and vital instrument to arrive at important form-function relationships which can be employed for several applied linguistic goals involving the teaching of English for specific purposes. Influenced by Swales (1990), and according to the notions and thoughts mentioned above, Bhatia (1993) defines genre as follows:

It is a recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purpose(s) identified and mutually understood by the members of the professional or academic community in which it regularly occurs. Most often it is highly structured and conventionalized with constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value. These constraints, however, are often exploited by the expert members of the discourse community to achieve private intentions within the framework of socially recognized purpose(s) (Bhatia, 1993, p. 49).

Accordingly, Bhatia (2002) views genres as conventional communicative events existing within disciplinary or professional settings. Genres are characterised as having socially situated nature which is typically accentuated or foregrounded by the concept of discourse community. Bhatia (1993) reveals that, although Swales (1990) addresses linguistic and sociological factors in his perspective of genre, he underplays the psychological elements, thus diminishing the function of tactical aspects of genre construction which conceives genre as a dynamic social process, as against a static one. This absence of a cognitive dimension in Swales' (1990) model of genre analysis is diagnosed by Paltridge (1995; 1997) as well.

Though genres, in ESP tradition, are fundamentally described with respect to consistency of communicative purposes, these communicative purposes are constantly viewed as controlling lexico-grammatical as well as discoursal selections. Most of them are seen as showing typical cognitive structuring and are analysed in terms of appearance in what has been called move-structures (Bhatia, 1996). In order to take on an overall investigation of any genre, one is required to take into account some or all of the following seven steps, based on the purpose of the analysis, the aspect of the genre on which one wants to concentrate and the background knowledge one already possesses of the character of the genre in question. These seven steps are as follow (Bhatia, 1993, pp. 63-84):

1. Placing the given genre-text in a situational context
2. Surveying existing literature
3. Refining the situational/contextual analysis
4. Selecting corpus
5. Studying the institutional context
6. Levels of linguistic analysis
 - Level 1: Analysis of lexico-grammatical features
 - Level 2: Analysis of text-patterning or textualization
 - Level 3: Structural interpretation of the text-genre
7. Specialist information in genre analysis

In his book, *Worlds of Written Discourse: A Genre-Based View*, Bhatia (2004) uses discourse as a broad term pointing to any use of written language to create and communicate meaning in a particular context, regardless to any particular framework for analysis. As argued by Wang (2006), an attempt is carried out by Bhatia (2004) to move the focus of genre study from a predominantly pedagogic direction into studying genres in their professional and institutional settings – the real worlds of written discourse. To explore genre within the multidimensional perspective framework, Bhatia (2004) develops and extends his 1993 analytical framework of the seven analytical points by reflecting these seven points in four procedures of discourse research: textual, socio-cognitive, ethnographic and socio-critical procedures. Bhatia (2004) further argues that these factors contribute to genre construction, interpretation, use and exploitation.

As for move-structure analysis, Bhatia (1993) views moves as distinctive parts of a generic structure that are formed in the light of the communicative purpose (s) that

are planned to be achieved in the genre. In examining legal cases, Bhatia (1993, pp.135-136) presents a four-move structure consisting of:

- Identifying the case;
- Establishing the facts of the case;
- Arguing the case;
- Pronouncing judgement.

Bhatia (1993) also adopts the move-structure in the analysis of sales promotion letters and job application letters to reveal the following rhetorical moves:

1. Establishing credentials
2. Introducing the offer/candidature
3. Offering incentives
4. Enclosing documents
5. Using pressure tactics
6. Soliciting response (specific for job application letters).
7. Ending politely (Bhatia, 1993, pp. 63-78)

In addition to investigating legal cases at the level of rhetorical moves, Bhatia (1993) also examines their linguistic features in response to sentence length, nominal character, complex prepositional phrases and binominal and multi-nominal expressions.

In later works, Bhatia (2008a; 2008b; 2017) develops his 2004 theory of genre analysis through exploiting a three-space model: textual, socio-cognitive, and social. In the works mentioned above, the author points to a new orientation of integrating discursive and professional practices, thus asserting the function of interdiscursivity in critical genre analysis which is out of the scope of the current study. Specifically, Bhatia (2008a) sums up his new view of critical genre analysis focusing on the nature, function and importance of interdiscursivity in investigating professional discourses. Interdiscursivity in genre studies is a function of mixing generic and other semiotic resources across different aspects of genres, professional activity and professional culture. Accordingly, conventional approaches specified to analyse texts are in need to take into consideration contextualisation and foregrounding the important role of text-external factors. These factors, in turn, assist in, besides the creation of professional discourse, achieving the final success of professional practices and

activities carried out recurrently by professionals to accomplish their professional goals (Bhatia, 2008a).

2.6 Why ESP Approach of a Genre-Based Analysis

The above-explained approaches to the analysis of genres (ESP, SFL and RGS) have much in common in terms of focusing on recurring textual features and sharing a common understanding of genre that connects texts and contexts through their emphasis on the audiences, the context and the occasion. However, they deal with different issues and have different theoretical formulations (Freedman, 2008; Fakhruddin and Hassan, 2015). These differences among the approaches have led to different ways about how genres are defined, viewed and studied. How genres are perceived and studied in the three respective approaches are briefly summarised in Table 2-3 below.

Table 2-3 The three approaches to Genre

	ESP Analysis	Australian Genre Theories	New Rhetoric Studies
Researchers	ESP scholarship	Systemic-functional linguists	North American scholarship interested in L1 teaching
Objective	Pedagogical	Pedagogical	Pedagogical
Setting	Non- native speakers of English; English for Academic Purposes; English for Professional Communication	Primary; secondary, adult education for minorities, migrant workers and other mainstream groups	Native speakers of English in undergraduate schools
Genre Theory	Genre as ‘Communicative events’ characterised by their communicative purposes’ and by various patterns of ‘structure, style, content and intended audience’ (Swales, 1990, p. 58)	Genre as ‘Staged-goal-oriented social processes’ (Martin, Christie and Rothery, 1987)	‘Genre as social action’ with social purposes (Miller, 1984)
Text Analysis	Structural move analyses to describe global organisational patterns	Analysis of linguistic features within Hallidayan schemes of linguistic analysis	Text analysis based on ethnographic methods

(Adopted from Kobayashi, 2003, p. 7)

In terms of analytical orientation, genre studies can be roughly distributed into two categories. One category involves studies that focus on textual analyses, and the second involves studies that focus on contextual and social analyses (Flowerdew, 2002). Fundamentally, the present study mainly focuses on the textual analysis of the genre or the role of text in discourse communities. Consequently, the New Rhetoric Approach, which emphasises that the study of genre cannot be performed without investigating the ethnography of the community in which the genre occurs, is excluded as the approach adopted in the study. The New Rhetoric School focuses on the situational contexts in which the genres occur as well as on their social significance rather than on their linguistic forms (Berkenkotter and Huckin, 1993; Miller, 1984).

As for the distinction and choice between ESP and SFL approaches to genre, SFL genre approach locates genre at the level of 'context of culture'. ESP genre approach, however, locates genres within more specifically defined contexts (what Swales (1990) first termed 'discourse communities', where the communicative purposes of genres are more specified and attributable (Bawarshi and Reiff, 2010). The APWAs, in this study, are viewed as a class of communicative events located within more defined context – presidential rhetoric – used by the discourse community of American presidents in times of wars to achieve a specified and attributable communicative purpose. As a result, SFL has also been excluded as the approach adopted. Additionally, in SFL approach to genre, the analysis of textual patterns and lexico-grammatical features is primarily guided by the Hallidayan schemes of linguistic analysis. This linguistic analysis, in turn, is associated with the register's components of field, tenor and mode, and the three meta-functions of language which are out of the scope of the present study.

The present study draws upon the ESP view of genre analysis which is an approach to text analysis that studies the regularities of structure that distinguish one type of text or genre from another in terms of the communicative purpose it serves to achieve (Dudley-Evans, St John and Saint John, 1998). For the present study, Bhatia's (1993) model of genre analysis, as an essential part of the multidisciplinary approach, is adopted in two ways. First, it provides a clear and comprehensive definition of genre as a specific view of looking at discourse in conventionalised communicative settings.

Second, it provides a framework for the examination of genre by addressing textual, socio-cognitive and social factors leading to the realisation of its communicative purpose. Furthermore, Bhatia's (1993) theory of genre analysis, though inspired by Swales (1990), has been distinguished from that of Swales in emphasising the psychological dimension, thus highlighting the function of cognitive aspects of genre construction which view genre as a dynamic social process.

2.7 Aims of a Genre-Based Analysis

To repeat, a genre-based analysis is one of the central parts in the framework of the present study. Its essential role is reflected in characterising the PWR of the current study and identifying its cognitive move-structures and other rhetorical and linguistic features. Bhatia (2002) states that genre analysis has always been an activity involving different disciplines drawing from linguists, discourse analysts, communication experts and rhetoricians, sociologists, cognitive scientists and translators. A genre-based analysis, as defined by Bhatia, is the study of a situated linguistic event in institutionalised academic or professional situations (Bhatia, 1997). At its essence, a genre-based analysis is the investigation of language use to address not only how genre is conventionally structured but also how it is interpreted, employed and exploited in particular contexts to accomplish certain goals (Bhatia, 2002). In the same vein, Hozayen (1994) claims that genre analysis attempts to analyse characteristic organisational patterns of content which are typical of genre-specific text types. Hence, the analysis focuses on the surroundings in which such conventional forms of texts are used. It is always vital to obtain a broader vision of genre analysis to realise the social and institutional realities of the everyday world. Finally, according to Henry and Roseberry (1999), the three main goals of genre analysis are i) to identify the generic structure and other available strategies of genre-texts to allow its users accomplish their communicative purposes; ii) to examine the linguistic features that can be used by genre users to realise those strategies, and iii) to ground these strategies and selections of structure sociologically and psychologically by offering explanations and effective solutions to pedagogical and other applied linguistic problems.

2.8 Aristotle's Types of Rhetoric

According to Aristotle, rhetoric can be divided into three kinds, determined by the types of listeners to speeches. Aristotle divides listeners into those who would be aiming the oratory to make decisions about past events like a judge, those who would establish decisions influencing the future like a member of an assembly, and those who would evaluate the speaker's skills, observers (Aristotle, 2004; Garver, 2009). According to these classes of listeners, rhetoric is divided into deliberative or political, epideictic or ceremonial and forensic or judicial (Rapp, 2009).

According to Aristotle's classical rhetoric, each of the three types of rhetoric has a distinct end in view. The epideictic rhetoric refers to addresses that do not require 'any immediate action by the audience but that characteristically praise or blame some person or thing, often on a ceremonial occasion such as a public funeral or holiday' (Aristotle, 1991, p. 7). Deliberative rhetoric aims to motivate audiences either to do or not to do something: one of these two policies or options is always put into practice by private counsellors, as well as by men who deliver their speeches to public assemblies. As for forensic rhetoric, it is aimed to either attack or defend somebody where one of these two functions must always be performed by the parties in a case (Aristotle, 2004; 2007). Forensic speakers in a law-case intend to demonstrate the justice or injustice of some action as the main point (Aristotle, 2004). Aristotle (2004) elaborates on these three kinds of rhetoric arguing that these types of rhetoric refer to three different kinds of time. These three types of rhetoric are further described:

The political orator is concerned with the future: it is about things to be done hereafter that he advises, for or against. The party in a case at law is concerned with the past; one man accuses the other, and the other defends himself, with reference to things already done. The ceremonial orator is, properly speaking, concerned with the present, since all men praise or blame in view of the state of things existing at the time, though they often find it useful also to recall the past and to make guesses at the future (Aristotle, 2004, p. 1358b).

Currently, rhetoric has been established as being more complex than those Aristotle encountered in ancient Athens. Aristotle's epideictic rhetoric, for example, lacks the accurate details required to describe rhetoric in modern discursive fields

(Eisenstadt, 2014). It does not necessarily mean that Aristotle was not precise in his description; it is, as stated by Eisenstadt (2014), simply an ancient understanding that offers shortcomings to address the variety of ceremonial events which have turned to be dominant in contemporary rhetoric. In contemporary rhetoric, the number of audiences is larger, information is distributed quickly and channels for understanding texts have blossomed. Aristotle's rhetoric in the modern perspective is the focus of the next sections.

2.9 Modern Views of Aristotle's Types of Rhetoric

2.9.1 Epideictic Rhetoric

Condit (1985) argues that Aristotle's taxonomy of epideictic rhetoric is no longer suitable for modern rhetoric. Notably, Condit (1985) is not fully convinced of the extent or scope to which Aristotle's work on epideictic rhetoric covered, and he sets out to update the ceremonial occasions that Aristotle described. Epideictic rhetoric, in Condit's view, is characterised by its tendency to perform three functional pairs: definition/understanding, display/entertainment and shaping/sharing of community. The first term in each pair is dedicated to serving the need for the speaker, whereas the second term is used to serve the need for audiences. Any epideictic discourse experiences the occurrence of one or a combination of these functional pairs, but will rarely be completely devoid of any one of the pairs (Condit, 1985). Jackson (2004b) highlights the importance of Condit's (1985) modern conception of epideictic rhetoric in giving a chance to the critic to address the message content of the rhetoric more completely. The next few sub-sections will be dedicated to explaining in details these three functions of epideictic rhetoric.

2.9.1.1 Definition and Understanding Function

When some event, person, group, or object is confusing and causes a new strange experience, audiences feel the need for the epideictic rhetoric which is

dedicated, in this case, to remove ambiguity and troubling and having things clear to them. This function of defining and explaining newly occurring events and urgent actions is known as the 'definition/understanding' functional pair which refers to the power of epideictic to explain a social world (Condit, 1985). Accordingly, the troubling issue will be explained by the speaker in terms of the audience's key values and beliefs. Simultaneously, through this process of definition/understanding, the speaker will gain the power of persuasion (Dow, 1989). Once the speaker has defined the situation in this way, communal understanding is reached, and 'the troubling event will be made less confusing and threatening, providing a sense of comfort for the audience (Dow, 1989, p. 297). In fact, speeches, in which this definition/understanding function plays a dominant role, include commencement addresses, declarations of war, armed introductions and funeral orations. Moreover, Murphy (2003) highlights the centrality of epideictic type of rhetoric and considers all the characteristics that are true for rhetoric as a whole is likely to apply to the epideictic genre.

According to Murphy (2003), epideictic speakers approach audiences through the concepts of honour or dishonour, unity or division, community or chaos in public life; thus, bringing new particular values to life. Interestingly, Takis Poulakos (Cited in Murphy, 2003) views epideictic rhetoric as a process that creates and produces a new world process. It is an act through which a new world is disclosed. The eulogy is one type of epideictic rhetoric that fulfils this function for an audience. In the case of eulogies, the community has experienced a loss, and the most basic function of epideictic rhetoric is to explain the meaning of that event and to decide how to behave in the face of it. Crises are similar to eulogies, especially those that involve the deaths of Americans. Although the majority of audiences is not personally involved, they still feel the need to understand the new situation and remove a sense of confusion.

Consequently, epideictic speech accounts for the concerns of explaining to audiences what has happened and who they are in light of a communal rupture (Dow, 1989). For instance, Ronald Reagan, in his rhetoric, understood very well the power of epideictic rhetoric in comforting audiences through removing troubling from the newly occurring events (Murphy, 2003). Also, Murphy refers to Campbell and Jamieson's (2008) note of Reagan and Bush's tendency to transform State of the Union

addresses, a genre that traditionally makes balances between deliberative and epideictic rhetoric, into a purely epideictic speech. President Bush, as another example, made the very use of epideictic rhetoric when he spoke about the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the Afghan war. In this occasion, George Bush felt the need to define the meaning of 9/11 and the nation felt the need to understand this horrific event (Murphy, 2003). Likewise, Bostdorff (2011) endorses Condit's (1985) view that when an unexpected tragedy or crisis occurs, leaders immediately set out to define the crisis and remove ambiguities of such events just as Bush's rhetoric attempted to make sense of the 9/11 attacks.

What is happening in epideictic discourse is that epideictic speakers align a present event through the lens of the past, if successful, 'thereby wielding the power of emphasising those values to create paths to the future' (Eisenstadt, 2014, p. 46). This strategy offers audiences a way of how they might see and judge the future (Condit, 1985). Likewise, Zarefsky (2004) articulates that since the president has a prominent political position and an access to the tools of communication, the president, by defining a situation, could shape the context in which events are seen by the public.

2.9.1.2 Shaping and Sharing Community

Besides the definition/understanding function that epideictic rhetoric performs, the need of the audiences to share community is another important function that epideictic rhetoric accomplishes. In this sense, Condit (1985, p. 290) mentions that since human beings are creators of symbols in nature, they are in need to kinds of symbolic sharing. Sharing a community is established largely through public speaking and evoking the community values and identity. In this function, leaders, whether delivering an inaugural speech or eulogy, attempt to bind the community together through portraying that they possess shared values that serve to activate civil religion. During national crises such as war, describing the community as sharing a sense of identity is especially important. Further, Condit (1985) maintains that epideictic rhetoric is particularly important to the sustainability of communities because its main focus is unity and sharing a community. Epideictic rhetoric contradicts forensic and

deliberative discourses which present arguments through refutation or competition. Rather, epideictic rhetoric creates ‘opportunities for expressing and reformulating our shared heritage’ (Condit, 1985, p. 289). Jackson (2004b) agrees with Condit’s (1985) concentration on the centrality and importance of the functional pair of sharing and creation of a community to human beings who, in crisis, need to be gathered in a symbolic community. Condit (1985) asserts that the sense of shaping and sharing a community is established and maintained by having the audiences hear about the community’s legacy. When a confusing action takes place, such as war, epideictic rhetoric will operate to discover what the event means and ‘what the community will come to be in the face of the new event’ (Condit, 1985, p. 289). How nations unite in crises are best described below:

In times of change or crisis, nations look to the past and infer a narrative that erases all confusion and contradiction, which is not presented as history but as a figuration of essential Britishness, Americanness, Germanness, Indianness, as the case may be--a mythical national unity that, Platonic fashion, has presumably always existed (Pickering and Kehde, quoted in Bostdorff, 2011, p. 299).

Interestingly, contrasting the nation’s citizens with outsiders is also another form used by rhetors to define a certain community (Condit, 1985; Bostdorff, 2011). Presidential epideictic rhetoric, for instance, is often used to define not only what Americans are, but also--through dehumanising and decontextualising enemies --what they are not (Bostdorff, 2011). It does not necessarily mean that sharing a community includes all members who might live within the boundaries of the community. The speaker is given the right by audiences to select certain values, stories and persons from the shared heritage and project them to a symbolic community. The benefit of recalling certain shared values of heritage is to produce a sense of alienation from the community associated with those who actually feel an objection to particular values in a speech (Condit, 1985).

In fact, groups of any size from a family to entire nations need a means for identifying themselves as a community. Moreover, Condit (1985) asserts that this function of shaping/ sharing a community overlaps with and contributes to definition/understanding function. This overlap is ascribed to the community’s renew

of its image and of what is good through describing what it was previously supposed to be good and by appropriating those past values and beliefs into new situations. Such renewals ‘will occur on a periodic basis (e.g. independence days), but may also occur at especially problematic events—war, death, farewell, etc’ (Condit, 1985, p. 289). Whenever a community's life is brought into change, the community will call the epideictic speaker to explain and define what the event means to the community and what plans the community will adopt to deal with the new event (Condit, 1985).

2.9.1.3 Display and Entertainment Functions

Epideictic speeches have often been viewed as speeches of display. Display and entertainment, however, are only one of three functions of epideictic rhetoric. Many ceremonial occasions urge the speaker to display her or his eloquence (Condit, 1985). Eloquence is defined by Condit (1985, p. 290) as ‘the combination of truth, beauty and power in human speech, and is a unique capacity of humanity’. By this eloquence, the audiences will feel ‘entertained’ in a most human manner. Through this specific function of epideictic rhetoric, speakers are invited to ‘stretch their daily experiences into meanings more grand, sweet, noble or delightful’ (Condit, 1985, p. 290). In this specific function, speakers’ eloquence is emphasised in ceremonial messages and the audiences, in turn, both enjoy the performance and assess the speakers’ eloquence as evidence of their leadership (Bostdorff, 2011; Condit, 1985).

Additionally, Bostdorff (2011) attributes the rapid increase of epideictic rhetoric among contemporary presidents to the increasing need for presidents to demonstrate leadership. For example, during times of tragedy or crisis, the desire to demonstrate leadership may be particularly acute. In this respect as inspired by Condit (1985), Jackson (2004b) states that although crisis rhetoric is not used at all for entertaining, rhetors’ mastery and use of eloquence also give them credibility as powerful leaders. Accordingly, Jackson (2004b) considers audiences as the judge of the mastery and beauty of eloquence presented by the speaker. Epideictic rhetoric therefore not only defines distressing situations and events and shapes communities through possessing noble qualities and presenting them eloquently to their audiences

(Hauser, 1999), ‘but it actively teaches communities who they are’ (Eisenstadt, 2014, p. 55). Those who can display eloquence and entertain audiences are those arguers who possess dynamism of observing the available means of persuasion for a given situation (Hauser, 1999). In brief, if orators can define troubling events through the lens of shaped communities, then they can display leadership over issues of public morality since they have shown why something has happened and how we are moving forward (Eisenstadt, 2014).

2.9.2 Praise and Blame as Tenets of Epideictic Rhetoric

Epideictic rhetoric usually contains ‘praise and blame’, as one of its major tools to execute its effect. Condit (1985) suggests that underlying the function of definition is often the ‘appraisal’ of the events, persons and objects in our daily lives. We define and identify ourselves as good (necessarily) by categorising ourselves against ‘the bad’. Jasinski (Cited in Hubanks, 2009) states that today, epideictic rhetoric most commonly deals with praise and blame speech, in which the people’s virtues and vices and their good traits and bad traits are concerned. These are the essential points of reference if one intends to praise or blame. Deliberative and forensic types of rhetoric are dedicated to commenting on the world and social actions within it. However, epideictic rhetoric tends to be ‘a significant social action in itself’ (Jasinski, quoted in Hubanks, 2009, p. 202).

Subsequently, while epideictic rhetoric is mostly used to present praise, it may also be utilised to blame someone (Bostdorff, 2011). Blame rhetoric is often used to attack individuals who oppose revered values or who represent values antithetical to society. In this way, rhetors enhance the understanding and sharing of community. Blame rhetoric may involve, in times of war, dehumanising the enemy and, thus, serves to justify military violence. Because the enemy is attributed to be so savage and evil, such blame rhetoric enhances a correspondingly positive self-image of the nation and its leader. For instance, President George W. H. Bush’s commemoration of V-J Day criticised both the enemies in the war on terror and the enemies of World War II. In fact, Bush argued that today’s war was the same as World War II because the

enemies in both conflicts were the same (Bostdorff, 2011). Although speakers use epideictic rhetoric to praise or blame in terms of the condition of things existing at the time of delivering a speech, they also find it effective to recover the past and to have plans for the future (Eisenstadt, 2014). This notion is especially evidenced within the post-9/11 narrative, wherein Bush's speeches frequently recalled past and future alike.

Admittedly, epideictic presidential rhetoric, especially praise and blame strategies, has proved potential in attempts of justifying and gaining support for wars, particularly when there is public opposition, as in the case of Bush and Iraq (Bostdorff, 2011). As such, praise discourse continues to be an appealing rhetorical form for political leaders as it aims at persuading on deliberative issues without seeming to do so (Bostdorff, 2011). This notion is also supported in Aristotle's note that to praise an individual 'is in one respect akin to urging a course of action' because it encourages audiences to acknowledge and accept the praise as speakers have forwarded it (Aristotle, 2004, p. 1367b).

2.9.3 Deliberative Rhetoric

Dow (1989) presents a definition of deliberative rhetoric different from that considered by Aristotle. According to Aristotle (1991; 2007), deliberative (political) rhetoric concerns future actions or events. Moreover, Dow (1989, p. 296) argues that presidents use deliberative strategies to 'establish the expediency of action taken to gain public support'. Jackson (2004b) adds that deliberative rhetoric is used by presidents to convince the nation that they made the right decision in taking the proposed action. In contrast to other types of rhetoric, deliberative rhetoric is dedicated to focusing on the future, 'presenting arguments for or against some action based on their potential to do good or cause harm' (Eisenstadt, 2014, p. 42). Listeners of deliberative rhetoric either support or refute the speaker's proposed outcome. Eisenstadt (2014) suggests policy speeches in particular as an example of speeches listed within the deliberative division. Aristotle (2004) claims that audiences' decision of accepting or rejecting a proposed course of action relies on the speaker's efforts in establishing the expediency or the harmfulness of that action by providing evidence

that the results will be positive or negative. Accordingly, Aristotle (2004) speaks of actions that occur in the future, not those that have already been taken. In contrast, Dow (1989) claims that, in crisis times, deliberative rhetoric aims to recruit public support for the actions already taken, regardless to the audiences' agreement to the action in specific.

Argument, as argued by Hubanks (2009), is the essential component of deliberative rhetoric, wherein those who advocate or reject a cause support their issue through arguments. Hubanks (2009, p. 204) offers an example to make clear the essence of deliberative rhetoric 'when Party A wants to pass Legislation X, Party A would have to argue its case to Party B to gain Party B's members' support'. In gaining B's support, Party A made the very use of deliberative rhetoric by offering arguments in favour of one policy or course of action over another. Significantly, in urging the community to take or not take a course of action, the deliberative rhetor must approach to the interests of the listeners through bringing into their consideration the feeling of happiness (Glover, 2007).

Basically, deliberative rhetoric has long been used to constitute public responses to national threats and dangers. In the same line, presidential addresses influence how the public see a complex national threat by demonstrating the expediency of one action over another more harmful action (Glover, 2007). Deliberative rhetoric involves stake, dispute and the potential for loss. As a result, audiences, in deliberative rhetoric, are required to examine arguments carefully (Hubanks, 2009). In reality, the Aristotelian theory involves five different types of deliberative rhetoric, which all focus on the benefits of one action over another. These are 'ways and means, war and peace, national defence, imports and exports, and legislation' (Craig and Muller, 2007, p. 129). Glover (2007) adds that Aristotle's framework of deliberative rhetoric can be used by scholars to find out how a president highlights particular threats and then he calls for a presidential and public response to rebuff these threats. Ramos' (2010) study of George W. Bush's address to Congress and the nation on September 20, 2001, is an example of Bush's references to deliberative rhetoric techniques. As such, to examine deliberative characteristics as

utilised by presidents to influence presidential rhetoric suits within Aristotle's framework of rhetoric (Glover, 2007).

2.9.4 Forensic Rhetoric

According to Aristotle, forensic rhetoric is used mainly to either attack or defend someone (Aristotle, 2004). In relation, Jackson (2004b) states that it is the speaker's responsibility to argue that the action taken is either justified or not. Forensic rhetoric, as discussed by Ramos (2010), was exclusively used in courts of law focusing on the topics of defence and accusation. The principles of forensic rhetoric are still used today. Ramos (2010, p. 19) goes further to claim that 'whether in a court of law or in the political arena, the orator makes arguments in a forum to determine whether past events constitute just or unjust causes'. Similarly, Jackson (2004b) elaborates that convincing the Congress and the public that the actions undertaken were justified is the ultimate and major objective of the forensic type of discourse. Eisenstadt (2014) agrees with Aristotle as to consider forensic speeches focus on the past since both attacks and their respective defences are events that happened in the past. Jackson's (2004b) analysis of George W. Bush's speech to Congress and the nation on September 20, 2001 is an example of the president's use of forensic rhetorical techniques. In this specific speech, Bush talked about bringing the radical Islamic perpetrators to justice.

2.10 Pragmatics

Indeed, people do not always mean what they say. Speakers' utterances sometimes mean much more than what their words say. For example, by saying: 'It's hot in here!' someone might mean: 'Please open the window! Or is it all right if I open the window? or You're wasting electricity!' (Thomas, 1995, p. 1). People frequently convey meanings completely different from what their words say. The study of these invisible meanings is called pragmatics (Yule, 2016). The pragmatic analysis of language involves the analysis and identification of that part of meaning that is not related to the formal characteristics of words and structures but derived from the way

these utterances are employed in the context in which they are performed (Leech and Short, 1987). Pragmatics can be viewed as a tool to discover how people convey different types of meanings through ‘language in use’ (Huang, 2014). This definition emphasises the fact that pragmatics as a branch of study is concerned with the use of language in relation to the users and interpreters (Watson and Hill, 2015; Yule, 2016). Ndimele (1997) also connects language use to its users. According to Ndimele (1997), pragmatics concerns itself with the intention of the speaker, the influence of the speaker’s utterance on the listener, the implications of expressing something in a specific way and the knowledge about the world in which both the speaker and the listener interact.

Because pragmatics is oriented to the process of understanding the meaning of an utterance through connecting language and context (Levinson, 1983; Huang, 2017), it also has roots in the philosophy of language and cognitive science. Pertinent to cognitive science, Kempson (1996, p. 251) defines pragmatics as ‘the study of the general cognitive principles involved in the retrieval of information from an utterance’. In comparison, a different but related view of pragmatics is offered by Thomas (1995) who defines it as ‘meaning in use’ and ‘meaning in context’. Thus, Thomas (1995) regards pragmatics as the study of either ‘speaker meaning’ (what intentions speakers want to convey) or ‘utterance meaning’ (what intentions hearers obtain from an utterance). This notion is clearly described below:

Meaning is not something that is inherent in the words alone, nor is it produced by the speaker alone, nor by the hearer alone. Making meaning is a dynamic process, involving the negotiation of meaning between speaker and hearer, the context of utterance (physical, social and linguistic) and the meaning potential of an utterance (Thomas, 1995, p. 22).

Pertinent to the objective of analysing and identifying the illocutionary speech acts, the notion of a speaker’s meaning and hearer’s right interpretation is the one adopted in the current study which is inherited in speech acts as one of the communication theories. As such, because pragmatics is defined as ‘the study of linguistic acts and the contexts in which they are performed’ (Robert, 1972, p. 383),

then speech act theory represents the core of this perspective of pragmatics which is the focus of the next sections.

2.11 Speech Acts Theory (SAT)

SAT is just one aspect of pragmatics which relates actions to the use of language. The central tenet of this theory is that ‘uttering of a sentence is part of an action’ (Huang, 2012, p. 291). To learn the process of communicating in a language requires more than acquiring the pronunciation and grammar. Thus, individuals need to learn how to ask questions, make suggestions, greet and thank other speakers where such functions of language are called speech acts and studied under SAT (Saeed, 2016). The essence behind the notion of ‘speech acts’ is that ‘when we say something, we are always also doing something’ (Cameron, 2001, p. 69). People perform various actions through the use of words, and when utterances are made, a particular act is performed. Sperber and Wilson (1986) highlight Austin and Searle’s understanding that the ‘meaning’ associated with an utterance is the user’s intention, and not the meaning of words in the utterance.

Chronologically, SAT was explored and expounded by the Oxford philosopher J. L. Austin whose 1955 lectures at Harvard University were published posthumously as *How to Do Things with Words* (1962) (Saeed, 2016). Mey (2001) also asserts that Austin’s posthumous work had a strong influence on linguistics and specifically its field of pragmatics. Austin’s work started as a reaction to some traditional and influential attitudes to language. These influential opinions and attitudes can be summarised to involve three related assumptions, as follows:

- (a) that declarative is the major type of sentences in language (i.e. a statement or assertion);
- (b) that language is used primarily to present descriptions of states of affairs (by using statements);
- (c) that utterance meaning is to be clarified in respect of their truth or falsity (Huang, 2009; Saeed, 2016).

Austin's reaction to these traditional considerations is based on the two essential observations (Saeed, 2016). The first is that not all sentences are to be described as statements and that much of people's communication is made up of questions, exclamations, commands and expressions of wishes as shown in the examples given below adopted from Saeed (2016, p. 233):

- (a) 'Excuse me!'
- (b) 'Are you serving?'
- (c) 'Hello'.
- (d) 'Six pints of stout and a packet of peanuts, please!'
- (e) 'Give me the dry roasted ones'.
- (f) 'How much? Are you serious?'
- (g) 'O tempora! O mores!'

To continue, Austin comments that the examples such as those given above are used to describe things and cannot be said to be true or false. The second observation that is presented by Austin is that grammatically declarative sentences are not all uttered to make statements (Saeed, 2016). Austin (Adopted from Saeed, 2016, p. 233) offers below a group of declaratives that are not used to make true or false statements, but actions.

- (a) 'I promise to take a taxi home'.
- (b) 'I bet you five pounds that he gets breathalysed'.
- (c) 'I declare this meeting open'.
- (d) 'I warn you that legal action will ensue'.
- (e) 'I name this ship The Flying Dutchman'.

Evidently, Austin's (1962) most cited work *How to Do Things with Words* starts with the observation that the second set of examples above is uttered to do something, here to promise in (a) and to name in (b), rather than merely to say something (Sadock, 2006). Austin (1962) elaborates more on this point, stating that some pure speaking is regarded as an attempt for doing things, and this is known as speech acts. Many acts can be done by pure speaking. As a result, anyone can make a promise, an order or can request somebody to do something, can ask a question, make a threat, pronounce somebody husband and wife and so on. Each one of them reflects a particular speech act. In doing this, Austin (1962) initiates his work by distinguishing

between two sets of utterances: performatives and constatives. By definition, performatives are sentences denoting an action. Austin (1962) uses the concept of performative utterances to denote situations in which saying something was doing something, rather than simply reporting on or describing reality. The paradigmatic case here is speaking the words 'I do'. Constatives, on the other hand, are utterances that are employed to make assertions or statements (Austin, 1962).

After that, Austin (Cited in Cameron, 2001) suspects this distinction and goes on to question it. Such an utterance as 'it's raining' can be considered as a proposition or as a factual assertion about the world, or it can be performing an indirect request to an umbrella. Austin (Cited in Cameron, 2001, p. 69) observes the fact that 'utterances can both make propositions and perform actions'. Consequently, Austin publicly casts out the distinction between 'performative' and 'constative' utterances halfway in favour of a three-level framework: locution, illocution and perlocution.

- (a) 'Locutionary act: the production of a meaningful linguistic expression'.
- (b) 'Illocutionary act: the action intended to be performed by a speaker in uttering a linguistic expression, by virtue of the conventional force associated with it, either explicitly or implicitly'.
- (c) 'Perlocutionary act: the bringing about of consequences or effects on the audience through the uttering of a linguistic expression, such consequences or effects being special to the circumstances of utterance' (Austin, cited in Huang, 2009, p. 1002).

Primarily, the most important element of Austin's (1962) framework is the illocutionary act with much attention to decide the illocutionary force of a certain utterance. Currently, the concept of speech act is often used to mean specifically an illocutionary act performed to denote the intended effect. The illocutionary act is considered as the real action performed by the utterance, which is the centre of Austin's (1962) theory (Mey, 2001). SAT has become synonymous with the illocutionary act. Likewise, Thomas (1995, p. 51) also denotes that 'illocutionary act, illocutionary force, pragmatic force or just force' is employed to refer to the same thing since the communicative purpose of an utterance has been deemed as the major point in performing speech acts. Cruse (2000) characterises illocutionary acts as being internal to the locutionary act, in the sense that, once the locutionary act has been performed

in the appropriate contextual conditions, so has the illocutionary act. Promising is a clear case to express this notion. If someone says ‘I promise to buy you a ring’, he has, by simply uttering these words, performed the act of promising (Cruse, 2000, p. 332). Besides, one specific locutionary act can produce different illocutions. For example, saying ‘I’ll be there’ can function as a promise, prediction or warning, and so on (Cruse, 2000, p. 332). Illocutionary act has been categorised variously. Austin (1962) describes speech acts depending on the characteristics of verbs and their illocutionary forces. Austin (1962) classifies illocutionary acts into five types, even though such classification seems difficult to do or to understand since there are a lot of potential illocutionary acts, and in many cases the speaker’s intentions are vague. These types are

1. Verdictives: speech acts used to express verdicts given by a jury or an arbitrator. They can also be used to express an estimate, reckoning or appraisal. In different circumstances, they are hard to be identified and differentiated from others for different reasons.
2. Exercitives: speech acts used to express the exercise of powers, rights or influence such as appointing, ordering, dismissing, warning and more other similar types.
3. Commissives: speech acts used to commit the speaker to do something such as promising. They also include the expression of declaration or announcement of intention which make them vague and hard to differentiate them from verdictives and exercitives.
4. Behabitives: speech acts that are used to express attitude and social behaviour and reflected by a miscellaneous set as apologies, congratulations, compliments, welcomes and more other alike types.
5. Expositives: speech acts that are not easily defined as they may overlap with other categories of speech acts. Examples of this type include ‘I argue’, ‘I reply’, ‘I concede’, ‘I assume’, and more overlapping utterances (Austin, 1962).

Another important theorist who further systematises Austin’s (1962) taxonomy of speech acts is the American philosopher John R. Searle, who studied under Austin in the fifties and then became the main defender of Austin’s ideas (Mey, 2001). Like Austin, Searle (1969) believes that we cannot account for the intended communicative acts out of their actual contexts. For Searle (1969), the basic unit of language is a speech act which is tuned to denote exclusively the illocutionary act. Another important contribution in Searle’s (1969) development to Austin’s (1962) SAT is the notion of ‘speaking a language is performing acts according to rules’ (Searle, 1969,

pp. 36-37). These rules are known as constitutive rules in the same sense that the rules of chess are constitutive of the game itself. Viewed as such, to perform an illocutionary act, according to Searle, is to follow a group of conventional rules that are constitutive of that particular act (Sadock, 2006). This set of rules for promising speech act consists of the propositional act – by referring to a future act, followed by the preparatory condition, so that the promise can be fulfilled. The next rule for constructing a promising act is the sincerity condition which entails that the speaker truly utters the promise with the real intention to fulfil it. Finally, the act of promising is done with the essential condition of the speaker's adherence to be under the obligation of a promise (Mey, 2001).

In contrast, Searle (1979) criticises Austin's (1962) classifications of speech acts because the way Austin adopts in classification is based on overlapping criteria. In Searle's (1979) view, Austin does not pay attention to the difference between speech act verbs and actual speech acts, and that some verbs are shared among the classes of speech acts. For example, the verb 'to describe', is included by Austin (1962) in the two classes of 'verdicatives' and 'expositives'. Besides, some verbs were classified under a certain type, but they did not satisfy the definition for that type. For example, the verbs 'appoint', 'nominate' and 'excommunicate' are not consistent with the giving of a decision for or against a certain course of action. As a result, Searle (1979) replaces the classification of Austin (1962) with an alternative taxonomy based on appropriate conditions. Searle (1979) categorises the illocutionary acts into five classes:

1. Assertives: a group of speech acts with the illocutionary function of committing the speaker to a case or thing that may be true or false.
2. Directives: a group of speech act with the illocutionary function of the speaker's attempt to get the hearer to do something.
3. Commisives: a group of speech acts with the illocutionary function of committing the speaker to some future action. It could be in the form of a promise.
4. Expressives: a group of speech acts with the illocutionary function of expressing the psychological state assigned in 'the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content' (Searle, 1979, p. 15). These can be expressed by the verbs 'thank', 'congratulate', 'apologize', 'condole', 'deplore' and 'welcome' (Searle, 1979, p. 15).
5. Declaratives: a group of speech acts with the illocutionary function of 'the correspondence between the propositional content and reality, successful performance guarantees that the propositional content corresponds to the

world'. For example, 'if I successfully perform the act of appointing you chairman, then you are chairman' (Searle, 1979, p. 17).

2.11.1 Bach and Harnish's (1979) Model of Speech Acts

In 1979, Kent Bach and Robert Harnish provided new insight into the theory of speech acts in their innovative work entitled *Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts*. Bach and Harnish (1979) try to synthesise the previous views presented by Austin and Searle with some other innovations. Their work has been characterised as being more comprehensive and more explicit than those presented by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969; 1979). Bach and Harnish's (1979) work proposes an 'intention and inference approach' to speech acts. According to their work, the illocutionary acts are performed with the intention that the hearer identifies the interpretation being intended or performed. According to this view, Bach and Harnish (1979) assert that the process of linguistic communication is an inferential one in the sense that the interpretation of any speech act uttered by speakers depends on the hearer's interpretation of that speech act. Thus, Bach and Harnish's (1979) approach is different from the main approaches of Searle (1969) and Sadock (2006) in two different aspects. First, it is inferential and, second, it pays attention to three key factors in interpreting utterances: content, context and the communicative intention. All these three factors go in harmony with the prerequisites of a move-based analysis of genre theory. Specifically, this process of the speaker's production of a speech act (illocutionary act or force) and the hearer's right interpretation is greatly influenced by what Bach and Harnish (1979) call the Mutual Contextual Beliefs (MCBs) of both the speaker and hearer – contextual information familiar to the speaker and hearer.

Besides, Bach and Harnish (1979) illustrate that MCBs can be used by the hearer to bridge the gap between what the speaker says and what he intends. For example, someone hearing the utterance 'I love you like my brother' might, depending on the context, interpret it as having the illocutionary force of 'an assurance, an admission, an answer (to a question), or even a promise'. Or he might interpret it as having 'the force of a simple assertion' (Bach and Harnish, 1979, p. 6). Whatever way

it is understood, the speaker must take into account that the hearer takes it based on certain MCBs. For instance, the utterance might be taken as:

An assurance if Speaker and Hearer mutually believed that Hearer doubts that Speaker loves him. It would be intended and be taken as an answer if they mutually believed that Hearer has just asked Speaker how he feels about Hearer (Bach and Harnish, 1979, p. 6).

In this context, MCBs are understood in terms of ‘beliefs’ rather than ‘knowledge’ because they need not be true to recognise the intention of the speaker and the inference of the hearer. Accordingly, to understand the real communicative intention of any utterance, the hearer takes into consideration MCBs. The hearer, then, decides on the meaning of the utterance produced ‘what the speaker is saying, and from that the force and content of the speaker's illocutionary act’ (Bach and Harnish, 1979, p. 6). This process of inferring the intended meaning of an utterance is labelled as the speech act schemata which can be defined as a set of inferential steps processed in the hearer’s mind to understand an utterance as a type of speech act. In other words, any communicative speech act, according to speech act schemata, involves four sub-acts as its constituents (where *S* is the speaker, *H* is the hearer, *e* is an expression in language, *C* is the context of utterance).

‘Utterance Act: *S* utters *e* from *L* to *H* in *C*’

‘Locutionary Act: *S* says to *H* in *C* that so-and-so’

‘Illocutionary Act: *S* does such-and-such in *C*’

‘Perlocutionary Act: *S* affects *H* in a certain way’ (Bach and Harnish, 1979, p. 3)

Łazuka (2006) comments on Bach and Harnish’s (1979) inferential theory affirming that communicative intention and inference on the part of the hearer represent the heart of their theoretical approach. Łazuka (2006, p. 302) argues that ‘the main distinction and specificity of communicative intentions consists in their effectiveness, which is determined by the recognition of the speaker’s intentions by the addressee’.

In Bach and Harnish’s (1979) typology, types of illocutionary acts are identified according to types of illocutionary intents (intended illocutionary effects).

Communicative illocutionary acts are successful if the hearer recognises the attitudes expressed by the speaker. As such, it is these attitudes that determine the taxonomy of illocutionary speech acts which is the focus of the next section.

2.11.1.1 Bach and Harnish's (1979) Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts

Given their classificatory schema, Bach and Harnish (1979) classify types of illocutionary acts in terms of the types of expressed attitudes. Thus, expressing an attitude by the speaker's utterance is, in Bach and Harnish's model, to R-intend that the hearer takes the speaker's utterance as a reason to believe he/she has the attitude. Expressing the attitude by the speaker is the mark of sincerity, but illocutionary success does not require sincerity. Bach and Harnish (1979, p. 39) argue that 'if the hearer forms a corresponding attitude that the speaker intended him to form, the speaker has achieved a perlocutionary effect in addition to illocutionary uptake'. Accordingly, communicative acts or intentions are classified with respect to the kind of attitude that is expressed by each communicative act; the performance of a particular speech act lies in the hearer's role to identify the attitude in the same way that the speaker intends him/her to identify it (Bach and Harnish, 1979; Łazuka, 2006).

Additionally, categorising communicative illocutionary acts in terms of expressed attitudes opens the door for a rich diversity of act types. In most cases, the speaker expresses not only his own (putative) attitude towards the propositional content but also his intention that the hearer forms a corresponding attitude. For example, to inform someone of something is not only to express a belief in it but also to express one's intention that the hearer believes it (Bach and Harnish, 1979). Types of communicative acts or intentions are further distinguished by the reasons for or the strengths of the attitudes expressed. To make this point clear, Bach and Harnish (1979, p. 39) distinguish confirmatives from assertions 'generally by S's expressing his belief as being the result of some truth-seeking procedure'. The same can apply to the class of what they name 'advisories'. Here, the difference between motivating an individual to do something and just suggesting he does it is indicated by the difference in strength

in the speaker's expressed intention or desire that the hearer does it (Bach and Harnish, 1979). Basically, many taxonomies of illocutionary acts have been proposed in an attempt to improve Austin's (1962) taxonomy of speech acts. Still, only Searle's (1969; 1979) taxonomies are tied to a general theory of illocutionary acts (Bach and Harnish, 1979). Bach and Harnish (1979) agree with Searle (1969; 1979) as to base a scheme of classification of speech acts on some systematic account of illocutionary acts.

In their work, Bach and Harnish (1979) present four types of communicative illocutionary act, with every act type being further differentiated in terms of the reasons for or the strengths of the attitudes expressed.

- (a) Constatives express the speaker's belief and his/her intention that the hearer has or forms a similar belief as the speaker.
- (b) Directives express the speaker's attitude or belief towards a future action by the hearer and his/her intention that the utterance be taken or understood as a reason for the hearer's action.
- (c) Commisives express the speaker's intention that the utterance obligates or commits the hearer to do something.
- (d) Acknowledgements express the feeling towards the hearer, or in the case of formal utterances, the speaker's intention that his/her utterances satisfy certain social expectations regarding the expression of certain feelings.

These four general categories of illocutionary acts are further subdivided into many subcategories, as shown in Figure 2-1 below. Furthermore, they point to certain verbs occurring under more than one heading, as with the subcategories of constatives. This is, however, unavoidable as some verbs name more than a subtype of the communicative act, and also because some utterances can themselves be of more than one type of communicative acts (Bach and Harnish, 1979).

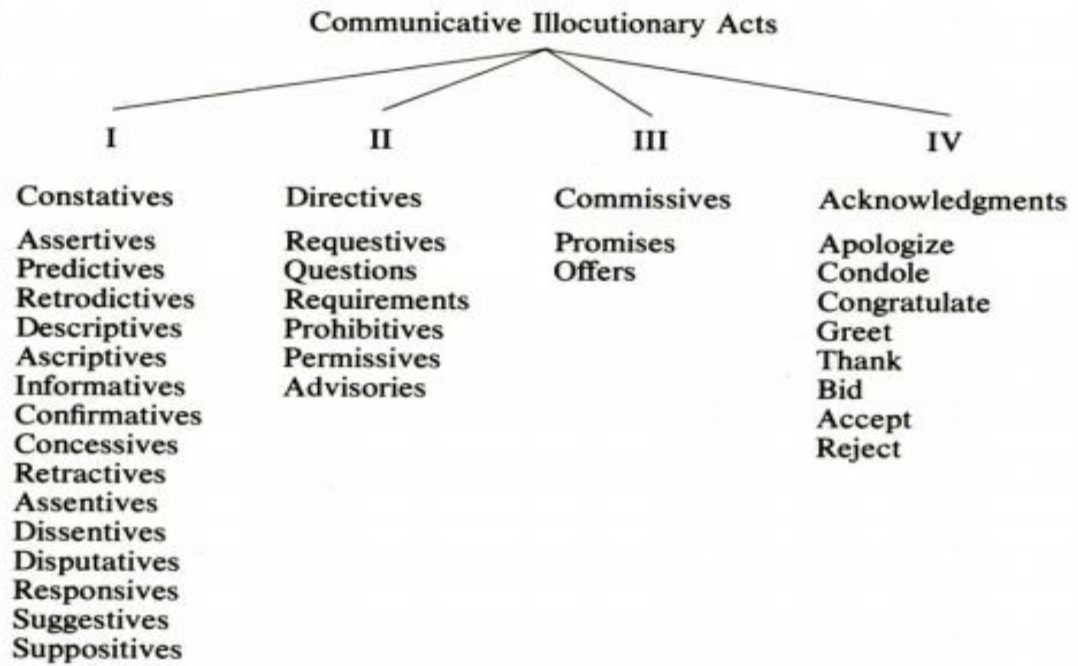


Figure 2-1 Bach and Harnish's (1979) taxonomy of communicative acts

2.12 Why Bach and Harnish's (1979) Taxonomy of Speech Acts

To identify the communicative speech acts performed in the generic structure of the APWAs analysed in this study, Bach and Harnish's (1979) taxonomy of speech acts is adopted. This taxonomy seems to be the most useful for this analysis since their taxonomy is characterised as being more comprehensive and more explicit than those of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). Thus, Austin's (1962) classification of speech acts has been severely criticised by Searle (1979) as the way Austin adopts in classification is based on overlapping criteria. Likewise, Bach and Harnish (1979) criticise Searle's (1969) classification of speech acts as being limited to a small set of illocutionary types. In contrast, Bach and Harnish's (1979) classification covers a great many types of illocutionary acts in detail, not only labelling them but specifying what distinguishes them. On the contrary to Searle's (1969) taxonomy, Bach and Harnish's (1979) classification is based on the notion that the illocutionary forces or attitudes by which illocutionary acts are distinguished into different types are all consistent with the speech act schemata. This classification would go with the scope of this study to

identify the types of communicative intentions used to define and realise each of the moves and strategies constituting the generic structure of the genre under scrutiny.

2.13 Lexico-Grammatical Features

According to Bhatia (1993), a genre can be quantitatively analysed in terms of a set of specific linguistic features that are used to construct the texts of the genre. This sort of analysis is carried out through a corpus-based statistical analysis of large-scale data of the genre in question. An example of this sort of analysis would be the analysis of the genre texts in terms of clauses and tenses used and their frequencies in the genre. Bhatia (1993) confirms that this sort of linguistic analysis of the syntactic and lexical properties of the genre are useful in that they prove or disprove some of the intuitions about the occurrence of certain grammatical and lexical features in one genre or another. However, this type of analysis falls short of telling us how and why these lexico-grammatical features are used the way they are, that is, how and why they are textualised. As such, this way takes the analysis a step further from emphasising the surface linguistic features of the texts towards providing adequate information about how the use of these features serve the attainment of the communicative purpose of the genre. This sort of analysis, which is called text-patterning or textualization by Bhatia (1993), is the one adopted in the current study to answer the fourth research question which focuses on identifying the salient (regular) lexico-grammatical features and how they are used to achieve the communicative function of each obligatory move of the APWAs. In reality, textualization or investigating the form-function relationship of the linguistic features of a given genre is defined by Bhatia (1993) as

This aspect of linguistic analysis highlights the tactical aspect of conventional language use, specifying the way members of a particular speech community assign restricted values to various aspects of language use ... when operating in a particular genre.' (Bhatia, 1993: 26).

Bhatia (1993) proceeds to provide examples of the text-patterns of the lexico-grammatical features used in data from chemistry, advertising and legislative writing. In chemistry context, for example, Bhatia (1993) borrows an example from an analysis

of chemistry textbooks carried out by Swales in 1975. The focus of analysis was on the function of past-participle in the pre- and post-modifying noun phrase positions. Pre-modifying en-participles were used to highlight two different functions in chemistry texts, that is, exemplifying or generalising. Another example is given by Bhatia (1993) in the genre of advertisements. In advertisement, advertisers heavily rely on the positive description of the product achieved by the heavy use of adjectives. Thus, to use many adjectives to positively attribute their products, advertisers have no option but to use many noun phrases. Consequently, production of advertisements as a genre is characterised by the heavy use of noun phrases. These noun phrases are used to provide more slots to use adjectives. These noun phrases are deemed facilitators for positive descriptions of the products.

Bhatia (1993) confirms that this sort of analysis focuses on the form-function correlations and adds reasonable explanation to the use of lexico-grammatical features in genres. This analysis is interesting since it examines the conventionalised regularities of linguistic structures within the genre. In this type of analysis, it is not interesting how many times a certain tense of word-class is used, but how they are used to attain functions. Consequently, instead of inquiring a set of surface lexico-grammatical features that are already determined, the present study set out to examine the texts of APWR to identify the linguistic features that are distinctive and conventional in each obligatory rhetorical move and to provide adequate explanation how these features are employed in each rhetorical move to achieve, this time, its communicative function.

2.14 Previous Research of Presidential Discourse

Presidential discourse, as an area of research, has attracted the interest of many scholars for a long time. Presidential or political rhetoric has been explored and studied from different perspectives such as linguistics, anthropology, psychology, and discourse science where the motivation behind such studies has been to describe the language misuse and how such misuse has been legitimated (Khany and Hamzelou, 2014). In linguistic and discourse studies, it might be said that a lot of research has

been conducted on presidential discourse drawing on tools of critical discourse analysis (Mandarani, 2020; Melendres, 2020; Scotto di Carlo, 2020; Tasente, 2020; Zheni, 2020; Zhu and Wang, 2020), rhetoric (Ramos, 2010; Bostdorff, 2011; Charteris-Black, 2018; Flanagan, 2018), and speech acts (Chinwendu Israel and Botchwey, 2017; Widiatmoko, 2017; Alemi et al., 2018) to mention just a few.

Although genre-based approaches have been frequently used to carry out studies of academic and professional discourse, seldom attempts have been conducted to analyse PWAs in particular in terms of these approaches. In other words, studies that investigate the generic structure (rhetorical moves) of the PWAs as a genre, in particular, are still few (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008; Hodges, 2011, 2013) and attract the researchers' attention since it provides a rich source for exploring the typicality of structures in these addresses. In the survey of presidential discourse studies, it has been noted that studies are mostly concerned with presidential inaugural addresses even those that have drawn upon genre-based approaches (Weber, 2011; Liu, 2012; Iqbal, 2013; Khany and Hamzelou, 2014; Mirzaei et al., 2016; Moore, 2016). However, inaugural addresses represent a genre that is completely different from PWR (Campbell and Jamieson, 1990; 2008). Liu (2012) defines the inaugural address as the speech delivered by the president on his inauguration day. Inaugurals are understood to mark the end of the election campaign and the beginning of a new era of administration.

The next sections are concerned with how the theoretical perspectives constituting the analytical framework of the study have been applied to investigate presidential discourse, in general, and presidential war discourse, in particular. These theoretical perspectives are distributed into an analysis of the obligatory rhetorical moves and their related linguistic features, Aristotle's types of rhetoric and illocutionary speech acts. They are followed by a section explaining in what aspects the present study is different from prior research.

2.14.1 Studies Focusing on the Analysis of Rhetorical Moves and their Lexico-Grammatical Features

According to Campbell and Jamieson (2008), the rhetorical presidency is recognised through some specific genres of the presidential statement: PWR is one of the genres. Genres, for Campbell and Jamieson (2008), are classified and sorted in terms of their pragmatic ends and their substantive and strategic typifications. In Campbell and Jamieson's (1990) work and their upgraded version (2008), they developed a generic framework which focuses on the study of links between the form of the text and its function in its social context. Their generic framework focused on generic criticism as being especially suitable to examining the relation "between rhetorical action and the development and maintenance of the presidency because ... rhetorical form follows institutional function" (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008, p. 10). Campbell and Jamieson's (2008) followed a way of studying presidential speeches guided by the constitutional origins of the American presidency and its subsequent development. This specific study investigates war rhetoric employed by American presidents to justify to the Congress and audiences the use of war powers. Their study also explored the typicality of characteristics of PWR genre throughout the US history. These included only public discourses of war delivered by American presidents from 1812 to 2003. The result of analysis led to the actual existence of a rhetorical genre produced to justify American military actions and for congressional ratification for wars by the executive bodies. Despite the change in the focus of military action justification between the past and present, PWR during the US history has revealed five fundamental characteristics (moves in genre theory):

- (1) every element in it proclaims that the momentous decision to resort to force is deliberate, the product of thoughtful consideration;
- (2) forceful intervention is justified through a chronicle or narrative from which argumentative claims are drawn;
- (3) the audience is exhorted to unanimity of purpose and total commitment;
- (4) the rhetoric not only justifies the use of force but also seeks to legitimate presidential assumption of the extraordinary powers of the commander in chief; and, as a function of these other characteristics,
- (5) strategic misrepresentations play an unusually significant role in its appeals (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008, p. 221).

The study came to conclude that there is a correlation between rhetorical genres and communicative purposes in the sense that rhetorical genres are established to fulfil certain functions. Thus, a given genre exists and persists to continue as it is typically established as a functional response to exigencies (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). Campbell and Jamieson's (2008) study excluded the examination of the lexico-grammatical features used in the generic structure of the presidential war addresses delivered by American presidents.

Similar to Campbell and Jamieson's (2008) study, Hodges (2013) investigated the generic elements (structures) that constitute the common presidential war narrative delivered by American presidents at the onset of military ventures to win public consent for war. According to Hodges (2013), the constitutional origins of the American presidency were regarded generic precedents used by American presidents to frame a story by mapping the particulars of the narrated events onto that generic model. The analysis covered ten presidential speeches spanning from Woodrow Wilson's call for entry into World War I to George W. Bush's marketing of the war in Iraq. These war addresses included Woodrow Wilson's address of World War I on April 2, 1917, Franklin D. Roosevelt's address of World War II on December 8, 1941, Harry S. Truman's two addresses of Korea war on July 19, 1950, Lyndon B. Johnson's three addresses of Vietnam war on August 4 and 5, 1964, Ronald Reagan's address of Grenada war on October 27, 1983, George H. W. Bush's address of Panama war on December 20, 1989, George H. W. Bush's address of Persian Gulf war on January 16, 1991, William J. Clinton's address of Kosovo war on March 24, 1999, George W. Bush's address of Afghanistan war on October 7, 2001, George W. Bush's addresses of October 7, 2002 and March 17 and 19, 2003 of Iraq war. The focus of these analyses is on the generic elements of the American presidential war narrative that provided the source for presidents to construct war addresses.

Hodges concluded that the generic schema of the presidential war discourse constitutes its war narrative in a remarkably similar manner. The study arrived at the following common generic elements that cohere around a particular theme to build the whole narrative: 'precipitating event, implication of and response to the precipitating event, our motives and objectives, identifying Us versus Them, and Coda' (Hodges,

2013, p. 52). Each new American president drew from this generic structure to frame his story for the particular military engagement of the moment. Each new call to war also constructed the presidential war narrative in terms of the current needs, borrowing from the generic framework and taking into account the ethics of the JWT. Hodges (2013) concluded that generic elements are beneficial in that they situate the particulars of the narrated events of the human happenings into that generic structure and help president to use generic precedent to frame his new narrative into persuasive generic elements.

In terms of the lexical features that are used to dominate the first generic element of naming of ‘the precipitating event’ is an evaluation that variously explains that the act of aggression came suddenly, **without warning, without justification**, yet **with deliberate intent**—lexical features that confirm the aggressive nature of the act as shown in the examples quoted and marked in bold (Hodges, 2013, p. 53).

1. Vessels . . . have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom: **without warning** . . . (Wilson 1917).
2. . . . the United States of America was **suddenly and deliberately** attacked . . . (Roosevelt 1941)

Again, in the second generic element of ‘implication of and response to the precipitating event’, the American wars were positioned as defensive in nature through the heavy use of the lexeme ‘defence’, as seen in the examples quoted below.

3. . . . **defense** of peace in southeast Asia. (Johnson 1964a)
4. . . . in **defense** of their fellow citizens, in defense of democracy (Bush 1989).

The same is also true for the generic element of ‘identifying Us versus Them’ which was dominant with binary lexemes to characterise Us versus Them in the presidential war narrative as seen in the examples below.

Us

Free, civilized, democratic nation
Stand for peace, freedom, democracy, good of all
Defenders of universal values

Them

Autocratic nation ruled by dictator/tyrant
Stand for own selfish interests and ambitions
Aggressors that threaten universal values

In another study done by Hodges (2011), a body of speeches about the ‘war on terror’ delivered by George W. Bush over nearly seven years was analysed. This study aimed to identify the constituent generic elements that made up the presidential war narrative and to indicate how they unfolded to form a coherent text. The central point to be noted in Hodges’ (2011) analysis is that the constituent components of a narrative, including war narrative, rely on an overarching plot (communicative purpose of the genre) to arrange and structure them. The structuring of the war narrative around a given communicative purpose works to the particulars of the events to form a coherent whole to achieve the communicative purpose. As outlined in the list that follows, the narrative consisted of six main generic components:

1. Precipitating Event: Reference to 9/11, the precipitating event that began the ‘war on terror’
2. America’s Response: Discussion of America’s response to terrorism in general terms, often mentioning that the fight is waged with many tools in many places
3. Battle of Afghanistan: Discussion of the first battle of the ‘war on terror’ in Afghanistan
4. Numerous Fronts: Naming of several ‘fronts’ to detail the global and ongoing nature of the war waged across the world
5. Battle of Iraq: Discussion of the front in Iraq
6. Challenges and Commitment: Discussion of the challenges faced in the ‘war on terror’ and America’s commitment to continue amidst adversity (Hodges, 2011, pp. 42-43).

In his study, Reyes (2011) inquired the use of the discursive structures and strategies in speeches delivered by George W. Bush and Barack Obama to establish their justifications of military presence in the ‘War on Terror’. Those presidents delivered their speeches in two different armed conflicts, Iraq (2007) and Afghanistan (2009). Reyes (2011) adopted an interdisciplinary framework located theoretically in Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics. This study centres on a crucial use of language in society: the process of legitimization. This article focused on specific linguistic ways in which language is used as a means of control. Reyes’ (2011) study concluded that these discursive strategies of legitimisation can be used individually or in combination with others to justify war on terror. The study came up with a group of discursive strategies employed by presidents to legitimise their actions. These included ‘legitimization through emotions, legitimization through a hypothetical future, legitimization through rationality: heeded, thoughtful and

evaluated decisions, legitimization through voices of expertise and legitimization through altruism' (Reyes, 2011, pp. 788-801).

Besides exploring the variant linguistic ways and paths (strategies) by which legitimisation took place, Reyes' (2011) study went further to explore how strategies of legitimisation were linguistically established and shaped. In the first strategy of 'legitimization through the emotion of fear' from the enemy, characteristic types of transitivity processes were constructed in an intentional way to depict the savage and monstrous nature and behaviour of the enemy. The major types of verbs used by the president in the depiction of the enemy are Mental ('believe'), Verbal ('claim') and Material ('murder and kill'). In another sense, the depiction of the enemy was established on what the enemy senses, thinks or does along with the grammatical structure of Predicative Strategies that were used to demonise the enemy as shown in the quoted examples below (Reyes, 2011, p. 791-792).

5. See, their vision of life, their ideology can't stand the thought of free societies in their midst. They're totalitarians. You do it this way, or else, is their attitude about government. They don't believe in freedoms, like freedom to worship. I, frankly – well, speaking about religion, these are murderers. They use murder as a tool to achieve their objective. Religious people don't murder. They may claim they're religious, but when you kill an innocent woman, or a child to create a political end, that's not my view of religion. And yet, there are a lot of peaceful, religious people in the Middle East. (Bush, 11 January 2007).
6. ... the Taliban – a ruthless, repressive and radical movement. (Obama, 1 December 2009).
7. ... while engaging in increasingly brazen and devastating attacks of terrorism against the Pakistani people. (Obama, 1 December 2009).

The second strategy of 'legitimization through a hypothetical future' was linguistically shaped mainly by 'the use of the conditional structures of the type: '(protasis) If + past → (apodosis) would + Infinitive without to', that is 'If we were to fail in Iraq, the enemy would follow us here to America' (Bush, 11 January 2007)' (Reyes, 2011, p. 794). By the use of this specific grammatical structure, speakers drew a hypothetically fearful scenario with the use of markers of modality (would and could) in case of America fails to militarily act against enemies as shown the quoted example below (Reyes, 2011, p. 795).

8. And this danger will only grow if the region slides backwards, and Al-Qaeda can operate with impunity. (Obama, 1 December 2009).

The same is also true with the strategy of ‘legitimization through voices of expertise’ which was linguistically constructed in the discourse with quotation marks and verbs referring to verbal processes like ‘say’, ‘announce’, ‘report’, etc as shown the quoted example below (Reyes, 2011, p. 800).

9. The Prime Minister came and said, look, I understand we’ve got to do something about this violence, and here is what I suggest we do. Our commanders looked at it, helped fine-tune it so it would work. (Bush, 11 January 2007).

Thus, the study concluded that George W. Bush and Barack Obama appear to employ the same five strategies of legitimisation described above to legitimise and initiate their political ends. In other words, Reyes (2011) believed that there is a common ground on which American presidents construct their discourses.

In the survey of the studies of the rhetorical moves of the PWR above, it appears that American presidents, at the onset of any military action, construct their war narrative based on the generic precedents of the PWR structure that is originally shaped given the constitutional origins of the American presidency. Hence, in the above reviewed studies of Campbell and Jamieson (2008), Hodges (2011, 2013) and Reyes (2011), the historical generic schema is considered a source from which each American president draws narratives and arguments to frame his story by mapping the narrated events into that conventional schema. Besides following the historical generic schema derived from earlier generic precedents as in Campbell and Jamieson (2008) and Reyes (2011), the analysis of the obligatory rhetorical moves of the APWAs of the current study are more agreeable with Hodges (2011, 2013) in considering these moves as socio-cognitive discourse structures invoked as functional responses to exigencies in certain kinds of situation like the situation war. The current study is more explicit than the previous studies (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008; Reyes, 2011) in focusing on the socio-cognitive dimension of the text production and comprehension (Hodges, 2011, 2013). That is, the nature of discourse structure, in genre theory, is essentially socio-cognitive where the individual variation in employing discourse

structure is underplayed and disciplinary community employment is given foremost priority (Bhatia, 1993).

2.14.2 Studies Focusing on the Analysis of Aristotle's Types of Rhetoric

Gregory (2020) explored Trump's discourse online during the 2020 presidential election. In other words, this study focused on how digital rhetoric invested by Trump operates on social platforms, such as Twitter, to reach and influence a community effectively. Adopting Aristotle's classical rhetoric, the analysis showed that Trump employed different rhetorical tactics in his tweets 'in order to propel himself further into the race to be re-elected and accordingly demonstrated why he is the best candidate to lead the United States for a second term (Gregory, 2020, p. 2). Thus, epideictic speech has been used by Trump to blame non-supporters or opponents and to justify that he is innocent while opponents are the ones at fault. Trump employed this type of rhetoric in his tweets; especially when he was attacked by outside groups, individuals, or when he was regarded the responsible person for a wrongful action. Accordingly, when inquiring Trump's tweets, it is often noted that epideictic rhetoric was employed to breach political decorum to rally public support.

Again, by pairing epideictic and deliberative types of speech, Trump succeeded in stirring the emotion that 'he is the outsider who is bravely entering the political landscape to fight for the American people to re-establish the country's spirit, tradition', and according to 'Make America Great Again' (Gregory, 2020, p. 50). Epideictic and deliberative types of rhetoric were effectively merged by Trump in his tweets. Epideictic rhetoric was used to blame others when his name and social standing were attacked, and deliberative type of rhetoric was employed to convince audiences that he is the best one fit for American presidency to achieve their dreams.

In his study, Bostdorff (2011) investigated the connection between the epideictic type of discourse and war through analysing George W. Bush's August 20, 2005 address at the Naval Air Station near San Diego, ostensibly to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Allied victory over Japan. Informed by Aristotle's modes of

rhetoric, Bostdorff's (2011) study set out to explore the way President Bush kept relying on epideictic strategies and rhetorical forms in order to recruit support for Iraq war and to oppose criticisms once the war was underway. As such, Bostdorff (2011) arrived at the conclusion that George W. Bush's speech delivered on August 20, 2005, utilised the devices of praising and blaming to establish the war case against Iraq. In other words, Bostdorff (2011) proved that Bush typically interwove epideictic appeals with collective memories of World War II to promote the Iraq war and to shed light on the inextricable intertwining of epideictic rhetoric and war. This is clearly shown in the quoted example below (Bostdorff, 2011, p. 307).

10. With Japan's surrender, the last of our enemies in World War II was defeated, and a World War that began for America in the Pacific came to an end in the Pacific. As we mark this anniversary, we are again a nation at war. Once again, war came to our shores with a surprise attack that killed thousands in cold blood. Once again, we face determined enemies who follow a ruthless ideology that despises everything America stands for. Once again, America and our allies are waging a global campaign with forces deployed on virtually every continent. And once again, we will not rest until victory is America's and our freedom is secure. (2005f, p. 1331)

Another study, conducted by Ramos (2010), carried out a rhetorical analysis of speeches made by the US presidents and world leaders: English Prime Minister Winston Churchill and American Presidents Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman during World War II. This study adopted Jackson's (2004) content analysis which examined a selection of pre-and post-Cold War presidential speeches. In her study, Jackson (2004) indicated that rhetoric was sorted according to those discourses containing elements of epideictic, deliberative, and forensic components. After a deep analysis of the data under study, Ramos (2010) concluded that all three forms of rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative and forensic) have been present in the selected speeches by Churchill, Roosevelt and Truman. However, Ramos (2010) also concluded that each speech has been dominantly prevailed by one of the three types of rhetoric. For example, Churchill's study entitled 'This Was Their Finest Hour' has been mostly dominated by the forensic characteristics of discourse as the entire purpose has been to move and urge the audiences to action. Additionally, parts of his speech contained characteristics representative of the epideictic rhetoric since he was dealing with the situation as a report and, thus, intends to persuade the United States to get engaged as shown in the quoted example below (Ramos, 2010, p. 49).

11. But as it is, I am happy to inform the House that our fighter strength is stronger at the present time relatively to the Germans, who have suffered terrible losses, than it has ever been; and consequently we believe ourselves possessed of the capacity to continue the war in the air under better conditions than we have ever experienced before. I look forward confidently to the exploits of our fighter pilots—these splendid men, this brilliant youth—who will have the glory of saving their native land, their island home, and all they love, from the most deadly of all attacks (Churchill, 1940).

Hubanks (2009) examined President George W. Bush's post-9/11 discourse and the rhetorical genre that defines it. The study specifically seeks to better understand the concept of genre as it connects to the Aristotelian traditions of rhetoric. In investigating Bush's rhetoric, the author observed that Bush's presidential speeches of war on terror tended to have generic hybridisation as those noted in previous studies. In particular, Bush's war speech has been oriented to combine contradictory generic elements in simultaneity. George W. Bush's speeches have frequently employed epideictic type of rhetoric as a means toward deliberative ends, such as advocacy, rather than as a tenet for praise or blame purposes. As such, Bush's discourse seemed to utilise both epideictic and deliberative characteristics. Hubanks (2009, p. 224) characterised Bush's speech 'as a two-pronged effort to both impart subtle arguments for future action and to provide understanding in a troubling situation'. The study concluded that the different generic tendencies appearing in a single discourse can contribute to more sophisticated and helpful understandings of modern rhetorical hybrids like Bush's post-9/11 speeches.

In Jackson's (2004b) study, three US presidential speeches delivered by Woodrow Wilson on April 1917, George H. W. Bush on January 16, 1991 and George W. Bush on September 20, 2001, were examined. The study adopted a combination of Windt's (1992) historical perspective of the rhetoric and Dow's (1989) framework to the three selected speeches. The analysis aimed to establish if these speeches contained the epideictic, deliberative and forensic elements. Jackson's (2004b) analysis showed that for any discourse to be effective, a combination of these three types of rhetoric should be present in international crisis rhetorical acts. The study concluded that epideictic rhetoric has been one of the main characteristics used in President Bush's speech as Bush attempted to explain and answer issues related to where the September 11, 2001 attacks on New York City came from and who the attackers were as shown in the quoted examples below (Jackson, 2004b, p. 54-55).

12. “who attacked our country?” (par. 12), “why do they hate us?” (par. 23), “how will we fight and win this war?” (par. 27), and “what is expected of us?” (par. 35).
13. “Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world — and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere” (par. 13).

The study also concluded that George W. Bush's speech to Congress and the nation on September 20, 2001 contained forensic devices. Bush has not only presented an explanation of the events, but he has also succeeded in convincing the nation that the terrorists needed to be persecuted and brought to justice. Deliberative type of style has also been used in George W. Bush's address to Congress and the nation on September 20, 2001 to persuade the public of the expediency of the course of the military action taken (Jackson, 2004b).

Murphy (2003) explored which type of rhetoric: epideictic, deliberative or forensic has been used to craft President George W. Bush's speech delivered on January 20, 2001. Informed by Aristotelian traditions of rhetoric, the study described Bush's rhetoric as being purely epideictic as it was evidenced when ‘President Bush spoke about the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the Afghan war in almost purely epideictic terms’ (Murphy, 2003, p. 610). Bush's speech has been dominantly governed by epideictic characteristics of rhetoric focusing on strategies that unify the community and booster its ideals and virtues as shown in the quoted example below (Murphy, 2003, p. 611).

14. “We are here in the middle hour of our grief. So many have suffered so great a loss, and today we express our nation's sorrow”

Murphy (2003) argued that Bush made American people passive observers of events rather than judging them actively. Bush did not ask the nation to do or not to do. Depending on the situation, presidential preference and communal need, President Bush has spoken almost solely through the medium of epideictic rhetoric when it comes to his war on terror.

Dow (1989) analysed three speeches delivered by Ronald Reagan. They included an address in September of 1983 following the Soviet attack on a Korean

airliner, an address on the events in Lebanon and Grenada in October of 1983 and an address following the US airstrike on Libya in April of 1986. Informed by Windt's (1987) and Cherwitz and Zagacki's (1986), the study investigated two types of crisis rhetoric: epideictic crisis rhetoric which established for communal understanding and deliberative crisis rhetoric which served policy approval as shown in the quoted example below (Dow, 1989, p. 297-298), cited from Reagan's speech on the Korean Airliner incident.

15. Let me state as plainly as I can: There was absolutely no justification, either legal or moral, for what the Soviets did.

The second type of rhetoric that the study investigated is deliberative rhetoric which focuses on 'establishing the expediency or the harmfulness of a proposed course of action'. Instead of arguing 'this is the most expedient course to take', however, Reagan essentially argued 'this was the most expedient course to have taken'. Dow (1989) concluded that crisis rhetoric was not to be established as a homogeneous type of discourse; rather, it should be viewed in terms of the different exigencies it was established to respond to and the different functions it performed. In other words, Dow's (1989) analysis suggested that differing exigencies generate different types of crisis discourse.

As shown in the survey of studies above, the literature and studies of presidential crisis rhetoric such as war rhetoric delivered by the US and world leaders during international crises are still limited and attract the concern of researchers (Reyes, 2011). Previous studies of crisis rhetoric, surveyed above, have indicated some evidence of how presidential crisis speeches, in general, and war speeches, in particular, form a genre that results from rhetorical acts. However, these studies have provided limited understanding on why some speeches contained one type of rhetoric (Murphy, 2003; Bostdorff, 2011; Gregory, 2020) or hybridisation of two or three types of Aristotle's rhetoric (Dow, 1989; Jackson, 2004; Hubanks, 2009; Ramos, 2010) which is the focus of the present study. Although previous literature on presidential crisis/war rhetoric has contributed to illuminating some insight on the relation between the mode of rhetoric used and the communicative purpose of the text, there are still

inconsistencies over their results. In other words, previous studies are easily detected to have results that were interpreted without caution owing to the limited number of presidential speeches analysed or the limited number of presidents taken; that is, one speech as in Murphy (2003), Bostdorff, (2011), Gregory (2020), three speeches as in Jackson (2004b), or one president as in Dow (1989) and Hubanks (2009). As such, because of these limitations, researchers would have to be cautious in generalising their results as the approach adopted is reductionist and the studies failed to yield a multidimensional description on when and how modes of rhetoric are employed. A rare exception for this is Ramos (2010) which is similar, in this aspect, to my study but different from it in the way of approaching Aristotle's types of rhetoric in speeches. To get a fuller understanding of Aristotle's types of rhetoric and to pass over these shortcomings, the present study incorporated multiple presidential addresses for six different American presidents for the period 1986-2018. In contrast to the previous literature, identifying the types of the Aristotle's rhetoric, their communicative functions and how they respond to rhetorical acts will be explored in terms of their response to the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the generic structure of the APWAs. This sort of analysis provides satisfactory answers to questions of why some speeches contained one type or hybridisation of two or three types of Aristotle's rhetoric in each text – a gap that is rarely addressed in earlier research. Thus, the current study addresses the issue that the predominant use of either epideictic, deliberative or forensic, or two or all three of them depends on the exigencies or rhetorical moves that call forth the suited type of rhetoric. These rhetorical moves are represented by the events in their social context and the needs of the audiences.

2.14.3 Studies Focusing on the Analysis of Speech Acts

Al-Ebadi et al. (2020) inquired speech acts and their constructive roles in Trump's argumentative speech delivered in Saudi Arabia 2017 to satisfy his argumentative objectives. In other words, President Trump's speech was deconstructed into three argumentative stages in terms of the pragma-dialectic approach of argumentation. These stages included confrontation stage, argumentative

stage and concluding stage. Subsequently, speech act theory (Searle, 1969; Vanderveken, 1989 and Harnish, 1994) has been adopted to analyse the types of illocutionary speech acts performed to achieve the objectives of the argumentative stage. The study showed that speech acts of assertion, pledge and promise have been performed in the confrontation stage in an attempt to present standpoints. While one category of speech acts (assertives) used in the argumentation stage to advance the standpoints presented in the confrontation stage. In the concluding stage, assertion and question categories of speech acts were performed to fulfil the constructive roles of establishing results.

In another study conducted by Alemi et al. (2018), the analysis focused on the use of persuasive devices by President Obama in his two speeches delivered on 7/Aug/2014 and 10/Sep/2014 regarding ISIS. These persuasive devices involved the use of illocutionary speech acts informed by Searle's typology theory (1978) and pronoun analysis. The results of the study showed that assertives have been the most frequent category of speech acts performed in the two speeches. Assertive speech acts have been used dominantly in both speeches to justify the airstrikes launched by the US army on ISIS's zones in Iraq. Speech acts of directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives have also been used but with few numbers of frequencies.

In Alattar's (2018) study, the aim was to investigate the effect of specific types of illocutionary speech acts on audiences in presidential speeches delivered by American politicians was inquired. The study used a taxonomy of communicative acts based on Austin's linguistic principle of the illocutionary acts and developed by Bach and Harnish (1979). The results of the analysis showed that socio-political events witnessed by the country significantly influence the selection of the speech act types performed by the American presidents resulting in presidential speeches with different motives. The study demonstrated that because of the unfortunate tragedy of the explosion of the Space Shuttle Challenger, the deliverance of Reagan's speech has been dominant with expressive speech acts which reflect sentiments about specific events or people. They stood for 50% resulting in a speech which was typically emotion-based. Assertive speech acts have been prevalent in Clinton's speech delivered in the wake of his inappropriate relationship with Monica Lewinsky to move the audience to

believe and support his change where they represented 38.9% of the speech acts. Bush's speech has witnessed the excessive use of informative speech acts. They stood at 64.4% of all speech acts produced confirming that it tended to reflect an informational goal to give every single detail of why the US was going to war with Iraq. Finally, the speech act category of advisories in Obama's speech has been clear with a frequency rate at 48.05%, as the main goal of his speech has been motivational to get the students to take some action and work hard for their future (Alattar, 2018).

Ilic and Radulovic (2015) carried out a study to investigate commissive and expressive illocutionary acts in Serbian, American and British political speeches that addressed the issue of economic standard of living. The study adopted the main tenets of speech act theory put forward by its founders, John L. Austin (1962) and John R. Searle (1969, 1979, 2001) in the analysis of the selected political discourses. This study identified commissive illocutionary acts as indicators of politicians' explicit commitment to a chosen course of action. It also identified expressive illocutionary acts as indicators of politicians' explicit attitudes to their own or other politicians' chosen practices. The results explained the hypothesis that a specific use/lack of commissives and expressives can be the politician's strategy for adding credibility to their speeches. The analysis of the commissive and expressive illocutionary acts employed by the American, British and Serbian politicians showed similar tendencies. The most frequent illocutionary speech acts in all three subcorpora have been devices for commissive illocutionary acts and devices for expressing a personal stance.

Łazuka (2006) investigated the pragmatic interpretation of utterances or, in particular, the illocutionary intention in George W. Bush's speeches and statements. The number of speeches analysed was some 44 speeches and statements during George W. Bush's term. The study has been informed by Bach and Harnish's (1979) framework, i.e. the intention and inference approach, according to which communicative acts were classified in terms of the kind of attitude each act expresses. The key point in this type of analysis is informed by Bach and Harnish's (1979, p. xvii) argument that 'linguistic communication essentially involves the speaker's having a special sort of intention (an intention that the hearer make a certain sort of inference) and the hearer's actually making that inference' (1979: xvii). Thus, each utterance was

classified as a particular subtype of the four broad types of communicative illocutionary acts. The results showed that the speaker has selected his speech acts in a consistent manner of his communicative intention. Thus, Łazuka's (2006) study concluded that by selecting strategic speech acts to build his discourse, in particular, the speaker may influence some 'self-projected' outcomes in the future. The study also concluded that the speaker's selection of the communicative intentions of his discourse has been conscious to avoid any possible opposition to the legitimacy of the authorities' decisions. George W. Bush, in his presidential speeches, deliberately aim to establish 'rapport with both the audience and Iraqi people, while simultaneously asserting positive American self-perception' (Łazuka, 2006, p.327-328). Through the thoughtful selection of illocutionary speech acts, *We* - the authorities were presented positively and the *Other* - the enemy negatively.

While there is no doubt that previous literature has presented very useful insight regarding the frequency and distribution of speech acts, studies fell short of crediting their results. One of the reasons that may have contributed to this shortcoming is the limitation related to the small number of data analysed which were confined to one presidential address (Al-Ebadi et al., 2020) or two presidential speeches (Alemi et al., 2018). Although the analysis of the illocutionary speech acts in multiple presidential speeches has been widely conducted (Ilic and Radulovic, 2015; Al-Ebadi et al., 2020), those studies that address the frequency and distribution of speech acts in American war addresses are still scant and attract the researchers' concern (Ilic and Radulovic, 2015; Alattar, 2018). In spite of the importance of the results of the above surveyed studies (Ilic and Radulovic, 2015; Alattar, 2018; Alemi et al., 2018; Al-Ebadi et al., 2020), these studies have failed to provide insightful understanding on why some speech acts have occurred frequently and how they are related to the themes or semantic units of the text. This important aspect, which is tackled in the current study, is almost absent in the previous studies except for Łazuka's (2006) seminal study. However, Łazuka's (2006), though similar in the approach of analysis and the way of viewing illocutionary speech acts, did not deal with the text themes as socio-cognitive discourse structures interacting with regular conventional types of speech acts to achieve their communicative function.

Subsequently, all the studies of illocutionary speech acts mentioned above have focused on the analysis of the frequency and distribution of speech acts in the text as a whole in terms of the communicative purpose of the speaker only. Admittedly, these studies, except Łazuka (2006), failed in explaining why given categories of illocutionary speech acts were distributed in the text the way they are. However, the present study addresses this issue and explains how the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move calls forth the type of illocutionary speech acts needed to achieve its communicative function.

2.14.4 Studies Focusing on the Analysis of the Lexico-Grammatical Features

Although section 2.13.1 has surveyed some studies on the analysis of lexico-grammatical features used within rhetorical moves to achieve their functions, this section surveys a few other analyses of the lexico-grammatical features used in presidential discourse in general.

Zghayyir (2016) explored the persuasive discourse of the former leaders of al-Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, and Liberation Tiger Tamil Eelam, Velupillai Prabhakaran which motivates their followers to willingly commit terrorist works. The study aimed to examine macro- and micro- semantic structures of bin Laden and Prabhakaran's selected speeches and the ideological representations. Ten addresses were selected in terms of the different periods of time when the terrorist attacks were at the climax in Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan and many other Muslim nations and regions as well as in Sri Lanka. The researcher adopted van Dijk's (1980; 1998) theories of Semantic Macrostructures and Ideological Square respectively along with Wodak's (2001; 2009) Discourse-Historical approach. These theories focus on three levels of analysis: linguistic, ideological, and intertextual.

At the micro level of analysis, both speakers used syntactic structures and lexical structures that are consistent with the two concluded overall themes which stand for the Super Semantic Macrostructures. Some salient syntactic structures have

been employed involving actors' role, tense use, passive and active forms and negation. As for the actors' role, the study revealed that bin Laden relied on the inclusive pronoun *We* when approaching the declaration of jihad. Prabhakaran employed the inclusive *We* to denote his national identity as a leader of the Tamils' identity. The use of tense is another syntactic structure that characterised bin Laden's and Prabhakaran's speeches. Bin Laden's selected speeches were characterised by the frequent use of the present perfect. The present perfect was aimed to explain the events and to highlight that 'the destructive occupation of the Islamic civilian society' has already started and must be repulsed. In the same vein, Prabhakaran's use of the present perfect was aimed to describe 'the actions of humiliation and imprisonment of the representatives of Tamils on the part of the international community which ridicule the Tamils' aim of independence' (Zghayyir, 2016, p. 307-308).

The lexical structures used by bin Laden and Prabhakaran are also consistent with the overall themes which stand for the Super Semantic Macrostructures. This is clearly demonstrated by the use of negative and positive lexicons, war and military lexicons which in turn can urge their followers to commit terrorist works. Therefore, the use of the negative and positive lexicons assisted in achieving the ideological representations framed by both speakers to positively view the in-group as victims and defenders and to negatively view the out-group as assailants and oppressors.

In another study, informed by work within critical discourse analysis and SFL, Dunmire (2007), examined the discursive and linguistic structures used by George W. Bush in his two Iraq pre-war speeches to the American public: October 7, 2002 and March 17, 2003. Dunmire's (2007) study investigated how these discursive and linguistic means govern the way the future can be imagined and realised. The central premise of this analysis was that discourse is the vehicle by which social actors exert power and control. At the level of linguistic analysis, nominalisation was one of the salient syntactic properties employed effectively and successfully by Bush to objectify realities in terms of processes and actions into extant entities. Nominalisation is a process through which verbs representing realities in terms of processes and actions are transformed as nouns representing realities in terms of objects and entities

(Dunmire, 2007). In the following examples are quoted from Dunmire (2007, p. 25-26).

16. Now, shadowy networks of individuals **can bring** great chaos and suffering to our shores for less than it costs to purchase a single tank. Terrorists **are organized to penetrate** open societies and **to turn** the power of modern technologies against us.
17. To **defeat this threat**, we **must make use** of every tool in our arsenal...

The nominalization resulted from the progression and transformation of the verbal forms, given in bold line, into a nominal object 'threat' which fulfilled the theme in the sentences of the examples above. In the same vein, Dunmire (2007, p. 26) wrote that 'with threat in the thematic position, the future actions projected through the verbal forms become presupposed as the text moves away from making assertions about future Iraqi action and toward assertions of what the U.S. should do in light of this threat'. As such, through nominalisation, Bush succeeded in representing threat as an objectified entity existing at the present time. Again, in his Cincinnati speech of October 7, 2003, Bush presented two contrastive visions of the future concerning war with Iraq. The first was a future privileged by the U.S. engagement in decisive military action against Iraq which secures a future of peace and democracy. The second was an oppositional future characterised as fear and terror as a result of inaction. As such, this oppositional future of fear and waiting was established 'through mental and verbal process clauses ... which encode that future within a modality of "hope", "belief", "wonder", "worry", and "argument" (Dunmire, 2007, p. 35). Moreover, these statements were marked with modal auxiliaries that encode this information as potential and possible. However, the privileged future of peace and democracy was articulated through the absolute modality of 'is' and 'will be' which derives from historical knowledge reasonable evidence and thought. These two competing visions of the future were clearly indicated in the examples quoted below where the first example depicted the oppositional future and the second depicted the privileged future (Dunmire, 2007, p. 35).

18. Some have argued that confronting the threat from Iraq could detract from the war against terror. To the contrary, confronting the threat posed by Iraqi is crucial to winning the war on terror.

19. Some people believe that we can address this danger by simply resuming the old approach to inspections and by applying diplomatic and economic pressure. Yet this is precisely what the world has tried to do since 1991.

As for Hummadi (2009), the study investigated how the strategy of fear was used by George W. Bush in his presidential speeches given between September 2002 and March 2003 to legitimise the American war on Iraq in 2003. This study adopted work within critical discourse analysis. Specifically, the study adopted Fairclough's argument from 'is' to 'must' or from 'descriptions of world or world change to prescription of policy'. The analysis was also informed by Aristotle's Rhetoric and its three divisions (epideictic, deliberative and forensic). The study examined the discursive and linguistic means underlying the appeals of fear that took great influence to persuade audience of the necessity and obligation of the American military action in Iraq as the last option to stop 'the growing threats and dangers' to America. These threats and dangers were reflected by the collocation of the Iraqi policy, alleged Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and alleged Iraq's connection to terrorist groups. At the level of linguistic features, Bush's speeches were characterised by the frequent use of the present perfect rather than the simple past in a way to perform forensic rhetoric. By the common use of this specific tense, Bush introduced topics of discourse as new and unfamiliar to audience in an attempt to evoke their feelings of fear from Iraq's ability and intention of doing what has already done in case America fails to respond immediately. To continue, modality played a crucial role in performing the political goals of the political actors. Bush frequently employed modality ('must', 'should', 'will', and 'could') to confirm the certainty, reality and futurity of the American military action against Iraq and then to enhance the necessity of the intervention as the last option to stop living in a 'world of fear' represented by Iraq's alleged possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Iraq's alleged connection to 'terrorist groups'.

Except for Zghayyir (2016), lexico-grammatical features of the previous studies were analysed in terms of the communicative purpose of the text as a whole, not as linguistic realizations consistent with of the communicative functions of the different rhetorical moves which is the focus of the current study.

2.15 The Present Study

The current study extends genre theory in general and Bhatia's (1993) model on genre analysis in particular into a new setting of investigation, other than academic and professional genres for which genre theory has been established and widely applied. The review of the studies above indicates that, besides moves analysis and lexico-grammatical features, a few studies have attempted to analyse the types of Aristotle's rhetoric and the illocutionary speech acts employed to serve the functions of these rhetorical moves. Previous studies focused on the analysis of Aristotle's types of rhetoric and the types of illocutionary speech acts used in the texts. They have been carried out to uncover their frequencies and distribution across the whole text in terms of the speaker's communicative purpose only. However, the present study examines the types of rhetoric, speech acts and the lexico-grammatical features in terms of their appearance in the rhetorical exigencies represented here by the obligatory rhetorical moves and the needs of audiences. In other words, the present study focuses on analysing the obligatory rhetorical moves of the APWAs and the regular rhetorical and linguistic structures used to accomplish the local communicative functions of these moves. These rhetorical moves, in turn, are aimed to achieve the global communicative purpose of these addresses as a genre. By this, the study contributes theoretically into suggesting an extended form of Bhatia's (1993) model on genre analysis that can be used to investigate the discourse structure of different genres in an indicative manner to serve the local and global goals of the speaker. Put differently, the generic structure of the PWAs of the current study is analysed not only in terms of the communicative purpose of the genre but also in terms of the exigency of the events and the needs of the audiences reflected in the cognitive-move structures (rhetorical moves).

What lends the present study a different position from earlier literature is the variety of the PWAs analysed in this study. This variety is absent in most of the previous studies that conducted an inquiry of presidential addresses in general. The presidential addresses of the present study are comprehensive and representative in terms of the multiplicity of these addresses, the different presidents delivering them, the different occasions and circumstances they are delivered and the different audiences for whom these speeches are directed.

2.15.1 A Multidisciplinary Approach of Data Analysis

Language, seen as a social construct, does not only demonstrate reality but constructs it. In another sense, language develops jointly constructed understandings of the world that establish the basis for shared assumptions about that reality. Language is oriented to achieve this through transforming events around and within people into mental pictures or acts (Halliday, 1985). These are the strengths of the linguistic system that are significantly inherited and shared by the communication theories adopted in the analysis of the data in this study. Because language is taken as a system of meanings, then all the rhetorical and linguistic forms including rhetorical moves, Aristotle's types of rhetoric and speech acts are addressed to realise these meanings, thus, answering the questions of WHAT meanings are there and HOW meanings are formed (Halliday, 1985). Thus, all these disciplinary perspectives concern themselves with language-in-use and meaning-making beyond formal syntax.

Furthermore, genre analysis is considered a specific form of discourse analysis that is oriented to explore any element of recurrent language use that is relevant to the accomplishment of the communicative purpose of the genre (Hyland, 2012). Swales (1990, p. 58) also views genre as 'a class of communicative events, characterized both by their communicative purposes and patterns of structure, style, content and intended audience'. Similar to these notions is Campbell and Jamieson's (1990) argument that genre represents a fusion of different structures to achieve the intended communicative purpose. This understanding causes the researcher to focus on, besides the usual investigation of the rhetorical moves and their lexico-grammatical features, other rhetorical and linguistic structures (types of rhetoric and speech acts) contributing to the attainment of the communicative purpose of the genre. As for the nexus between genre analysis and rhetoric, they display a set of commonalities in that both take into account the purpose, audience, stance and design of the given rhetorical situation. Thus, rhetorical analysis investigates not only what everything means in the content, but also why the author writes it the way it is, who the author is (discourse community), how content is organised (structure) and what communicative purpose is intended beyond this content, style and structure (Browning, 2018). All these are strengths shared by genre analysis. The same is also true for the nexus between genre theory and

speech acts theory. Speech act theory is originally described as ‘a genre theory’ (Hancher, 1981, p. 263). Speech acts analysis converges with genre analysis in that speech acts analysis is ‘primarily concerned with contextualised language use and with identifying recurrent patterns’ (Ilie, 2018, p. 92) and this tendency is also attributable to genre analysis.

Besides, genre theory, Aristotle’s modes of rhetoric and speech act theory display differences in analytical focus. However, their multidisciplinary orientations complement each other in various ways. All of genre analysis, rhetoric and pragmatics are aimed to focus on ‘the relationship between human action, situational context and underlying values’ (Ilie, 2018, p. 92). Bringing three disciplines into one eclectic analytical framework has the potential of providing a multi-aspects rich explanation and interpretation for the complex phenomenon in question. This notion is strongly supported by Ilie (2018, p. 92) who evaluates the multi-disciplines framework as having the potential to account ‘for the complex and many-sided aspects of context-specific language use’. Ilie (2018) narrows down this argument to the potential of applying such an analytical framework to political discourse genre which significantly requires processes of deliberation and rhetorical argumentation. These processes are rooted in the notion of handling and discussing issues from different angles:

An in-depth and systematic examination of political events and politicians’ actions (involving issues related to power struggle, conflict, persuasion, manipulation and deception) needs to integrate, to varying extents, depending on the analytical focus and scope, rhetorical analytical tools (rhetorical appeals, figurative uses of language, valid and fallacious argumentation) and pragma-linguistic approaches (focusing on context-dependent and participant-driven speech acts, pronominal deictic markers, intersubjective and interactive uses of language in genre-specific discourses) (Ilie, 2018, p. 93).

Further, Ilie (2018) adds that although the juxtaposition of disciplinary perspectives may cause tensions, this juxtaposition is creatively beneficial in linking complementary and/or overlapping analytical perspectives. Accordingly, it might be said that this study is different from other forms of genre analysis as it adopts a genre-based analysis of different complementary multidisciplinary perspectives through following a top-down trajectory of data analysis. Thus, it first explores how the

communicative purpose of the genre is achieved through identifying the rhetorical moves which are considered containers of different open-ended rhetorical and linguistic structures. Then, analysis moves to investigate how each rhetorical move realises its communicative function by the use of these micro or lower-level structures.

2.16 Summary

This chapter has introduced the term rhetoric and how it was defined and characterised by rhetors and theorists. It has also highlighted the relation between language and politics and how this relation produces political discourses with multiple ends, including presidential war discourse. Because presidential war discourse is deemed as a specific genre with a specific communicative purpose, this chapter has outlined the beginning and development of the concept of genre and some of its conventional and recent conceptions. It has also surveyed the three approaches of genre analysis which involve RGS, SFL and ESP. This chapter has clarified the meaning of 'genre analysis' and its intended aims of application. After that, this chapter has moved to explain Aristotle's types of rhetoric and how they are utilised to achieve speakers' rhetorical ends. This chapter has also explained speech acts theory and its influence in communicating intended meanings. Finally, this chapter has surveyed previous studies of presidential discourse as a genre and how the present study is theoretically different from the others.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to disclose the research methodology and procedure of the present study. In particular, this chapter highlights the research philosophy, research approach, research strategy, methodological choice, time horizon of data collection and, finally, data collection and data analysis procedures. Additionally, the methodology chapter indicates how the content of war addresses was analysed using the computer programme, NVivo 12. This chapter also provides evidence of the trustworthiness of the study and a summary.

Research methodology is a plan or a procedure followed in writing research, including a group of steps from general assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). Accordingly, the research methodology or design of the present study has been framed and outlined given Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill's (2016) adapted model of 'research onion' shown in Figure 3-1 below, where every step of this procedure has been systematically explained to justify its choice.

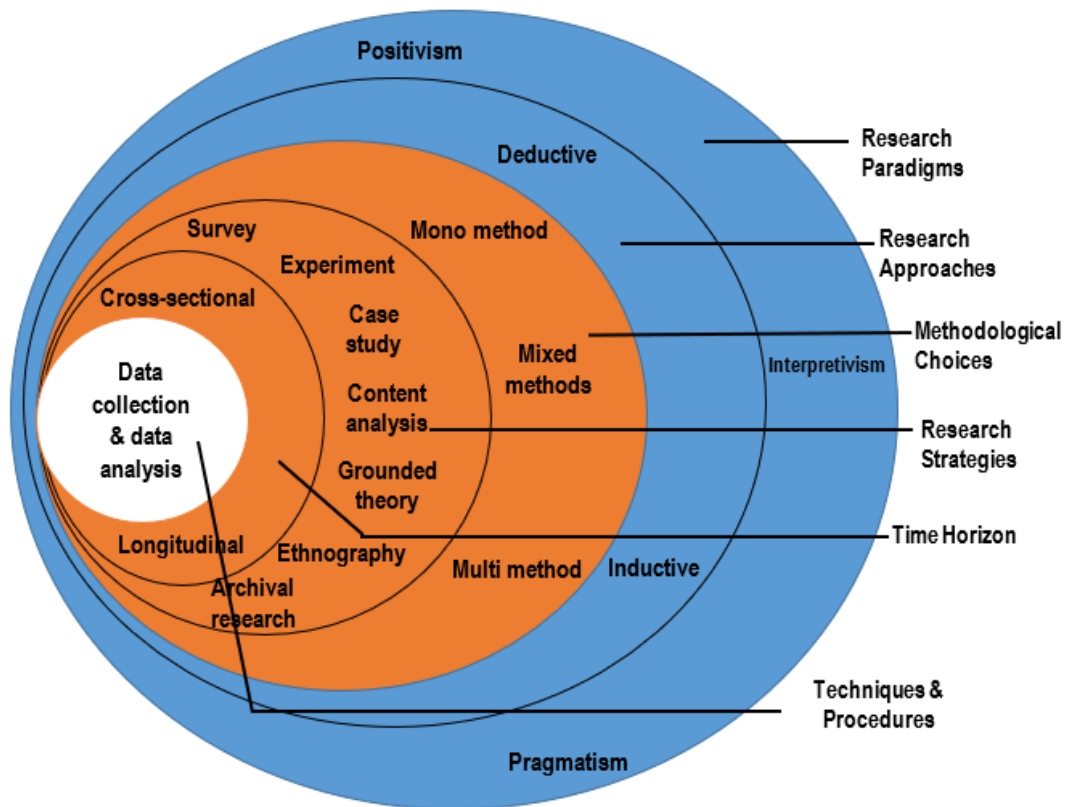


Figure 3-1 Saunders et al.'s (2016) adapted model of 'research onion'

3.2 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are:

1. To identify the obligatory rhetorical moves used to achieve the communicative purpose of the APWAs as a genre.
2. To identify Aristotle's types of rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative or forensic) and how they are employed to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs.
3. To identify the illocutionary speech acts and how they are performed to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs.
4. To identify the salient lexico-grammatical features that are used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs.

3.3 Research Philosophy and Paradigm

PWR, as an area of research, has attracted the interest of many scholars of linguistics, anthropology, psychology and discourse science for a long time (Khany and Hamzelou, 2014). Ontologically, the variety of literature on PWR in different disciplines of knowledge causes this area of research to produce socially constructed multiple realities (Patton, 2014). Thus, it would be illogical to attempt to study this phenomenon by definite generalisable laws which are the focus and concern of positivism (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2019). As such, it was this ontological question that characterised the rhetorical justification of wars as being an existing reality of a relativist (subjective) type. According to this explicit ontological belief, the study adopted the interpretivism paradigm as the logical epistemological assumption among the others (positivism, post-positivism, critical realism, pragmatism). As such, the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the present study guided the research approach, research strategy, methodological choice, time horizon and techniques of data collection and analysis.

Consequently, an interpretive philosophical stance believes that reality is not found, discovered or pre-existing out of our senses, but constructed within the human mind, such that no one true reality applies. Instead, reality is 'relative' according to how individuals experience it at any given time and place (Saunders et al., 2019). The core of an interpretive paradigm is not to find out universal, context-free realities or social phenomena but to contend with understanding and interpreting these realities through looking for the set of complex views rather than limiting meaning into a few categories (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Thus, the purpose is to create new, richer understandings and interpretations of social worlds and contexts in questions (Saunders et al., 2019). In general, interpretivism gives more weight on 'the importance of language, culture and history in the shaping of our interpretations and experiences of organisational and social worlds' (Saunders et al., 2019, p. 149).

Concerning PWR, Hodges (2013, p. 50) states that war rhetoric employed by presidents to justify wars 'effectively constructs a reality rather than simply depicts a pre-existing reality that somehow contains its significance outside the discursive

process that gives it meaning'. This notion was already confirmed in Bruner (1991) by declaring that narrative, including presidential war discourse, is the vehicle by which the shared understandings of reality and its social constructions take place. This philosophical paradigm is aimed to search in the heads of the subjects (presidents in the present study) so that researchers understand and interpret what these presidents are thinking of or the meanings they are making of the context. Likewise, Guba and Lincoln (1994) and Slevitch (2011) assert that, within interpretivism, reality and its interpretation rely on the individual's mental ability and structure. Researchers aim to make sense of the meanings others have about the world (Creswell and Creswell, 2017).

In fact, with its concentration on complexity of views and different interpretations, interpretivism is explicitly subjectivist (Saunders et al., 2019). Thus, researchers working in interpretivism derive their interpretation from their personal, cultural and historical background (Creswell and Creswell, 2017; Saunders et al., 2019). Klenke (2016) also supports this notion that in interpreting the world, researchers rely on types of conceptual lenses constructed by their beliefs, previous and existing knowledge and their assumptions and underpinnings about the world they live in. Accordingly, the researcher, being an Arab and Iraqi, has acquired assumptions about the world and personal and cultural knowledge through working in political discourse analysis for a while. Besides, the researcher has kept permanent contact with the American and world media which play a central role in the construction of public beliefs and attitudes that form what is so called the context (Happer and Philo, 2013).

3.4 Research Approach

The research approach of a study determines the logical reasoning chosen by the researcher. Typically, it includes inductive and deductive approaches. In the inductive approach, researchers start their studies by collecting data on a phenomenon to develop a new theory often in the form of a conceptual framework. The inductive research approach is also named as a bottom-up approach as it represents the process of moving from specific observations to broader generalisations (Saunders et al.,

2019). Conversely, the deductive approach is about testing the theory which already exists. In this type of reasoning, researchers start with a theory, often derived and developed from the academic literature. In the deductive approach, researchers move from the general to the specific (Klenke, 2016; Saunders et al., 2019). In the deductive approach, thus, the research would design the research hypotheses, categories, concepts or models based on the existing theories, and designs the research strategy to test the formulated theory (Klenke, 2016). The purpose of the present research was to retest an existing genre theory in a new setting represented by the presidential war narrative. As a result, an analysis located within the relativist ontology and interpretivist paradigm of the present study relied on the deductive approach.

3.5 Methodological Choice

The methodological choice rigour (qualitative, quantitative or mixed) lies in the consistency between the research questions posited and the underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions. The relativist ontology and interpretivist epistemology of the current study hold an in-depth analysis and interpretation of the PWR of the current study as a social reality viewed by presidents (Yin, 2009). Accordingly, the qualitative methodological choice would be preferable and logical to conduct data collection and analysis. Qualitative methodology is interpretive and heterogenous in that it uses multiple methods of data analysis to test an existing theory and extend it (Vasilachis, 2009). This hallmark of qualitative research is consistent with the interpretive act and heterogeneity of the qualitative techniques of analysis used in the study to test and extend Bhatia's (1993) theory of genre analysis to a different setting other than academic and professional one. This notion was also endorsed by Slevitch (2011) who argues that qualitative research is situated in interpretivism and constructivism, both of which derive from the relativist assumption.

The choice of the qualitative methodology of the present study was also based on the nature of the issue studied and the type of research questions posited. Due to the nature of the study which was oriented to investigate different multifaceted perspectives of the phenomenon, it is quite logical to use the qualitative method in this

study (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). As far as presidential discourse and presidency studies are concerned, Klenke (2016) points out that adopting a qualitative type of analysis in leadership and presidency studies accentuates the importance of language. This was also clearly evidenced in Campbell and Jamieson (2008), Reyes (2011) and Hodges (2011; 2013) who preferred this research method in the analysis of presidential discourse in general and presidential war discourse in particular as the corpus of their studies. In this context, content analysis, among the several types of qualitative research designs, has been adopted to answer the research questions of the present study.

3.6 Research Strategy

The relativist ontology, the interpretivist paradigm and the deductive research approach all contributed to a certain research strategy to be advocated. Research strategy was determined to be either case study, narration, ethnography, grounded theory, content analysis, phenomenology, semiotics or focus group (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Ary, Jacobs, Irvine and Walker, 2018; Saunders et al., 2019). Research strategy establishes the plan of how the research questions are answered. The choice of the research strategy is influenced by a set of factors including the nature of the topic studied, the state of existing knowledge and the types of questions that are asked (Saunders et al., 2019). Since the current study focused on presidential war discourse in terms of the explicit questions of ‘what is said’ and ‘how is said’, this study was positioned to be a document or content analysis study (Leedy and Ormrod, 2016; Ary et al., 2018). Similarly, since this study aimed at providing a detailed, rich and systematic examination of the content of the APWAs to identify themes and other types of typical patterns, document or content analysis as a research strategy was best suited and logical to reflect the study (Leedy and Ormrod, 2016). Document analysis as a research strategy was deemed appropriate and logical for answering the research questions, as document or content analysis involves an emphasis on planning at the very early stages of the project (Leedy and Ormrod, 2016; Ary et al., 2018). The same was also true for the present study whereby the researcher defined the research

questions and then reviewed the literature, designed the study, collected the data and identified the method of analysis early in the process.

Although content analysis has originally been used with quantitative analytical objectives, however, it has recently been employed by researchers with qualitative objectives and has been conceptualised as ‘qualitative content analysis’ (Dörnyei, 2007). Recently, qualitative content analysis is used to investigate written or transcribed forms of human communication to systematically identify specified characteristics of these materials such as frequencies of the most frequently used themes and keywords (Klenke, 2016; Leedy and Ormrod, 2016; Ary et al., 2018).

In the present study, qualitative content analysis using the software programme NVivo 12 involved systematic reading or observation of texts which are given labels (moves and rhetorical structures) to show the existence of important and meaningful patterns of content. Qualitative content analysis was used ‘to characterize the collection of generic qualitative analytical moves that are applied to establish patterns in the data’ (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 245). An example of this type of analysis is investigating the speeches of country presidents to identify recurring hidden themes and patterns in their perspectives towards crucial issues (Riazi, 2016; Ary et al., 2018). In relation, the present study, drawing upon the directed approach of deductive content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005), has used predetermined categories existing in the literature put forward by Hodges (2013) and Campbell and Jamieson (2008). In other words, the predetermined categories existing in literature or theories assisted in carrying out the initial coding in a focused and time-efficient manner (Dörnyei, 2007). Finally, manifest thematic coding, among the five types of coding in qualitative content analysis, has been drawn upon to derive themes that were directly visible in the content (Klenke, 2016). Accordingly, qualitative content analysis was the research method by which the theoretical perspectives of the multidisciplinary approach were applied to analyse the data and address the research questions.

3.7 Data Collection

3.7.1 Time Horizons

The time horizon clearly announces the timeline in which research design and data collection have been conducted. Typically, research design can be longitudinal or cross-sectional. In longitudinal research design, a particular phenomenon is studied at different periods, or at more than one point in time. In cross-sectional or one-shot research design, a particular phenomenon is examined at a specific period or over a specific time (Saunders et al., 2019). As the data of the current study has been collected in one shot over a specific period and not in different times, it is positioned as cross-sectional.

3.7.2 Data Sources

The data source of a study is based on primary and secondary data. The primary data of the current study consisted of document data or written texts of the APWAs that the study retrieved from the online Miller Centre (<https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches>) created by the University of Virginia, and the online database provided by the American Presidency Project at the University of California at Santa Barbara (<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>) (Woolley and Peters, n. d.). These texts are the original writings and raw materials of the presidents. The documentative primary data take the form of several online war addresses delivered by American presidents. In the specific official websites above, the addresses of all the American presidents are saved in three forms: video, audio and transcripts. Since the focus of this study was to analyse the written form of the presidential war language, presidential addresses in their transcript forms were adopted as the data of analysis of this study. The data were selected from different decades through the US history to ensure the reliability and validity of the findings and their interpretations. These war addresses were distributed among six American presidents during their office terms. The researcher initiated the analysis with the latest presidential war address – Donald Trump 2018 - moving chronologically backwards to involve more war addresses until

the study reached the saturation point with Ronald Reagan’s war address of 1986. Table 3-1 below displays the war addresses delivered by American presidents recognised by president’s name, a brief description of the address, year, and the number of words.

Table 3-1 American presidential war rhetoric addresses as the sample of the study

President	Brief Description	Year	No. of Words
Donald Trump	Trump’s address on Syria airstrikes: President Trump declared that the United States had undertaken a military action against the Syrian government to retaliate for a chemical weapons attack that killed civilians in a rebel-held town outside Damascus.	2018	866
	Trump’s Address on the US plans to engage in Afghanistan: President Donald Trump will outline his perspective U.S. strategy for the war in Afghanistan in a television address to the American people.	2017	2937
Barak Obama	Address on the US airstrikes against ISIS in Iraq: President Obama on Thursday informed American People that he ordered limited airstrikes against Islamic militants in Iraq, to prevent the fall of the Kurdish capital, Erbil, and return the US significant role in the battlefield in Iraq as before the last American soldier left the country at the end of 2011.	2014	1330
	Speech on Syria: President Obama delivered an address to discuss the situation in Syria. He elucidated why he has ordered for military strikes in retaliation for the Assad regime’s employment of chemical weapons. In this address, Obama presented his reasons to Congress to authorise him the use of force, and described how the power of US action has paved the way for a diplomatic settlement.	2013	2216
George W. Bush	Address on Military Operations in Iraq: President Bush presented changes in his proposed plan in the Iraq War in the context of heightened and sever violence since the elections of 2005.	2007	2928
	Address on the Start of the Iraq War On March 20, 2003: Bush announced that the aim of the war was ‘to disarm Iraq of weapons of mass destruction, to end Saddam Hussein’s support for terrorism, and to free the Iraqi people’.	2003	581
	Address to the Americans on the war on Iraq: President George W. Bush’s address to the nation just prior to the start of the Iraq war ON March 20, 2003.	2003	1768
	Bush Announces Strikes Against Taliban: President Bush discussed airstrikes against military installations and communication centres of terrorists in Afghanistan.	2001	969
Bill Clinton	President Clinton explains Iraq airstrike: The 1998 airstrikes of Iraq (Operation Desert Fox) was a major four-day strikes campaign on Iraqi military targets from 16 to 19 December 1998, by the United States and the United Kingdom. These airstrikes were justified in ‘Iraq’s failure to comply with United Nations Security Council resolutions and its interference with United Nations Special Commission inspectors’.	1998	2053
George W. H. Bush	Address to the American people on the invasion of Iraq: On January 16, 1991, President George H. W. Bush ordered the US military troops into battle in the Gulf to undo the Iraqi conquest and liberate Kuwait from the invasion of the Iraqi forces.	1991	1454

President	Brief Description	Year	No. of Words
	Address on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait: President George H.W. Bush announced the introduction and deployment of the US armed troops to Saudi Arabia to avoid the invasion by the Iraqi army. Saddam had ambition to invade Saudi Arabia. As such, American troops were sent to the Arab nation to avert another Iraqi aggression after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990.	1990	1416
Ronald Reagan	Speech to the Nation on the US Air Strikes Against Libya: President Ronald Reagan surveyed the terrorist activities of Qadhafi and confirmed the US right to go to war defend itself against these frequent terrorist attacks such as a terrorist bomb exploded in a nightclub in Italy frequented by American servicemen.	1986	1000

The primary data in the present study were employed to be the focus of a genre-based analysis. Data were inquired to identify the obligatory rhetorical moves that unfold in the texts and the rhetorical and linguistics structures that realise these moves. The secondary data source of the present study covers books, research articles published in international journals, Master and PhD theses and any other source retrieved from libraries and internet sources. The secondary data sources were employed to synthesise background information on the subject, to report about the event, to report about theories and conceptions, to validate the research gap, to support analysis and to learn from experts' interpretation.

3.7.3 Data Collection Instruments and Procedures

Data collection instruments of a qualitative study include documents, interviews, observations, audio-visual materials and many other types (Creswell, 2012; Mason, 2018; Ary et al., 2018; Fetters, 2019). Specifically, the materials analysed within content analysis involve 'textbooks, newspapers, web pages, speeches, television programmes, advertisements' or any other types of documents (Ary et al., 2018). Accordingly, documents or written texts have been collected as a data source in this qualitative study. In particular, APWAs, as the sample of the study, were categorised as a type of documents or written texts with their content to be coded into themes for further analysis and interpretation. The present study employed the purposeful sampling of texts to obtain information-rich data that conform to the area and nature of the problem statement and any posited question. The researcher read all

types of presidential addresses starting from the latest presidential address - Donald Trump 2018 – and moved sequentially and chronologically backwards to involve reading other presidential addresses. These involved general presidential addresses delivered by six American presidents, from Ronald Reagan 1986 to Donald Trump 2018.

As for data collection procedure, to determine those addresses that are related to military actions, the researcher studied the rationale of delivering each address and its surrounding context. Twelve APWAs were chosen to be analysed qualitatively. All the selected addresses were announcements of military actions against some Arab and Islamic countries. In all the war addresses under study, it was the president's announcement of military actions that led to the situations being perceived as war addresses. Thus, once presidents announced that the United States had launched war or military action in response to the enemy's act of aggression, the importance of the situation was instantly magnified as a war situation (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). What also assisted in the selection of the APWAs are their distinctive titles and messages that are mostly related to wars and military actions. Traditionally, PWR aimed to justify future military actions or to obtain congressional and public approval. Now, this type of justification 'appears less frequently in speeches seeking congressional authorization for future actions and more frequently in speeches seeking congressional ratification for actions already undertaken' (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008, p. 219). Consequently, among the twelve APWAs mentioned above, just Obama's address on Syria in 2013 seeks congressional ratification for future military actions. The main reason for this kind of sample is the fact that they involved undeclared wars and military actions without any form of congressional ratification. Because of that, the cautious way of crafting these presidential addresses calls for researchers' concern and interest to inquire how language is used to justify the wars and mitigate the opposition voices.

3.7.4 Sample Size

The epistemological assumption adopted in any study is crucial in that it also influences the way researchers decide on the sample size of data to discover knowledge. In reality, the interpretive epistemology and the qualitative methodological choice of the current study do not deem sample size as a critical issue (Slevitch, 2011; Creswell and Creswell, 2017). The quantitative methodological orientation, in which large samples are used, establishes the characteristics of representativeness and generalisability of findings. In contrast, the qualitative methodology does not pursue these characteristics since they are regarded unattainable from the ontological and epistemological outlooks advocated in this study (Slevitch, 2011; Creswell and Creswell, 2017). In other words, it might be said that to generalise findings in qualitative research is illogical as the qualitative analysis is characterised as inquiring relatively small sizes of a sample. In the same respect, Creswell (2012) and Mason (2018) argue that determining the size of a sample is also guided by the phenomenon under scrutiny. As a result, twelve APWAs have been selected as the sample of the study. In other words, the trajectory of data collection and analysis was a recursive one in that the researcher proceeded to analyse data until he reached a point where no new information can be obtained from the sample - data saturation (Mason, 2018; Johnson and Christensen, 2019; Tracy, 2019). Thus, data analysis has saturated the research questions with ten addresses with no different information that appeared in the last two addresses. The researcher opines that twelve APWAs may be a logical number to provide rich interpretation of the findings. This view is significantly and clearly supported by a group of scholars in research methodology (Creswell, 2012; Holloway and Galvin, 2017; Ary et al., 2018; Mason, 2018). Holloway and Galvin (2017), for example, see that sample size, whether large or small, however, does not necessarily decide the quality of the data. Qualitative studies that encompass large units of sample do exist but are rare.

3.8 Data Analysis

Specifically, a genre-based analysis has been used as the analytical framework in the study. Data analysis started with reading and studying the corpus (body) of texts repeatedly to prepare it for analysis. Data analysis also requested the researcher to develop an understanding of the context of the texts in question and an analysis of the previous political knowledge and perception the researcher brings to the new setting as well. Then, the researcher determined the semantic unit or rhetorical move as the basic unit of analysis with an in-depth analysis and interpretation of its micro or lower-level patterns - rhetorical and linguistic structures. After that, data were read line by line to extract the initial semantic units by highlighting as far as possible the boundaries that appear to establish these units. Using the computerised programme Nvivo 12, the researcher continued reading and systematically coding the corpus of each text until labels of the obligatory rhetorical moves finally emerged as reflective of the generic structure of the texts. The content-bearing data have been converted into a format of frequencies to be further discussed and interpreted.

The different disciplinary perspectives constituting the analytical approach included, first, genre analysis which is the system that studies the relation between text structure and 'its macro-social context'. Second, rhetoric which is the system that deals with effective language use in the public speaking context, which is related to a long constant tradition belonging to classical rhetoric (Heuboeck, 2009). Third, the speech acts theory which is adopted to find out the types of acts performed across the cognitive move-structures. However, even though these three approaches have different theoretical underpinnings, they do not operate in isolation, but are mutually and interactively interrelated, supportive and complementary sharing an orientation of investigating the relationship between language use and its communicative and rhetorical functions. Nevertheless, all the theories mentioned above are rooted in communication studies and share the potential of constructing the world reality (Halliday, 1985).

3.8.1 Data Analysis Procedure

The main aim of the present study was to explore the interaction between the communicative purpose of the text and its constitutive parts as well as between the constitutive parts and their rhetorical and linguistic structures. Consequently, the study adopted a multidisciplinary approach of analysis guided by qualitative methodology. The following points explained in detail the essence of each theoretical perspective and how each one worked in answering a research question.

RQ 1. What are the obligatory rhetorical moves used to achieve the communicative purpose of the APWAs as a genre?

To address this research question, Bhatia's (1993) genre analysis model, which concerns the analysis and interpretation of the general organisational patterns (moves) of the genre through segmenting the text into parts, was adopted and applied. The move-structure analysis was used to identify the rhetorical moves in the addresses. According to this view, a text is studied in terms of a sequence of stages/moves that are utilised to attain particular communicative purposes (Bhatia, 1993; Biber, Connor and Upton, 2007). This theoretical perspective considers the way of presenting, identifying and interpreting the content organisation in the text (Bhatia, 1993). Genres' writers and producers are concerned with how they organise their overall message and content in the text. An investigation of the structural organisation of the content of the genre uncovers desirable and conventional ways of communicating intention in particular areas of investigation. Therefore, genre analysis would be highly relevant to the study of presidential discourse in general and the present research in particular as PWR is produced for a certain communicative purpose within and outside a discourse community. Bhatia (1993) goes further to explain that cognitive move-structuring in a certain genre is a characteristic of that genre as such and not associated with the individual reader. It is formed depending on the communicative purpose(s) that it serves in the genre, and that is why it is different from one genre to another. Based on Bhatia (1993), a text can be classified into 'moves' in terms of their functions in the text and a move is further divided into strategies.

3.8.1.1 Move

Move is defined by as a semantic and functional unit in a text used to segment the text into its constituent parts to achieve some identifiable communicative purpose (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993), and often used to identify the textual regularities in a variety of genres (Ding, 2007). Besides performing its local purpose, a move also contributes to the attainment of overall communicative purposes of the genre (Biber et al., 2007). Length and size of moves vary extending from several paragraphs to one sentence, but normally contain at least one proposition (Connor and Mauranen, 1999)

Kwan (2006), inspired by Bhatia (1993), views that a functional trend to text analysis calls for cognitive understanding to identify the communicative purpose of the text, rhetorical moves and textual markings, rather than a reliance on linguistic criteria. This trend was also true in the analysis of the move-structure of the texts in the current study. Thus, the segmentation of the text into smaller functional and meaningful generic parts (rhetorical moves) was carried out based on the text's content and its communicative purpose rather than lexico-grammatical features and their order and distribution in the text. Biber et al. (2007) describe this as a 'top-down approach' whereby rhetorical moves of the discourse structure are semantically recognised based on their meanings unfolding in the text. This way of analysis conforms to the theoretical definition of a move; that is, each move has its local purpose with its role to the whole communicative purpose of the text.

In relation, the present study made use of predetermined themes or generic structures (moves) existing in the literature put forward by Campbell and Jamieson (2008) and Hodges (2013). In other words, these predetermined patterns and themes existing in literature or theories assisted in carrying out the initial coding in a focused and time-efficient manner (Dörnyei, 2007). According to Campbell and Jamieson (2008), PWR during the US history has revealed five fundamental characteristics (moves in genre theory):

- (1) every element in it proclaims that the momentous decision to resort to force is deliberate, the product of thoughtful consideration;
- (2) forceful intervention is justified through a chronicle or narrative from

which argumentative claims are drawn; (3) the audience is exhorted to unanimity of purpose and total commitment; (4) the rhetoric not only justifies the use of force but also seeks to legitimate presidential assumption of the extraordinary powers of the commander in chief; and, as a function of these other characteristics, (5) strategic misrepresentations play an unusually significant role in its appeals (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008, p. 221).

A for Hodges' (2013) study, analysis arrived at the following common generic elements that cohere around a particular theme to build the whole narrative: 'precipitating event, implication of and response to the precipitating event, our motives and objectives, identifying Us versus Them, and Coda' (Hodges, 2013, p. 52).

3.8.1.2 Sub-move/Strategy

A strategy or step is referred to as having a schematic and a semantic function used to realise the communicative intention of the broader move. Some moves have no sub-moves or strategies, while others may be categorised into several strategies (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993).

RQ 2. What types of Aristotle's rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative or forensic) are employed and how are they used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs?

In the first book of his work *On Rhetoric*, Aristotle (2007) identifies three types of oratory or rhetoric. The first type is epideictic rhetoric which is addressed to passive audiences with the main purpose of this rhetoric is either to praise (as in eulogies) or to blame. Epideictic rhetoric is concerned with someone's character. The rhetor attempts to have an audience admire someone because of his good works or dislike him because of his bad works (Richardson, 2007; Charteris-Black, 2011; Herrick, 2017). Modern epideictic texts are concerned with crisis events through providing a communal understanding of what has recently happened and aligning these events with past experiences, including communal beliefs and values (Condit, 1985). To achieve their aims, epideictic speakers resort to three epideictic strategies:

definition/understanding, shaping/sharing of community, and displaying/entertaining (see Chapter 2).

The second one is the deliberative or political rhetoric which tackles a significant debatable topic and is directed to a public assembly. It seeks primarily to establish the expediency of the proposed action or its harmful aspects on either the grounds that it will do well or it will do harm (Condit, 1985). It involves issuing a decision about the future (Aristotle, 2007). In this type of rhetoric, the rhetor seeks to make audiences desire a future decision – often a political decision. It prescribes the future by utilising its means of inducement and dissuasion, and its special topics of the advantages and disadvantages (Aristotle, 2007; Richardson, 2007).

The third type is called forensic or judicial rhetoric which is concerned with evaluating past actions such as a crime. In forensic rhetoric, the arguer makes a description of someone's or something's past actions. The arguer, here, either defends or condemns someone's past actions. So, forensic rhetoric deals with the past and it relies on accusation and defence as the means of achieving its end. In relation, justice and injustice of someone's actions are the special topics of this type of rhetoric (Richardson, 2007). While forensic rhetoric is widely used in courtrooms, it is also experienced any time in different settings when persons attempt to justify their actions or defend themselves (Aristotle, 2007).

RQ 3 What types of illocutionary speech acts are performed and how are they used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs?

The direct source followed to answer this research question was speech acts theory. For this specific part of the analysis, the study specifically applied Bach and Harnish's (1979) inferential model of speech acts. Related to this issue is the particular focus these two authors place on the speaker's intention and the hearer's recognition of this intention. Further, Bach and Harnish (1979) add that the speaker's communicative intention is successful and satisfactory only when it is recognised, through inference, by the hearer. Łazuka (2006) comments that content, context, and the point intended to be recognised are three factors named by Bach and Harnish

(1979) to influence how the hearer recognises the utterance. The communicative intention was identified based on what is said alongside with mutual contextual beliefs (MCBs).

Illocutionary speech acts were classified into four types of communicative illocutionary acts in terms of the type of attitude each speech act expresses. Constatives express the speaker's intention that the hearer has or constructs the same beliefs. Directives express the speaker's attitude towards a future action to be carried out by the hearer and his/her intention that the utterance is viewed or rendered as a reason for the activity or action of the hearer. Commissives express the speaker's intention that the utterance obligates or imposes the hearer to do something. Acknowledgements express the feeling that the speaker has towards the hearer and the speaker's intention that his/her utterances meet some social expectations regarding the expression of certain feelings (Bach and Harnish, 1979). Instances of each speech act have been accounted for in terms of sentences and were counted in number to see their distributions in each rhetorical move, and then the counts underwent interpretation. Each type of these communicative acts was further categorised in terms of strengths of the attitudes expressed as shown in Bach and Harnish's (1979) taxonomy (see Chapter 2).

RQ 4. What are the salient lexico-grammatical features used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs?

Evidently, the APWAs in particular, like any other genre or sub-genre, are characterised by their form, content and function. They are used and typified in certain conventional linguistic ways to conform to the constraints and communicative purpose of the genre (Bhatia, 1993). Although investigating the generic structure (cognitive move-structures) is an important and basic part for conducting genre analysis, the analysis of the lexico-grammatical features is also equally important. As such, analysis of lexico-grammatical features in different genres are necessary as they offer essential evidence 'to prove and disprove some of the intuitive and impressionistic implications of certain lexico-grammatical patterns' of the target genre (Bhatia, 1993, p. 68). Notably, carrying out a quantitative analysis of particular linguistic properties that are predominantly used in the genre in question has been attacked and severely criticised

by Bhatia and other scholars for not informing us how communicative purpose is achieved by the employment of these features (Bhatia, 1993). Consequently, the study did not determine a particular group of lexico-grammatical features to be investigated and identified. Instead, the study deeply examined the texts line by line to diagnose which particular salient lexico-grammatical structures are used by American presidents to define each rhetorical move and its communicative function.

The present study, however, examined the data to identify the typified linguistic features that are pervasively used to realise the different rhetorical moves of the text. Besides, this study took the linguistic investigation a step further in the direction of the grammatical-rhetorical analysis to explore the relationship between lexico-grammatical choices and rhetorical function of the move-structures in the PWAs. This level of linguistic analysis emphasises the tactical aspects of conventional language use (Bhatia, 1993). This kind of inquiry into text-patterning in the presidential war genre answers the question proposed by Bhatia concerning the rationale that motivates the members of a certain discourse community write the way they do. Overall, guided by the purpose of the study, the research questions, data sampling and data analysis procedures, the steps and procedures used to formulate the research methodology of the present study are briefly shown in Figure 3-2 which presents the macro methodological approach adopted in the study and Figure 3-3 which represents the micro procedure of data analysis.

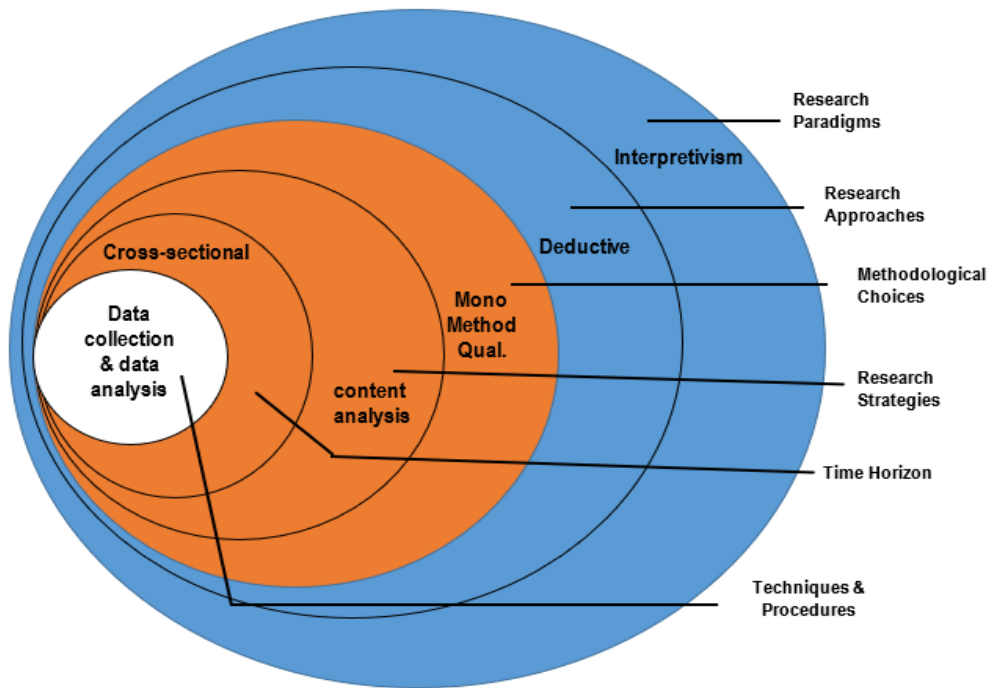


Figure 3-2 The macro methodological approach

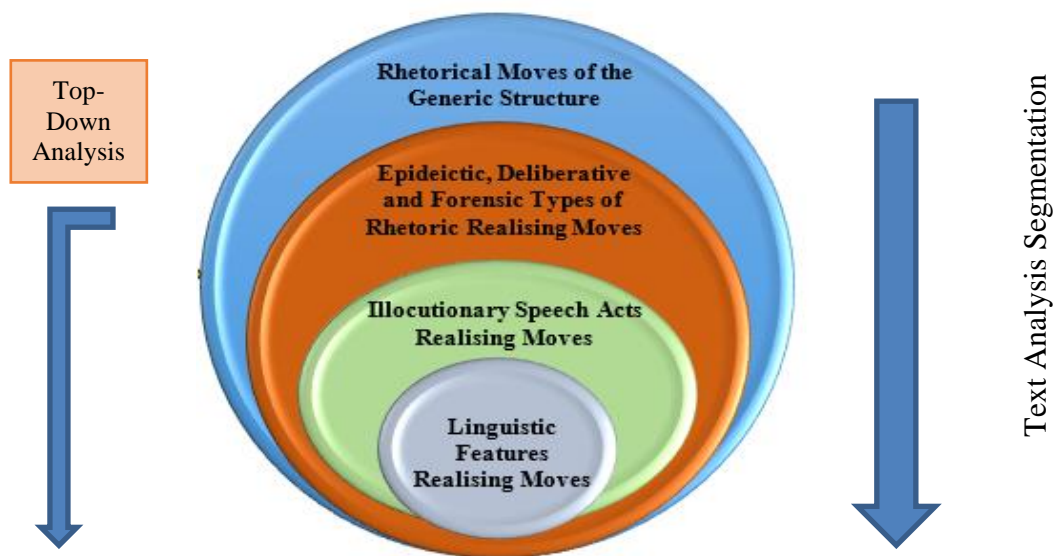


Figure 3-3 The micro procedure of data analysis

3.8.2 NVivo Software for Data Analysis

NVivo 12, as a software tool, was used for the qualitative analysis of the APWAs. It is a computerised software used for content analysis by which one can identify and arrange patterns of the content across various texts and data sources. This software was employed by qualitative researchers to easily and rapidly identify common patterns in the content of the texts or documents under scrutiny. After collecting the APWAs and copying them as Microsoft Word files to the software, the researcher set out to use this software to analyse the data under study by thematically coding content into broader required units of information called rhetorical moves in the present study. Then, the researcher moved to investigate the micro or lower-level signals - rhetorical and linguistic structures - of each rhetorical move to discover how moves used these structures to realise their rhetorical functions. Thus, the benefits of sifting through content are to assist in informing decisions about generic moves and their rhetorical and linguistic realisations.

3.9 Data Interpretation

The findings of the analysis were based on the relativist ontology and interpretivist epistemology which aim at presenting thick description and rich interpretation in understanding the event in its context (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Saunders et al., 2019). Accordingly, for the first research question, the findings of identifying obligatory rhetorical moves of the generic structure were related to the intended objective, summarised and discussed in terms of their validity and accuracy. Interpretation of the findings of the first research question also included highlighting their significance in terms of filling a research gap and identifying the APWAs as a genre. The same was also true for other research questions whereby their findings and interpretations highlighted how they operate to realise the rhetorical function of each rhetorical move. Some tabulation was also provided to indicate the frequencies and rates of some rhetorical structures used in the rhetorical moves. These rates were more elaborated on to reveal their meanings and implications. Comparing the results of the present study with other prior related research was one of the necessities of data

interpretation of the present study. The findings of the present study were deemed preliminary as the rhetorical and linguistic structures have been analysed according to their appearance in each rhetorical move that was called forth to respond to the needs of the audience, current events and the purpose of the genre, an issue that was rarely addressed in previous studies.

3.10 Inter-rater Reliability Analysis

To avoid subjectivity in moves identification, the researcher recruited two university professors specialised in genre analysis and rhetorical analysis to identify the moves boundaries (See Appendix A and B). An inter-rater reliability analysis using the Kappa statistics was performed to determine consistency among raters. Samples of the uncoded addresses were sent to each of the raters along with detailed descriptions of codes that have already been generated. The researcher answered any question raised by them regarding the coding process to be sure that they understood the work enough to provide helpful feedback. When their feedback was received, their coding was compared to that of the researcher following their notes and finalising the research coding accordingly. Any inaccuracies and differences in the analysis were refined and resolved through holding a series of discussions until a complete agreement between the researcher and the two raters was arrived. As shown in Table 3-2, high inter-coder reliability rates for moves identification and their related salient linguistic choices were obtained.

Table 3-2 Inter-coder reliability analysis in Kappa value

Moves and Strategies	Kappa Measure of Agreement Value	Level of Agreement
M1 – S1	0.91	Almost Perfect
M1 – S2	0.92	Almost Perfect
M1 – S3	0.86	Strong
M2	0.90	Strong
M3	0.90	Strong
M4	0.92	Almost Perfect
M5	0.90	Strong
M6	0.90	Strong
M7	0.88	Strong

Note M: Move. According to Cohen’s kappa, a value of 0 – 0.20 for kappa represents None agreement, 0.21 – 0.39 represents Minimal agreement, 0.40 – 0.59 represents Weak agreement, 0.60 – 0.79

represents Moderate agreement, 0.80 – 0.90 represents Strong agreement and above 0.90 represents Almost Perfect agreement.

For the categorisation of Aristotle's types of rhetoric and the speech acts in the addresses, the coding process was performed by the same two raters. After performing the categories of the two structures mentioned above, the researcher and raters went over each other's analyses refining and reformulating all the categories in question through a set of discussions until complete consensus was reached. The inter-rater reliability between the researcher and the two raters concerning the categorisation of Aristotle's types of rhetoric was 94% and of the speech acts were 92% which can be regarded as acceptable percentages. The same was also true for the analysis of the lexico-grammatical features whose inter-rater reliability was 90% which can also be acceptable.

3.11 The Trustworthiness of the Study

Because the concepts of validity and reliability are originally rooted in discussions of quantitative research, some qualitative scholars, in the middle of the 1890s, have questioned the relevance of these concepts to qualitative designs and have made multiple attempts to develop alternative concepts to evaluate qualitative research (Flick, 2009; Leedy and Ormrod, 2016). As a result, some scholars in the field of research methods such as Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Creswell (2007) have suggested credibility, confirmability, dependability or transferability as alternative strategies to be used in qualitative research. These terms have been comprised under the concept of trustworthiness (Leedy and Ormrod, 2016; Ary et al., 2018). As such, to test the trustworthiness of the present study, these new strategies have been adopted:

3.11.1 Credibility

Credibility in qualitative research is concerned with the aspect of the truthfulness of the research findings (Riazi, 2016). One of the strategies the researcher

employed to ensure credibility is persistent observation (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Observation in this study was adapted to mean persistent data review to identify characteristics and aspects relevant to the issue under study and was more focused. In particular, the researcher examined the data in-depth to develop generic, rhetorical and linguistic patterns. The researcher read and confirmed the data, analysed them and revised the patterns accordingly until the intended insight was obtained (Korstjens and Moser, 2018). By adopting manifest thematic coding and referring to predetermined key themes, credibility was established.

3.11.2 Transferability

Transferability means the degree to which the outcomes of a qualitative research study can be transferred to other similar contexts or settings (Riazi, 2016; Creswell and Creswell, 2017; Ary et al., 2018). Transferability in the present study was achieved through offering sufficiently detailed and thick descriptions of the context so that potential users can transport themselves to the setting of the study and lend the research discussion a sense of shared experiences. Furthermore, users can transfer the findings to another context by making the necessary comparisons and judgments about similarities (Creswell and Creswell, 2017).

3.11.3 Confirmability

The researcher is required to provide interpretations which are not based on his particular preferences and standpoints; instead, interpretations should help readers of the study see how the findings are grounded in the data and not merely representing the researcher's account (Riazi, 2016; Korstjens and Moser, 2018). Thus, to strengthen the confirmability of the findings and to mitigate the researcher's biases, inter-rater reliability was adopted as this was clearly explained in section 3.10 (Creswell and Creswell, 2017).

3.11.4 Dependability

Dependability is defined as ‘the stability of findings over time’ (Korstjens and Moser, 2018, p. 121). Pertinent to this study, two strategies were adopted to secure the consistency of the findings. The first is constant data comparison (Leung, 2015; Tracy, 2019) where the researcher, in interval periods, compared the coding of the rhetorical patterns repeatedly to patterns that have already been implemented. The coded material was continually integrated into further processes of comparison (Flick, 2009). The process of constant data comparison has verified the unbiasedness of the analysis process. The second strategy is an audit trail in which the researcher consulted two external auditors who are experts in the genre and rhetorical analysis to make a thorough review of different aspects of the research (Riazi, 2016; Ary et al., 2018; Korstjens and Moser, 2018). Each of the external auditors has written, near the conclusion of the study, an evaluation report including the strengths and weaknesses of the research conducted (See appendix A & B). Once they returned their reports, the researcher incorporated their suggestions for improvements and revised the weak points accordingly.

3.12 Summary

This chapter has surveyed the research methodology followed in the present study. In particular, this chapter has introduced the research philosophy, research approach, research strategy, methodological choice, time horizon of data collection and finally, data collection and data analysis procedures. It has indicated how each step of this research methodology has been framed and outlined in terms of Saunders et al.’s (2016) adapted model of ‘research onion’ shown in Figure 3-1. Besides, chapter three has shown how the content of the APWAs was analysed using the computer programme, NVivo 12. This chapter also provided evidence of the trustworthiness of the study and a summary of the chapter.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

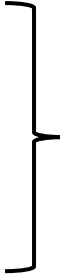


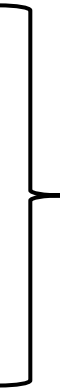

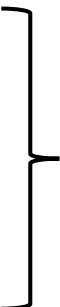
This chapter presents the analysis of the data and discusses the findings in an attempt to identify the APWAs as a genre of presidential discourse. Twelve APWAs were selected to be analysed at two levels: macro and micro. The macro-level analysis concentrated on the generic structure (obligatory rhetorical moves) of the texts. This level was carried out through qualitative content analysis, using NVivo 12, in which the addresses were analysed one-by-one, line-by-line to identify the rhetorical moves of the generic structure of these addresses. Move analysis was the tool of analysis used to enhance our competence and vision of what constitutes the generic structure of the APWAs. Move analysis is defined as a top-down approach by which meanings and content of the text are focused on to identify the structural commonalities of a distinctive genre. As such, the text was described as possessing a sequence of ‘moves’ or semantic units unfolding through the text, where each move was constituted through a stretch of text serving a particular communicative (that is, semantic) function (Bhatia, 1993; Swales, 1981; Swales, 1990). After identifying the rhetorical moves by the assistance of the computerised programme NVivo 12, the micro-level analysis was reflected by examining the lower-level patterns of the obligatory rhetorical moves. Particularly, it examined what Aristotle’s types of rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative and forensic), illocutionary speech acts and lexico-grammatical features are used and how they are performed to realise the communicative functions of these moves.

In this study, the cut-off frequency of 50% of occurrence was established as a standard for obligatory and optional moves (Swales, 1990). If a move occurred above 50%, it was considered as an obligatory move, and if the frequency of a move falls below 50%, it was deemed as optional and excluded. Optional moves were excluded as being establishing the generic structure of the APWAs since they showed very low

frequency and cannot represent the typical generic automation and rhetorical stability of the genre under question.

As has been presented in the literature review chapter, understanding the generic structure and discourse features of a given genre can significantly assist one in reading and understanding the genre better. Accordingly, this study examined the genre of the APWAs through investigating its generic structure, rhetorical structures and salient linguistic features. The communicative purpose of the discourse community had the effect of shaping the discourse structure of the genre, specifically, the rhetorical moves. A genre is not only defined by the frequency of its moves, rhetorical and linguistic structures, but also by the purpose it serves its discourse community. The communicative purpose of the APWAs as a genre was identified in the study before the genre was analysed for its generic structure, rhetorical structures and linguistic features. To repeat, the APWAs are considered a discourse inherited with all underlying use of language to influence the public and American Congress to gain their support in approving a taken military action (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). The way these patterns or moves are organised influences the selection of other rhetorical and linguistic structures of the moves in a way to serve the communicative needs and goals of the discourse community (Bhatia, 1993; Swales, 1981; Swales, 1990).

To reveal how the obligatory rhetorical moves and strategies of the generic structure of the APWAs were identified in practice, a typical text involving all the nine generic structures (moves and strategies) and another text including eight generic structures have been selected as samples to show the convenience of analysis. These two typical texts included George W. H. Bush's address in August 8, 1990 which contained all the obligatory rhetorical moves and strategies and Barak Obama's address in August 7, 2014 which contained all the moves and strategies except Move 2. Below is George W. H. Bush's address in August 8, 1990 with its nine generic structures.

<p>In the life of a nation, we're called upon to define who we are and what we believe. Sometimes these choices are not easy. But today as President, I ask for your support in a decision I've made to stand up for what's right and condemn what's wrong, all in the cause of peace. At my direction, elements of the 82d Airborne Division as well as key units of the United States Air Force are arriving today to take up defensive positions in Saudi Arabia.</p>		<p>Proclamation of war</p>
<p>I took this action to assist the Saudi Arabian Government in the defense of its homeland.</p>		<p>Str. 2 Move 1</p>
<p>No one commits America's Armed Forces to a dangerous mission lightly, but after perhaps unparalleled international consultation and exhausting every alternative, it became necessary to take this action. Let me tell you why.</p>		<p>Move 2</p>
<p>Less than a week ago, in the early morning hours of August 2d, Iraqi Armed Forces, without provocation or warning, invaded a peaceful Kuwait. Facing negligible resistance from its much smaller neighbor, Iraq's tanks stormed in blitzkrieg fashion through Kuwait in a few short hours. With more than 100,000 troops, along with tanks, artillery, and surface-to-surface missiles, Iraq now occupies Kuwait. This aggression came just hours after Saddam Hussein specifically assured numerous countries in the area that there would be no invasion. There is no justification whatsoever for this outrageous and brutal act of aggression.</p>		<p>Str. 1 Move 1</p>
<p>A puppet regime imposed from the outside is unacceptable. The acquisition of territory by force is unacceptable. No one, friend or foe, should doubt our desire for peace; and no one should underestimate our determination to confront aggression.</p>		<p>Str. 2 Move 1</p>
<p>Four simple principles guide our policy. First, we seek the immediate, unconditional, and complete withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait Assertive Second, Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored to replace the puppet regime. And third, my administration, as has been the case with every President from President Roosevelt to President Reagan, is committed to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf. And fourth, I am determined to protect the lives of American citizens abroad.</p>		<p>Move 4</p>

Immediately after the Iraqi invasion, I ordered an embargo of all trade with Iraq and, together with many other nations, announced sanctions that both freeze all Iraqi assets in this country and protected Kuwait's assets. The stakes are high. Iraq is already a rich and powerful country that possesses the world's second largest reserves of oil and over a million men under arms. It's the fourth largest military in the world. Our country now imports nearly half the oil it consumes and could face a major threat to its economic independence. Much of the world is even more dependent upon imported oil and is even more vulnerable to Iraqi threats.

Optional Move

We succeeded in the struggle for freedom in Europe because we and our allies remain stalwart. Keeping the peace in the Middle East will require no less. We're beginning a new era Informative This new era can be full of promise, an age of freedom, a time of peace for all peoples.

Move 6

But if history teaches us anything, it is that we must resist Aggression or it will destroy our freedoms. Appeasement does not work. As was the case in the 1930's, we see in Saddam Hussein an aggressive dictator threatening his neighbors. Only 14 days ago, Saddam Hussein promised his friends he would not invade Kuwait. And 4 days ago, he promised the world he would withdraw. And twice we have seen what his promises mean: His promises mean nothing.

Move 5

In the last few days, I've spoken with political leaders from the Middle East, Europe, Asia, and the Americas; and I've met with Prime Minister Thatcher, Prime Minister Mulroney, and NATO Secretary General Woerner. And all agree that Iraq cannot be allowed to benefit from its invasion of Kuwait. We agree that this is not an American problem or a European problem or a Middle East problem: It is the world's problem. And that's why, soon after the Iraqi invasion, the United Nations Security Council, without dissent, condemned Iraq, calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its troops from Kuwait. The Arab world, through both the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council, courageously announced its opposition to Iraqi aggression. Japan, the United Kingdom, and France, and other governments around the world have imposed severe sanctions. The Soviet Union and China ended all arms sales to Iraq. And this past Monday, the United Nations Security Council approved for the first time in 23 years mandatory sanctions under chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. These sanctions, now enshrined in international law, have the potential to deny Iraq the fruits of aggression while sharply limiting its ability to either import or export anything of value, especially oil.

Move 3

I pledge here today that the United States will do its part to see that these sanctions are effective and to induce Iraq to withdraw without delay from Kuwait.

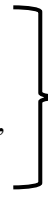
Move 6

But we must recognise that Iraq may not stop using force to advance its ambitions.



Str. 2 Move 1

Iraq has massed an enormous war machine on the Saudi border capable of initiating hostilities with little or no additional preparation. Given the Iraqi government's history of aggression against its own citizens as well as its neighbors, to assume Iraq will not attack again would be unwise and unrealistic.



Str. 3 Move 1

And therefore, after consulting with King Fahd, I sent Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney to discuss cooperative measures we could take. Following those meetings, the Saudi Government requested our help, and I responded to that request by ordering U.S. air and ground forces to deploy to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.



Str. 2 Move 1

Let me be clear: The sovereign independence of Saudi Arabia is of vital interest to the United States. This decision, which I shared with the congressional leadership, grows out of the longstanding friendship and security relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia.



Optional Move

U.S. forces will work together with those of Saudi Arabia and other nations to preserve the integrity of Saudi Arabia and to deter further Iraqi aggression. Through their presence, as well as through training and exercises, these multinational forces will enhance the overall capability of Saudi Armed Forces to defend the Kingdom. I want to be clear about what we are doing and why. America does not seek conflict, nor do we seek to chart the destiny of other nations. But America will stand by her friends. The mission of our troops is wholly defensive. Hopefully, they will not be needed long. They will not initiate hostilities, but they will defend themselves, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and other friends in the Persian Gulf.



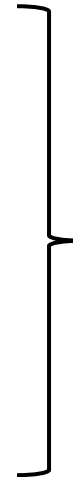
Str. 2 Move 1

We are working around the clock to deter Iraqi aggression and to enforce U.N. sanctions. I'm continuing my conversations with world leaders. Secretary of Defense Cheney has just returned from valuable consultations with President Mubarak of Egypt and King Hassan of Morocco. Secretary of State Baker has consulted with his counterparts in many nations, including the Soviet Union, and today he heads for Europe to consult with President Ozal of Turkey, a staunch friend of the United States. And he'll then consult with the NATO Foreign Ministers. I will ask oil-producing nations to do what they can to increase production in order to minimize any impact that oil flow reductions will have on the world economy. And I will explore whether we and our allies should draw down our strategic petroleum reserves. Conservation measures can also help; Americans everywhere must do their part. And one more thing: I'm asking the oil companies to do their fair share.



Move 6

They should show restraint and not abuse today's uncertainties to raise prices. Standing up for our principles will not come easy. It may take time and possibly cost a great deal. But we are asking no more of anyone than of the brave young men and women of our Armed Forces and their families. And I ask that in the churches around the country prayers be said for those who are committed to protect and defend America's interests. Standing up for our principle is an American tradition. As it has so many times before, it may take time and tremendous effort, but most of all, it will take unity of purpose. As I've witnessed throughout my life in both war and peace, America has never wavered when her purpose is driven by principle. And in this August day, at home and abroad, I know she will do no less.



Move 6

Thank you, and God bless the United States of America.



Optional Move

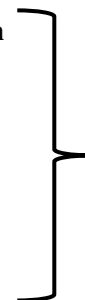
Following is Barak Obama's address in August 7, 2014 with its six obligatory rhetorical moves.

Good evening.
Today I authorized two operations in Iraq --
Today I authorized two operations in Iraq --
targeted airstrikes **to protect our American personnel, and a humanitarian effort to help save thousands of Iraqi civilians who are trapped on a mountain without food and water and facing almost certain death.** Let me explain the actions we're taking and why.



Proclamation of War
Bold Lines = Move 4

First, I said in June -- as the terrorist group ISIL began an advance across Iraq -- that the United States would be prepared to take targeted military action in Iraq if and when we determined that the situation required it. In recent days, these terrorists have continued to move across Iraq, and have neared the city of Erbil, where American diplomats and civilians serve at our consulate and American military personnel advise Iraqi forces.



Str. 1 Move 1

To stop the advance on Erbil, I've directed our military to take targeted strikes against ISIL terrorist convoys should they move toward the city. We intend to stay vigilant, and take action if these terrorist forces threaten our personnel or facilities anywhere in Iraq, including our consulate in Erbil and our embassy in Baghdad. We're also providing urgent assistance to Iraqi government and Kurdish forces so they can more effectively wage the fight against ISIL.



Str. 2 Move 1

Second, at the request of the Iraqi government -- we've begun operations to help save Iraqi civilians stranded on the mountain.



Move 4

As ISIL has marched across Iraq, it has waged a ruthless campaign against innocent Iraqis. And these terrorists have been especially barbaric towards religious minorities, including Christian and Yezidis, a small and ancient religious sect. Countless Iraqis have been displaced. And chilling reports describe ISIL militants rounding up families, conducting mass executions, and enslaving Yezidi women.



Str. 3 Move 1

In recent days, Yezidi women, men and children from the area of Sinjar have fled for their lives. And thousands -- perhaps tens of thousands -- are now hiding high up on the mountain, with little but the clothes on their backs. They're without food, they're without water. People are starving. And children are dying of thirst.



Optional Move

Meanwhile, ISIL forces below have called for the systematic destruction of the entire Yezidi people, which would constitute genocide. So these innocent families are faced with a horrible choice: descend the mountain and be slaughtered, or stay and slowly die of thirst and hunger.



Str. 3 Move 1

I've said before, the United States cannot and should not intervene every time there's a crisis in the world.



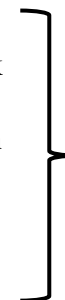
Optional Move

So let me be clear about why we must act, and act now. When we face a situation like we do on that mountain -- with innocent people facing the prospect of violence on a horrific scale, when we have a mandate to help -- in this case, a request from the Iraqi government -- and when we have the unique capabilities to help avert a massacre, then I believe the United States of America cannot turn a blind eye. We can act, carefully and responsibly, to prevent a potential act of genocide. That's what we're doing on that mountain.



Move 5

I've, therefore, authorized targeted airstrikes, if necessary, to help forces in Iraq as they fight to break the siege of Mount Sinjar and protect the civilians trapped there. Already, American aircraft have begun conducting humanitarian airdrops of food and water to help these desperate men, women and children survive. Earlier this week, one Iraqi in the area cried to the world, "There is no one coming to help."



Move 4

Well today, America is coming to help.



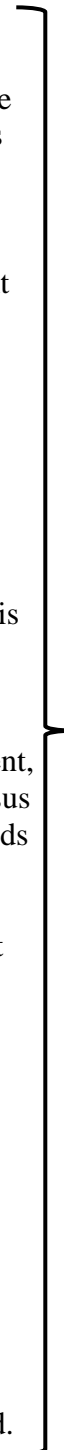
Optional Move

We're also consulting with other countries -- and the United Nations -- who have called for action to address this humanitarian crisis.



Move 3

I know that many of you are rightly concerned about any American military action in Iraq, even limited strikes like these. I understand that. I ran for this office in part to end our war in Iraq and welcome our troops home, and that's what we've done. As Commander-in-Chief, I will not allow the United States to be dragged into fighting another war in Iraq. And so even as we support Iraqis as they take the fight to these terrorists, American combat troops will not be returning to fight in Iraq, because there's no American military solution to the larger crisis in Iraq. The only lasting solution is reconciliation among Iraqi communities and stronger Iraqi security forces. However, we can and should support moderate forces who can bring stability to Iraq. So even as we carry out these two missions, we will continue to pursue a broader strategy that empowers Iraqis to confront this crisis. Iraqi leaders need to come together and forge a new government that represents the legitimate interests of all Iraqis, and that can fight back against the threats like ISIL. Iraqis have named a new President, a new Speaker of Parliament, and are seeking consensus on a new Prime Minister. This is the progress that needs to continue in order to reverse the momentum of the terrorists who prey on Iraq's divisions. Once Iraq has a new government, the United States will work with it and other countries in the region to provide increased support to deal with this humanitarian crisis and counterterrorism challenge. None of Iraq's neighbors have an interest in this terrible suffering or instability. And so we'll continue to work with our friends and allies to help refugees get the shelter and food and water they so desperately need, and to help Iraqis push back against ISIL. The several hundred American advisors that I ordered to Iraq will continue to assess what more we can do to help train, advise and support Iraqi forces going forward. And just as I consulted Congress on the decisions I made today, we will continue to do so going forward.



Optional Move

My fellow Americans, the world is confronted by many challenges. And while America has never been able to right every wrong, America has made the world a more secure and prosperous place. And our leadership is necessary to underwrite the global security and prosperity that our children and our grandchildren will depend upon. We do so by adhering to a set of core principles.

Move 6

We do whatever is necessary to protect our people. We support our allies when they're in danger. We lead coalitions of countries to uphold International norms.

Optional Move

And we strive to stay true to the fundamental values – the desire to live with basic freedom and dignity – that is common to human beings wherever they are. That's why people all over the world look to the United States of America to lead. And that's why we do it.

Move 6

So let me close by assuring you that there is no decision that I take more seriously than the use of military force. Over the last several years, we have brought the vast majority of our troops home from Iraq and Afghanistan. And I've been careful to resist calls to turn time and again to our military, because America has other tools in our arsenal than our military. We can also lead with the power of our diplomacy, our economy, and our ideals.

Optional Move

But when the lives of American citizens are at risk, we will take action. That's my responsibility as Commander-in-Chief. And when many thousands of innocent civilians are faced with the danger of being wiped out, and we have the capacity to do something about it, we will take action. That is our responsibility as Americans. That's a hallmark of American leadership. That's who we are. So tonight, we give thanks to our men and women in uniform —

Move 6

especially our brave pilots and crews over Iraq who are protecting our fellow Americans and saving the lives of so many men, women and children that they will never meet. They represent American leadership at its best. They represent American leadership at its best. As a nation, we should be proud of them, and of our country's enduring commitment to uphold our own security and the dignity of our fellow human beings.

Move 7

God bless our Armed Forces, and God bless the United States of America.



Optional Move

4.2 Analysis of Data and Discussion of Findings: Rhetorical Moves and their Rhetorical and Linguistic Structures

After a close-reading and careful study of the selected APWAs, the study identified a set of rhetorical moves and explored their rhetorical and linguistic structures. Each move was elaborated and discussed in the discussion sections with some concrete excerpts extracted from the corpus of the study. Despite the variation in the rhetorical moves extracted and their sequence in the APWAs of the current study, they have almost taken the predictable sequential order as shown in Table 4-1 below.

Table 4-1 Summary of the findings – the rhetorical moves and their rhetorical and linguistic structures

No. and title of move	Type of rhetoric employed	Types of speech acts performed	The most salient lexico-grammatical features
Move 1: Communicating Narratives and Arguments to Justify the Military Action			
<u>Strategy 1.</u> Precipitating Event Showing the Enemy's Act of Aggression, and	epideictic	informative, assertive	past tense; specific time expressions
<u>Strategy 2.</u> Self-defensive Nature/Mission of the Military Action, and	deliberative	confirmative, assertive, promises	'to infinitives'; present and perfect tenses; lexical choices depicting a legitimised self-defence mission
<u>Strategy 3.</u> Communicating the Enemy's Atrociousness and Savagery	forensic means to deliberative end	confirmative, informative	Present perfect tense; polarising lexicon
Move 2: War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions by the Enemy	forensic means to deliberative end	informative, assertive	complex and compound sentences; lexical choices realising the enemy's abortion of the diplomatic alternatives;

No. and title of move	Type of rhetoric employed	Types of speech acts performed	The most salient lexico-grammatical features
Move 3: Legitimate Authority of the Military Action and the Collective Will of the World	epideictic means to deliberative end	informative, assertive, confirmative	mental and verbal processes; lexicon realising the will of the world
Move 4: Objectives and Real Intentions of the Military Action	deliberative	assertive, promises, confirmative,	'to infinitives'; lexicon realising the objectives of military actions
Move 5: Consequences of Failing to Respond Militarily (Inaction)	deliberative	predictive	conditional structures; modality (will, would)
Move 6: Standing up for Challenges and Commitments.	epideictic and deliberative	promises, informative, assertive	present perfect; present continuous; modality 'will'
Move 7: Arousing Patriotism, Spirits and Unity in Americans	epideictic means to deliberative end	acknowledgements, requestive, assertive	restrictive relative clauses

4.3 Move 1. Communicating Narratives and Arguments to Justify the Military Action

In the PWR of the current study, the justification for the military action emerged in combining dramatic narratives from which arguments were extracted and used along with these narratives as a way for justifying the commencement of wars and military actions. The justification of the military action through these narratives and arguments were embodied in three obligatory strategies, as shown below.

4.3.1 Strategy 1. Precipitating Event Showing the Enemy's Act of Aggression

According to Bruner (1991), narratives require adherence to a behaviour which is regarded canonical in a culturally defined situation. This canonical behaviour is described as a script that represents a necessary background for a tale. The successful presentation of any narrative demands a breach or violation of the legitimacy of an implicit canonical script, causing violence to the normalcy of everyday life. This deviation from the canonical elements of everyday life is described as a 'precipitating event' which paves the way, in the current study, to link the communicative purpose

of the address with other arguments and narratives of the text. Breaches of the canonical scripts are often highly conventional when telling narratives (Labov, cited in Bruner, 1991). Such breaches take the form of familiar human plights such as a wife that has been betrayed or a husband that has been cuckolded (Hodges, 2013). In the texts of the current study, breaches of the life normalcy or what so called ‘precipitating event’ was embodied by the act of aggression committed by the enemy towards innocents and the system of the world which was deemed as one of the justifiable reasons (*casus belli*) for going to war (Coverdale, 2004; Mosley, 2009). As shown in the excerpts below, presidents, in their presidential war narratives or addresses, refer to a specific point of time to mark the starting point of the enemy’s act of aggression which is rendered as a breach of the life normalcy.

1. Less than a week ago, in the early morning hours of August 2nd, Iraqi Armed Forces, without provocation or warning, invaded a peaceful Kuwait (S9, Bush, August 8, 1990).
2. This conflict started August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. ... Five months ago, Saddam Hussein started this cruel war against Kuwait (S4,7, Bush, January 16, 1991).
3. But we must acknowledge the reality I am here to talk about tonight, that nearly 16 years after September 11 attacks, after the extraordinary sacrifice of blood and treasure, the American people are weary of war without victory (S35, Trump, August 21, 2017).
4. On August 21st, when Assad’s government gassed to death over a thousand people, including hundreds of children (S11, Obama, September 10, 2013).
5. On April 5 in West Berlin a terrorist bomb exploded in a nightclub frequented by American servicemen (S7, Reagan, April 15, 1986).
6. In recent days, these terrorists have continued to move across Iraq, and have neared the city of Erbil, where American diplomats and civilians serve at our consulate and American military personnel advise Iraqi forces (S6, Obama, August 7, 2014).

‘Precipitating event’ was regarded as one of the obligatory strategies under Move 1 as it was used with eleven occurrences out of twelve war addresses.

According to Hodges (2011; 2013), mentioning a specific date of the enemy’s act of aggression as a precipitating event marks the boundary to the narrative field, dividing the world into one that is canonical before the date and one that is violent after the aggression. For example, in George H. W. Bush’s address on Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait delivered on January 16, 1991, the world was split into a pre-August 2nd as adhering to the canonicity of life and a post- August 2nd as a world experiencing a breach of the legitimacy of the canonicity script. The same was also true for other

excerpts given above. In terms of obligatory moves and strategies, a reference to the precipitating event as an enemy's act of attack or violence formed one of the obligatory strategies that had a schematic and a semantic function to serve the central move to achieve its communicative goal of justifying the military intervention.

Given the JWT doctrine, there must be a just or proper cause for going to war or introducing armed forces. War, though terrible, is not the worse option for Just War theorists when, as they argue, it leads to significant responsibilities, desirable outcomes or preventable atrocities. Assigning a just cause is one of the most important arguments of the JWT. Most Just War theorists claim that committing acts of attacks or aggression is unjust and allow others a just cause to repulse this aggression or to resort to war (Coverdale, 2004; Mosley, 2009; Carter, 2017). In the presidential war narrative of the current study, thus, the act of aggression done by the enemy took several forms. They included the form of a physical injury (an invasion of territory or that which has been wrongly taken) as in the excerpts (1) and (2) above, the form of the terrorist bomb at home as in the excerpts (3) and (5) above, the form of genocide committed against civilians as shown in the excerpt (4) above and the form of aggression against international rules as shown in the excerpt (7) below.

7. Six weeks ago, Saddam Hussein announced that he would no longer cooperate with the United Nations weapons inspectors called UNSCOM (S8, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

As such, narrating an act of aggression committed by the enemy in a specific time and place operated as a form of just cause presented by presidents to construct justificatory rhetoric for their military intervention. Telling what happened (precipitating event showing the act of aggression committed by the enemy) and why it was worth telling (as a form of just cause to justify military actions) have fulfilled the two components of a linguistic account of narrative structure recognised and provided by Labov (Cited in Bruner, 1991).

Specifically, suggesting *Precipitating Event Showing the Enemy's Act of Aggression* as an obligatory strategy was an important finding that was well obtained and tied with previous studies (Hodges, 2011; 2013). Hodges (2013) demonstrated that

‘precipitating event’ was one of the generic elements that was frequently adopted by presidents as a tenet of just cause to justify and legitimise the military action taken by the United States and its allies. For Hodges (2013, p. 53), the reference to the precipitating event as a first and major generic element in PWAs ‘marks the beginning of a discrete war or military campaign’. Hodges’ (2013) notion of ‘precipitating event’ is inconsistent with what has been found in this study. In the current study, ‘precipitating event’ was rendered as a strategy, not a major generic element, along with other strategies forming narratives and arguments used to justify the military actions. In another study of the schematic overview of the generic elements that made up the narrative of the ‘war on terror’ speeches delivered by George W. Bush over a span of nearly seven year 2001-2006, Hodges’s precipitating event to justify present and future course of war was the event of 11 September (Hodges, 2011). He considered 9/11 as the starting point and the pivot around which the remaining narrative was organised where that goes in contrast to the finding of the current study in considering the enemy’s act of aggression as the precipitating event that triggered the stage of justifying the undertaken military action.

4.3.1.1 Epideictic Type of Rhetoric Realising Strategy 1 of Move 1

To repeat, the function of the first strategy of Move 1 was to divide the world into one that is canonical before the date of the enemy’s aggression and one that is violent after the aggression. As a result, presidents, within this specific strategy, needed to recount the new world after aggression, a production of a world that would justify their legitimacy to what military actions already ordered and taken. The creation of the newly imagined world occurred so early immediately after the presidents announced to the nation the military action at the start of each address. After that, presidents soon provided a series of propositions leading to the understanding of a conclusion that the president and his administration were justified in undertaking the military attack. This result was also verified by Dow (1989) in his analysis of Reagan’s (1983) speech on the events in Lebanon and Grenada. To define and realise this rhetorical act of the epideictic rhetoric, presidents linked old acts of aggression with the new ones to create the unprecedented present (Murphy, 2003). Those propositions

created by presidents in this strategy affirmed in content that a violation of the normalcy of the world had taken place and that the world was born with a new form. Presidents also enacted in content the belief that the new-born world had appeared from ‘the cocoon of the old, exploiting the fact that epideictic is a rhetoric of transformation’ (Murphy, 2003, p. 614).

In his televised presidential speech of April 14, 1986, Reagan recognised the needs of the audiences to understand the event and reason of waging war against Libya. Consequently, Reagan set out to evocatively recount past events of April 5, solemnly describing the number of people killed and wounded due to the terrorist bomb in a nightclub in West Berlin. By Reagan’s reference to time (now) when remarking that ‘Evidence Is Now Conclusive’, Reagan placed himself and his audiences in the present (the temporal marker of epideictic speech). In other words, Reagan placed himself in a position to reflect on the past while simultaneously projecting the course to the future (Hubanks, 2009).

8. On April 5 in West Berlin a terrorist bomb exploded in a nightclub frequented by American servicemen. Sgt. Kenneth Ford and a young Turkish woman were killed and 230 others were wounded, among them some 50 American military personnel. Evidence Is Now Conclusive (S7, Reagan, April 14, 1986).

In the next excerpt, the president realised his epideictic function of discourse when he felt that his audiences were more in need for further explanation and understanding of the event. Thus, Reagan further defined the attack by the statement below.

9. On March 25, more than a week before the attack, orders were sent from Tripoli to the Libyan People's Bureau in East Berlin to conduct a terrorist attack against Americans, to cause maximum and indiscriminate casualties. Libya's agents then planted the bomb (S12-13, Reagan, April 14, 1986).

A self-explanatory characteristic of excerpt (9) above was the quintessential epideictic rhetoric when Reagan utilised eulogistic themes of suffering loss and missing the dead to define and make communal the nation’s distress. This result was also supported by Hubanks (2009, p. 215) who stated that George W. Bush, in his speech of September 14th, 2001, utilised ‘eulogistic themes (suffering loss, feeling

sorrow, missing the dead) to define and express the nation's collective anguish'. As in the case of eulogy whereby the community has suffered a loss, and its major need was to define the situation and assign meaning to that event, war situations established similar needs especially those in which Americans were shot dead. Subsequently, praise and blame, as tenets of epideictic oration, were successfully used by presidents in terms of the state of the current events. Praise and blame were used as a means of further defining the situation and removing confusion. This was reflected especially when Reagan blamed the enemy of committing a horrific action through bombing a nightclub frequented by American servicemen. Thus, through narrating past events to comment on current things, blaming the enemy's act of killing, and eulogising the innocent people, presidents succeeded in shaping the understanding of audiences and comforting them as the main goal of the speaker (Hubanks, 2009).

In a speech given on August 8 1990, George W. H. Bush, ordered 82nd Airborne Division as well as key units of the US air force to take up defensive positions in Saudi Arabia. In fact, Bush felt the need to define the meaning of this military introduction and audiences felt the need to understand this horrific event as well (Dow, 1989). As a result, Bush began his speech by defining the situation to inform the audiences of the events that forcefully motivated the United States to resort to war. At the start of the first rhetorical move, Bush described the events that have taken place over the preceding week during which Iraqi armed forces invaded a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations, Kuwait.

10. Less than a week ago, in the early morning hours of August 2nd, Iraqi Armed Forces, without provocation or warning, invaded a peaceful Kuwait. Facing negligible resistance from its much smaller neighbor, Iraq's tanks stormed in blitzkrieg fashion through Kuwait in a few short hours. With more than 100,000 troops, along with tanks, artillery, and surface-to-surface missiles, Iraq now occupies Kuwait. This aggression came just hours after Saddam Hussein specifically assured numerous countries in the area that there would be no invasion (S9-12, Bush, August 8, 1990).

In the excerpt above, epideictic rhetoric, through the utilisation of past events, succeeded in aligning the current event of war declaration against Iraq. Early in the speech, Bush recalled a tragic incident when Iraqi armed forces invaded its neighbour Kuwait. This strategy of recounting tragic incidents undertaken by the enemy immediately after declaring war was also evidenced in Dow (1989), Glover (2007),

Jackson (2004b) and Hubanks (2009). Bush also argued that although Kuwait is a neighbour to Iraq and is known of being a peaceful country and does not have the potential to resist the aggression, yet Saddam deliberately attacked it.

By linking current events with past events of the perceived irrational behaviour of the enemy, Bush was able to place the military action against Iraq within the epideictic pattern and make it understandable for the audiences. Although the majority of the American audiences were not personally involved in the decision of the military action taken, they were still experiencing a sense of confusion and a need to understand the meaning of the event that the nation conducted and how the nation would proceed. In response, presidential discourse reacted to such a need by dissociating the nation from responsibility for the crisis and portraying the enemy as the agent of this horrific situation. Additionally, president Bush placed the event within a value-laden context through reference to communal beliefs and values of the nation as this was also reported by Eisenstadt's (2014) work. Communal values were explicitly denoted in Bush's declaration 'in the life of a nation, we're called upon to define who we are and what we believe', where the president here made an implicit reference to the value of peace, democracy, order and freedom that the United States was keen and is still so to restore during its history. Citizens were in need to understand what has happened and who they were in light of a communal rupture (Dow, 1989; Murphy, 2003; Hubanks, 2009). Epideictic rhetoric addressed such concerns. The rhetorical function of these strategies was to establish a communal meaning for the event, have the audience understand, and guide the response of the nation.

Consequently, to realise the exigency and the communicative/rhetorical function of this strategy in terms of the communicative purpose of the address, the epideictic type of rhetoric dominated this rhetorical strategy. The use of epideictic rhetoric in this context helped to reimagine that the enemy's attack was definitely unjust and the US response in the light of the values system of humanity and the world order was just. In brief, it is a group of strategies of the epideictic rhetoric used in this study to define and realise the communicative goal of Strategy 1 of Move 1. These strategies included creating a new world after aggression, linking old events with the new one, defining things to understand them well, sharing the communal beliefs and

utilising eulogistic themes. These findings also appeared in previous studies (Dow, 1989; Murphy, 2003; Jackson, 2004b; Glover, 2007; Hubanks, 2009; Bostdorff, 2011) where their focus was not on the enemy's act of aggression as a stage or a move in the speech, but on the epideictic type of argument as a strategy of demonstrating and realising the rhetor's aims.

4.3.1.2 Illocutionary Speech Acts Realising Strategy 1 of Move 1

Hodges (2013) states that events and happenings prevail in the world in which we live, but these events and happenings do not essentially reflect their specific interpretations. To imbue those events and happenings with meaning, speakers use narratives to recount events in a purposeful meaningful manner. Hodges (2013, p. 50) defines narrative as 'a potent means for structuring and organizing our perceptual experience'. It is 'a much more powerful device for achieving shared understanding than logical and scientific procedures that can be weeded out by falsification'. As the first rhetorical move of the present study, *Communicating Narratives and Arguments to Justify the Military Action* was discursively established by the use of narrative, events were extracted from the world and moulded in a specific manner to accomplish the rhetorical functions intended. In the first obligatory strategy of Move 1, the precipitating events were narrated rhetorically by presidents to show, inform, assert and confirm the enemy's act of aggression.

Thus, as a strategy employed to justify the American military actions against enemies, presidents built and established this move as containing multiple and coherent groups of illocutionary forces or speech acts extending within excerpts forming the move. This specific strategy functioned to recount, assert and verify precipitating events through informative, retrodictive and confirmative speech acts, respectively. In fact, the construction of the pragmatic effect of this strategy was not arbitrarily formed or done. The types of speech acts were intentionally performed by presidents to realise the rhetorical function of the strategy in which they were used. Table 4-2 below shows the distribution of the types of illocutionary speech acts used in Strategy 1 of the obligatory Move 1.

Table 4-2 Frequencies of speech acts in strategy 1 of move 1

Number and Title of Move/Strategy	Types of Speech Acts		Frequency	Percentage
Move 1: Strategy 1: Precipitating event showing the enemy's act of aggression	Constatives	Assertives	9	14.28%
		Informatives	42	66.66%
		Confirmatives	1	1.58%
		Retrodictives	6	9.52%
		Descriptives	1	1.58%
		Retractives	1	1.58%
		Concessives	1	1.58%
	Directives	Requestives	2	3.17%
	Total		63	100%

As shown in the table above, the analysis of the data showed that informatives constitute the highest population of the used speech acts. They stood for 48 occurrences out of 63 and with 66.66%. The communicative function of this type of speech acts is to inform hearers. As a result, informative illocutionary force was widely and frequently used by presidents to inform audiences of the enemy's act of aggression represented by the precipitating evil event undertaken by enemies for which the United States was forceful to respond. In a speech delivered by George H. W. Bush to the Nation on the Invasion of Iraq on January 16, 1991, the president started the first strategy of Move 1 of the address with informing the audiences of the precipitating event which America was forceful to respond. As shown in the excerpt below, Bush recounted through informative speech acts that in August 2nd, Saddam Hussein invaded his neighbour, Kuwait. Bush went further in employing informatives in order to report that Kuwait, which is 'a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations' was destroyed and the Iraqi regime killed its people. After that, Bush confirmed the informativity of the communicative acts used when he narrated, in another way, the starting date of the cruel war of the enemy against Kuwait. He finalised the first strategy of Move 1 when he informed the nation of the exact time by which the United States responded.

11. This conflict started August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbour (Informative). Kuwait—a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations—was crushed; its people, brutalized (Informative). Five months ago, Saddam Hussein started this cruel war against Kuwait (Informative). Tonight, the battle has been joined (Informative) (S4-8, Bush, January 16, 1991).

In another example taken from Reagan's address on April 15, 1986, the president recounted past aggressive events when a nightclub frequented by American servicemen in West Berlin was exploded by a terrorist having relations to the Libyan government. Involved within these past events stated by the informative type of communicative acts was the killing of Sgt. Kenneth Ford, a young Turkish woman, the wounding of 230 people among them some 50 American military men and women. As usual in the war addresses, after informing the audiences and making clear of what happened and what was happening, presidents tended to either assert or confirm the enemy's act of aggression through the use of assertive speech acts as it is shown in the excerpt below.

12. On April 5 in West Berlin a terrorist bomb exploded in a nightclub frequented by American servicemen (Informative). Sgt. Kenneth Ford and a young Turkish woman were killed and 230 others were wounded, among them some 50 American military personnel (Informative). Evidence Is Now Conclusive (Assertive) (S7-9, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

To show the cruelty of the enemy's aggression and justify the American response, Reagan continued to inform the nation other previous initial evil aggressive acts conducted by the enemy. Reagan reported an earlier precipitating event taking place on March 25, 10 days before the terrorist attack in Berlin as mentioned in excerpt (10) above.

As indicated in Table 4.2 above, assertives represented the second most frequently used subtype of speech acts. They stood for 9 occurrences out of 63 with a percentage of 14.28. As for assertive speech acts, they were used to represent a state of affairs. One of the affairs that was asserted is George H. W. Bush's statement in view of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, that 'there is no justification whatsoever for this outrageous and brutal act of aggression'. Another state of affairs was presented by Trump's address 'On Afghanistan, Plans for U.S. Engagement', August 2017, when Trump stated that 'nearly 16 years after September 11 attacks, after the extraordinary sacrifice of blood and treasure, the American people are weary of war without victory'. Reagan represented a third example on April 15, 1986 remarked as 'evidence is now conclusive' as a result of the terrorist bomb conducted in Berlin by a terrorist having a connection with the Libyan government. Thus, by using assertives, presidents

asserted the belief that what had happened were explicit acts of aggression conducted by enemies deliberately and with evidence.

Retrodictives were ranked the third among the performed speech acts in this specific strategy of Move 1. They accounted for six occurrences and a percentage of 9.52%. Retrodiction is defined as stating, explaining or interpreting of a past event or action by inference based on information currently available (Retrodiction: Merriam-webster). The communicative function of retrodictive speech acts is to represent 'the belief that it was the case that *p*'. In contrast, the perlocutionary intention of retrodictive is to represent "the intention that *H* believe that it was the case that *p*" (Bach and Harnish, 1979, p. 42). Verbs which constitute this kind of speech acts are 'recount, report'. Examples of retrodictive speech act in this strategy were indirectly constructed to function as stating or interpreting facts about the past based on inference or deduction according to currently happening events. The following retrodictive speech act remarked as 'The international community had good reason to set this requirement' has been uttered by Clinton to assert an important belief. This belief stated that the international community was right in its decision to require Iraq to destroy its arsenal of weapons as a condition to cease the military action against Iraq for invading Kuwait in 1991. In this type of speech acts, the speaker did not inform events. Rather, he stated or explained a past fact based on currently available information. This past fact was reflected through a speech act of assertive that Iraq had and now has an arsenal of chemical weapons and, through a speech act of confirmative, that Iraq did use them. Clinton clearly indicated this in the following excerpt.

13. Other countries possess weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles (Assertive). With Saddam, there is one big difference (assertive): He has used them" (Confirmative). Not once, but repeatedly (S13-15, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

Other examples of retrodictive speech acts, as shown in the excerpt below, were articulated by George W. Bush in his address on Military Operations in Iraq on January 11, 2007, when he presented a past fact and retrodicted that the Iraqi elections of 2005 were a stunning achievement. He presented such a past fact based on the current situation of Iraq assigned by the time of delivering his speech. Bush continued through retrodictives to present past facts depending on his deduction and inference.

For Iraqi elections and depending on Iraqi situation in 2007, Bush retrodicted the belief that the Iraqi elections would unite Iraqis and that, by training Iraqi security forces, the United States could perform its mission in Iraq with fewer American troops.

14. When I addressed you just over a year ago, nearly 12 million Iraqis had cast their ballots for a unified and democratic nation (Informative). The elections of 2005 were a stunning achievement (Retrodictive). We thought that these elections would bring the Iraqis together (Retrodictive), and that as we trained Iraqi security forces, we could accomplish our mission with fewer American troops (Retrodictive) (S4-7, Bush, January 11, 2007).

Confirmative, requestive, descriptive, retractive and concessive types of speech acts were used with a very low frequency compared to informatives and assertives. Confirmative speech acts accounted for one occurrence with a percentage of 1.58%, and its use was utilised to confirm and verify the content of the informative speech acts used to refer to the precipitating events. This notion is clearly shown in the excerpt below.

15. With more than 100,000 troops, along with tanks, artillery, and surface-to-surface missiles, Iraq now occupies Kuwait (Confirmative) (S11, Bush, August, 8, 1990).

Similarly, requestive speech acts were slightly used. They stood for two occurrences and 3.17 %. Each of descriptive, retractive and concessive types of speech acts accounted for one occurrence with a percentage of 1.58%.

Thus, the communicative function of this specific strategy was to comfort audiences, to enlighten them, to increase their understanding of a matter of concern and to remove the distressing situation. As a result, informative type of illocutionary acts was the most frequently used to define and realise this function. One interesting note in the present analysis was that the informative speech acts were followed by assertive illocutionary speech acts to assert the enemy's act of aggression as a fact that had already existed and recalled military actions from the side of America and the world.

4.3.1.3 Lexico-Grammatical Features Realising Strategy 1 of Move 1

Importantly, the function of this move was to narrate what aggression the enemy did to the world system and peace as a step conducted by presidents to gain the audiences' support for justifying war. Accordingly, this move-structure (strategy) was marked with the predominant use of the past tense. As shown in the following verbs: announced, invaded, stormed, started, gave, pledged, happened, launched, deployed, began, gassed, and exploded, it can be observed that this strategy was characterised mostly by the use of the past tense. The use of past tense went in line with the communicative function of this strategy of narrating past acts of aggression done by the enemy. Using the past tense in this specific strategy conveyed the impression that the enemy kept going its brutal and evil acts and that the United States and the world were so patient towards these acts. Thus, this notion was evidenced in Move 2 which was concerned with the diplomatic efforts exerted by the United States and the international community to avoid the military response. Moreover, the syntax of this obligatory strategy of Move 1 was strikingly declarative and informative where the language, in the semantic field of the enemy's attack, relied heavily on the declarative type of sentences.

Specific time expressions were commonly used by presidents in Strategy 1 of Move 1 to denote the exact time of the enemy's act of aggression as the presidents began recounting past aggressive and offensive actions conducted by enemies. In this strategy, presidents denoted a specific time to label the beginning of the war narrative as a justification for the proclaimed military action as shown in the excerpts (1), (2), (3), (5), (6), and (7). The use of specific time expressions was prevalent in this generic structure and consistent with its rhetorical function of splitting history into two contrastive realms. The interpretive function of positioning the events after the time of the enemy's aggression served the proceedings of waging war as self-defence against enemies.

Emotive language was heaped upon when presidents described the enemy's act of aggression as an invasion against peaceful countries or innocent and civil people as this is clearly shown in the excerpts (1,2,3,4,5, and 6 ... 'invaded a peaceful Kuwait',

... ‘invaded a small and helpless neighbour’, ... ‘deployed chemical weapons to slaughter innocent civilians’, ... ‘gassed to death over a thousand people, including hundreds of children’, ... ‘a terrorist bomb exploded in a nightclub frequented by American servicemen’) respectively. By this type of rhetorical act, the speaker intended to persuade the American people and indeed the world, that the invasion was a humanitarian act of self-defence.

4.3.2 Strategy 2. Self-defence Nature/Mission of the Military Action

In generic terms, the second obligatory strategy advocated by presidents as a just cause to justify recourse to war was self-defence nature/mission of the military action. The precipitating event, thus, represented the barbarity of the enemy’s act of aggression. As a result, the argument of self-defence was framed with the implication that the United States was forced into wars as it was a matter of life or death with no other alternative just to intervene militarily (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). In view of this, war was thrust on the United States, to which it should rebuff as self-defence. Accordingly, all the US military actions were deemed to be defensive even if they were characterised as offensive by some war theorists (Hodges, 2013). In this regard, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) argue that opinions vary in the distinction between the military actions taken as a defensive or offensive use of military capabilities to achieve self-interest. In this argument, Hodges (2013) emphasises the importance of establishing war as a defensive act when a division of opinions varies to settle this problematic situation.

In order to repulse the implicit intentions of self-interest, the resulting narrative tended to recount the US military intervention as an action to defend the nation against a threat that was frequently amplified by speakers (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). Thus, after presidents denoted the offence of the enemy as the precipitating event, they typically moved next into a discussion of the US response as defensive in nature. Because this strategy represented one of the central tenets of just cause and right intention to go to war, it was frequently used in all of the twelve APWAs. As such, the idea of a just cause to resort to war unfolded the rhetorical process that was adopted

by all presidents in justifying their forceful military actions (Hodges, 2013). The strategy of arguing the self-defence discourse was consistent with that used by Hodges (2013) as this is explicitly stated in the following excerpts.

16. Their purpose is to **protect** the national interest of the United States, and indeed the interests of people throughout the Middle East and around the world (S5, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
17. The mission of our troops is wholly **defensive**. Hopefully, they will not be needed long. They will not initiate hostilities, but they will defend themselves, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and other friends in the Persian Gulf (S63-66, Bush, August 8, 1990).
18. We **defend** not only our precious freedoms, but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear (S34, Bush, October 7, 2001).
19. This is not a world we should accept. This is what's at stake. And that is why, after careful deliberation, I determined that it is in the national security interests of the United States to **respond** to the Assad regime's use of chemical weapons through a targeted military strike (S49-51, Obama, September 10, 2013).
20. **Self-defence** is not only our right, it is our duty. It is the purpose behind the mission undertaken tonight – a mission fully consistent with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. Secure World Is Nearer (S43-46 Reagan April 15, 1986).

As far as the JWT is concerned, self-defence against the physical act of aggression was deemed one of the proper reasons to achieve the tenet of a just cause (Mosley, 2009). Accordingly, drafters of the United Nations Charter have restricted the conditions in which going to war would be legal to defend against active aggressions or future imminent threats (Coverdale, 2004). Within its larger conception, forms of self-defence varied according to a variation of the acts of aggression and attacks committed by the enemy. Self-defence, as a strategy frequently adopted in presidential war narrative, was framed as a defence against an attack under way as shown in the excerpts below.

21. I took this action to assist the Saudi Arabian Government in the defense of its homeland (S5, Bush, August 8, 1990).
22. These carefully targeted actions are designed to disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations and to attack the military capability of the Taliban regime (S2, Bush, October 7, 2001).
23. ...to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger (S1, Bush, March 20, 2003).
24. The question now is what the United States of America, and the international community, is prepared to do about it. Because what happened to those people -- to those children -- is not only a violation of international law, it's also a danger to our security (S37-39, Obama, September 10, 2013).

Self-defence also took the form of a humanitarian intervention as described in the following quotation:

Interference in the internal affairs of a state by another state or group of states (or by the international community represented by the United Nations) to protect human rights in situations involving gross violations of those rights or radical state break-down (Coverdale, 2004, p. 239).

Thus, Just War theorists agree that humanitarian motives can justify military intervention especially in cases of urgent humanitarian emergencies. In this study, these humanitarian motives were framed as assisting others against an oppressive government committing severe violations of human rights such as genocide and ethnic cleansing (Coverdale, 2004). This is clearly shown in the excerpts below.

25. We are prepared to sustain this response until the Syrian regime stops its use of prohibited chemical agents (S16, Trump, April, 2018).
26. The world saw thousands of videos, cell phone pictures, and social media accounts from the attack, and humanitarian organizations told stories of hospitals packed with people who had symptoms of poison gas (S24, Obama, September 10, 2013).
27. And not only against a foreign enemy, but even against his own people, gassing Kurdish civilians in Northern Iraq (S18, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
28. This regime has already used weapons of mass destruction against Iraq's neighbors and against Iraq's people (S14, Bush, March 17, 2003).

The third frame of self-defence was a military action conducted in the defence of the America's interests, the common good, peace, and freedom of the world as shown in the excerpts (16), (17), (18), (19), and (26) above.

In the wake of the terrorist events of September 11, 2001, Bush administration disseminated a new national security strategy. Central to this strategy is the concept of pre-emption or pre-emptive action—'the use of military force in advance of a first use of force by the enemy' (Arend, 2003, p. 89). In recent years, special attention has been dedicated by Just War theorists to the justification for pre-emptive military actions to prevent rogue states from acquiring and using nuclear, biological or chemical weapons of mass destruction. Pre-emptive war is a war undertaken to repulse or defeat a perceived imminent threat. It is an impending and unavoidable war shortly conducted before the enemy's attack materialises (Coverdale, 2004). Consequently, by the new

policy of the national security strategy, the United States can defend itself or one of its allies by destroying these threats in advance before they reach its borders. The following excerpts generated military actions as a self-defence mission necessary to pre-empt an imminent threat. This result was directly in line with Dunmire's (2007) finding that the terminology of 'pre-emptive war' which guided America's military response was to be recognised as a self-defence action according to the JWT and international law.

29. Saddam Hussein must not be allowed to threaten his neighbors or the world with nuclear arms, poison gas or biological weapons (S6, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
30. The international community had little doubt then, and I have no doubt today, that left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will use these terrible weapons again (S19-21, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
31. By the end of World War I, more than one million people had been killed or injured by chemical weapons. We never want to see that ghastly specter return (S42-43, Trump, April 13, 2018).
32. We can no longer be silent about Pakistan's safe havens for terrorist organizations, the Taliban, and other groups that pose a threat to the region and beyond (S97, Trump, August 21, 2017).

A key feature of the pre-emptive discourses used above to legitimise present or future military actions was its orientation with the future and the necessity to shape the future in a way to exhort audiences into full consensus (Dunmire, 2007). This notion was evidenced when the United States exploited the hypothetical event of the Iraqi invasion of Saudi Arabia to be discursively construed as an inevitable future threat and a just cause to justify the US military action against Iraq in 1991 (Dunmire, 1997). According to Grosz and Grosz (1999, p. 4), to make any future threat known is to 'deny it as future, to place it as given, as past'. In the excerpts given below, presidents shaped the hypothetical threat of the enemy, though potentially implicated in future, as given threats that would be soon conducted by the enemy if not rebuffed through a pre-emptive military action. In other words, according to the National Security Strategy, those who recognise the imminent danger and fail to act against it will be harshly blamed by history.

33. The danger is clear: using chemical, biological or, one day, nuclear weapons, obtained with the help of Iraq, the terrorists could fulfil their stated ambitions and kill thousands or hundreds of thousands of innocent people in our country, or any other (S18-19, Bush, March 17, 2003).

34. In the face of today's new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it (S30, Bush, October 7, 2001).
35. Third and finally, I concluded that the security threats we face in Afghanistan and the broader region are immense. Today, 20 U.S.-designated foreign terrorist organizations are active in Afghanistan and Pakistan (S60-61, Trump, August 21, 2017).
36. We can no longer be silent about Pakistan's safe havens for terrorist organizations, the Taliban, and other groups that pose a threat to the region and beyond (S97, Trump, August 21, 2017).

In generic terms, a similar pattern of finding was also obtained in some other studies (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008; Hodges, 2011; 2013). For example, in Campbell and Jamieson (2008), the theme of self-defence nature/mission of the military action has taken one of the forms that reflected the major generic element of 'Use of Narrative' that was rhetorically utilised to justify the undertaken military intervention. This specific form of narrative tended to shape the conflict as an attack done by the enemy which gave legitimacy to the presidential initiatives as actions to defend the nation (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). A similar conclusion was also reached by Hodges' (2013) study in which self-defence was regarded as one of the discursive strategies used to represent the American response to the precipitating event. The same was also true for Hodges (2013) who described American response to the precipitating event of 9/11 as a defensive mission.

4.3.2.1 Deliberative Type of Rhetoric Realising Strategy 2 of Move 1

After using the epideictic type of rhetoric to define and realise the function of strategy 1 of Move 1, deliberative type of rhetoric prevailed the second strategy of the same move. In critical terms, the presidents' frequent use of the fear and threat rhetoric can be regarded to constitute an implicit reference to the deliberative argument made to the American people. Several examples of the hegemony of the discourse of the emerging threats and dangers existed in the APWAs as a way to validate and legitimise the American attacks against enemies as self-defence missions. As such, because these types of discourse appealed to a national sense of grief and desire for punishing the enemy, they implicitly denoted a specific policy that there should be a pre-emptive step to stop the enemy's threat and that punishment must be sought (Dunmire, 2007). By providing these propositions, presidents previewed policies for the union's

betterment. They suggested expediency arguments to gain the public support for the taken military action.

Accordingly, to justify the meaning and the function of the self-defence strategy, presidents, manipulated a politics of fear to establish for ‘a right-wing agenda that included the Patriot Act, massive changes in our legal system, a dramatic expansion of the U.S. military, and U.S.-led military intervention’ (Hubanks, 2009, p. 205). To put into practice the politics of fear, most presidents, in their war narrative, constructed the discourse of an ‘evil Other, a loosely defined yet easily identifiable enemy against whom Americans could unite’ (Hubanks, 2009, p. 205). Instead of discussing that the policy presented was the most expedient plan to take, however, Clinton, in his televised address on Iraq strike on December 16, 1998, argued that the policy presented was the most expedient plan to have taken. This conclusion was also demonstrated and reported in the following way:

Because it was clear that his actions could only be revealed after they had occurred, public demonstration of such deliberation necessarily came after-the-fact. Nonetheless, a national address discussing such actions must highlight the deliberative characteristics of the process, in order to reassure a democratic society that has negative memories of secret wars (Dow, 1989, p. 302).

Notably, the policy change of the United States from declared to undeclared responses also emphasised the vitality of deliberative strategies to these situations. The development of nuclear arms, poison gas or biological weapons has made the state of declaring warfare virtually unthinkable. Thus, presidents have expanded their authority to wage undeclared wars in the name of defeating universal terrorism. Without a congressional declaration of war, however, the United States will have a mandatory response from the public towards the present crisis (Dow, 1989). One purpose of deliberative war rhetoric is to gain the informal approval of the Congress and public for presidential action that has already been taken. In the following excerpt, Clinton justified the military action conducted by America against Iraq as expedient in terms of preventing Saddam Hussein from using chemical weapons in threatening his neighbours or the world. Clinton went further to exaggerate the expediency of his military strikes. Clinton resorted to fixing the fear from Saddam’s use of chemical

weapons AGAIN (normal behaviour of Saddam) if Saddam was left without a military action to repulse his ambitions. This result was also reported in Dow's (1989) study.

37. Saddam Hussein must not be allowed to threaten his neighbors or the world with nuclear arms, poison gas or biological weapons (S6, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
38. The international community had little doubt then, and I have no doubt today, that left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will use these terrible weapons again (S19-21, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
39. This situation presents a clear and present danger to the stability of the Persian Gulf and the safety of people everywhere (S54, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

To gain the Congress and public support for the undertaken military action and to mitigate the opposition voices, Clinton and other presidents used this exigency to structure the second strategy of Move 1 in clear deliberative rhetoric and to show that their course was expedient, wise and reasonable. The strategies that have been clearly employed by American presidents to define the discourse of self-defence and to justify their undeclared wars was to rely on evidence and past experience. This evidence was directly related to the situation being discussed rather than the values underlying the situation in question. This finding was also shared by Dow (1989, p. 304), who argued that Reagan, in his use of arguments, 'offered specific evidence establishing that the action was rational and expedient'. The following excerpts taken from George W. H. Bush's address on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 8, 1990, and Reagan's address explained the dependability of presidents on past experience and evidence to justify the self-defence mission.

40. But we must recognise that Iraq may not stop using force to advance its ambitions. Iraq has massed an enormous war machine on the Saudi border capable of initiating hostilities with little or no additional preparation. Given the Iraqi government's history of aggression against its own citizens as well as its neighbors, to assume Iraq will not attack again would be unwise and unrealistic (S50-52, Bush, August 8, 1990).
41. The evidence is now conclusive that the terrorist bombing of La Belle discotheque was planned and executed under the direct orders of the Libyan regime (S11, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

Accordingly, Bush succeeded in portraying the mass of Iraqi armed forces near the Saudi borders with its history of offence against its neighbours as evidence to justify the policy taken and to gain more support from public opinion.

The effect of these deliberative strategies was to confirm that the policy adopted earlier was expedient. In an address on April 1986, Reagan stressed that the airstrikes against Libya was prudent and justified. In addition, Reagan established that the military action was planned and executed successfully and ultimately expedient for the objectives that would be achieved. The expediency of the undertaken airstrikes was summarised in his address as a strong motive to alter Qaddafi's criminal behaviour, provide evidence of his reign of terror and restore a secure world for the Libyan people.

42. We believe that this pre-emptive action against his terrorist installations will not only diminish Colonel Qaddafi's capacity to export terror -it will provide him with incentives and reasons to alter his criminal behavior. I have no illusion that tonight's action will bring down the curtain on Qaddafi's reign of terror, but this mission, violent though it was, can bring closer a safer and more secure world for decent men and women. We will persevere (S47-51, Reagan, April 14, 1986).

Similarly, Trump did the most favourable deliberative account when he recollected memories of World War I and appropriated them to muster support for the airstrikes already conducted against targets associated with the chemical weapons capabilities of the Syrian government. Trump invoked lessons of the past to reinforce a shared identity and to instil both obligation and confidence of the advocated policy. The trend of recourse to past historical memories was also evidenced in the following view:

Historical analogies offer cognitive frameworks through which we might evaluate new information and experience, but they also trigger emotional, even subconscious associations that are equally capable of inspiring, attracting, and recruiting support for a particular political decision (Noon, 2004, p. 340).

Noon (2004) also added that the three types of rhetoric vitally invoked historical analogies, but, given the exigency of the second strategy of Move 1, they were adapted to meet the needs of the deliberative type of rhetoric. By adopting this rhetorical act, audiences became in a status of mandatory acceptance of Trump's policy to avoid being anguished, held or killed by the use of chemical weapons.

43. In the last century, we looked straight into the darkest places of the human soul. We saw the anguish that can be unleashed and the evil that can take hold. By the end of

World War I, more than one million people had been killed or injured by chemical weapons. We never want to see that ghastly specter return (S40-43, Trump, April 13, 2018).

In explaining this fear-based rhetoric whereby the doers of elusive evil have the desire and the tool to conduct harm upon the United States at any moment, the argumentative deliberative nature of the presidents’ war discourse was dominant. In view of prior research, this finding was consistent with that of Hubanks (2009) who argued that PWR has consistently been the venue through which American presidents echoed fear arguments having the nation and audiences look anxiously to the government to put a policy for protection and defence. Other studies that demonstrated this result was Dow (1989) and Glover (2007). On the contrary, Murphy (2003) concluded the complete absence of the deliberative argument from George W. Bush’s post 9/11 speeches as he thought that Bush’s speeches did not offer policy and expediency arguments for the nation’s common good. Hubanks (2009) critiqued Murphy’s work stating that concentrating on the epideictic strategies only of Bush’s rhetoric—and surely, they exist – is to ignore other important rhetorical strategies including those aspects with implicit arguments articulated through fear-based rhetoric. Thus, legitimised by the presidential addresses and established to resonate in the public mind, the presidents’ fear appeals were to advocate a policy by simply showing its present and future expediency and by reminding American people of the threats and dangers they may face.

4.3.2.2 Illocutionary Speech Acts Realising Strategy 2 of Move 1

The most frequently used speech acts in strategy 2 of Move 1 are shown in Table 4-3 below.

Table 4-3 Frequencies of speech acts in strategy 2 of move 1

Number and Title of Move	Types of Speech Acts		Frequency	Percentage
Move 1: Strategy 2: Self-defensive nature/mission of the military action	Constatives	Assertives	29	25.66%
		Informatives	14	12.38%
		Confirmatives	35	30.97%
		Predictives	8	7.07%

Number and Title of Move	Types of Speech Acts	Frequency	Percentage	
		Responsives	4	3.53%
		Suppositives	1	0.88%
		Descriptives	2	1.76%
	Directives	Requestives	5	4.42%
	Commissives	Promises	14	12.38%
		Offers	1	0.88%
	Total		113	100

As displayed in Table 4.3 above, confirmatives made up the biggest set of illocutionary speech acts in the second obligatory strategy, *Self-defensive Nature of the Military Action* of Move 1. They were used with a frequency of 35 out of 113 speech acts with a percentage of 30.97%. Confirmatives are illocutionary speech acts expressing ‘not only the speaker’s belief that *P* but that he believes it as a result of some truth-seeking procedure, such as observation, investigation, or argument’ (Bach and Harnish, 1979, p. 46). Presidents quite frequently used a confirmative type of illocutionary acts in this specific strategy to explicitly and implicitly confirm the self-defence nature of the conducted military action. Explicitly stated references to the self-defence nature of the military actions taken against the enemy were cited in George H. W. Bush’s address in 1990 and Reagan address in 1986.

44. the mission of our troops is wholly defensive (S63, Bush, August 8, 1990).
45. self-defence is not only our right, it is our duty. It is the purpose behind the mission undertaken tonight - a mission fully consistent with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter (S43-45, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

Other references of the right of the self-defence were implicitly stated by presidents when they verified and concluded a group of affairs. These were the enemy’s use of, or intention to use, chemical and killing weapons as cited in Clinton’s speech in 1998 and Obama’s speech in 2013.

46. The international community had little doubt then, and I have no doubt today, that left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will use these terrible weapons again (S19-21, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
47. No one disputes that chemical weapons were used in Syria. The world saw thousands of videos, cell phone pictures, and social media accounts from the attack, and humanitarian organizations told stories of hospitals packed with people who had symptoms of poison gas (S23-24, Obama, September 10, 2013).

Second, the self-defence nature of the taken military action was underlined through confirming the ability of the enemy to initiate hostilities and act aggressively, as remarked by Trump in his speech of 2017.

48. We can no longer be silent about Pakistan's safe havens for terrorist organizations, the Taliban, and other groups that pose a threat to the region and beyond (Confirmative) (S97, Trump, August 21, 2017).

A third form of justifying the self-defence policy of the United States and its allies were discursively identified through validating and confirming the necessity of the pre-emptive war to defeat enemies and pursue peace as shown in the excerpts below.

49. In the face of today's new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it (Confirmative) (S30, Bush, October 7, 2001).
50. And that is why, after careful deliberation, I determined that it is in the national security interests of the United States to respond to the Assad regime's use of chemical weapons through a targeted military strike (Confirmative) (S51, Obama, September 10, 2013).

A fourth discourse used by the United States and its allies to justify the right of self-defence was to confirm the enemy's emerging threat and danger as this is clear in the following excerpt.

51. Third and finally, I concluded that the security threats we face in Afghanistan and the broader region are immense (Confirmative). Today, 20 U.S.-designated foreign terrorist organizations are active in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Confirmative). The highest concentration in any region anywhere in the world (Confirmative) (S60-62, Trump, August 21, 2017).

The fifth strategy used by the United States to realise the self-defence nature of the conducted military intervention was through confirming the evidence of the enemy's responsibility of evil attacks as shown in Reagan's speech of 1986.

52. Our evidence is direct (Confirmative), it is precise (Confirmative), it is irrefutable (Confirmative). We have solid evidence about other attacks Qaddafi has planned against the United States' installations and diplomats and even American tourists (Confirmative). Other Attacks Prevented (Confirmative) (S16-20, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

The second most frequently used type of constative speech acts in the generic strategy of *Self-defensive Nature of Military Actions* was assertives. Assertive speech acts were used with a frequency of 29 and a percentage of 25.66%. Assertives are one sub-type of constative speech acts that express ‘a belief, together with the expression of an intention that the hearer form, continue to hold, a similar belief’ (Bach and Harnish, 1979, p. 46). By the increased use of assertive speech acts in this specific strategy, presidents wanted to assert a series of beliefs or to represent states of affairs. Similar to the function of confirmative speech acts, assertives were also used to establish that America’s response came up as self-defence through stating a group of beliefs including assertions of the peaceful nature of Americans as shown in the excerpts below.

53. America does not seek conflict, nor do we seek to chart the destiny of other nations (Assertive) (S61, Bush, January 16, 1990).
54. We're a peaceful nation (Assertive) (S28, Bush, October 7, 2001)
55. The United States and other nations did nothing to deserve or invite this threat (Assertive) (S20, Bush, March 17, 2003).

Another group of beliefs asserted by presidents included the clarity of emerging threat and danger that urged the United States to take a defensive position, as shown in the following excerpts.

56. This situation presents a clear and present danger to the stability of the Persian Gulf and the safety of people everywhere (Assertive) (S54, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
57. The danger is clear (Assertive) (S18, Bush, March 17, 2003).
58. We intend to stay vigilant, and take action if these terrorist forces threaten our personnel or facilities anywhere in Iraq (S10, Obama, August 7, 2014).

Further, assertive speech acts were represented in the presidents’ beliefs that the military mission conducted by the United States was oriented to secure the world. This is clear in the following excerpts.

59. Secure World Is Nearer (S46, Reagan, April 15, 1986).
But this mission, violent though it was, can bring closer a safer and more secure world for decent men and women (Assertive). (Assertive) (S50, Reagan, April 15, 1986).
60. This is not a world we should accept (Assertive). This is what’s at stake (Assertive) (S49-50, Obama, September 10, 2013).
61. We never want to see that ghastly specter return (Assertive) (S43, Trump, April 13, 2018)

Also, characteristic in Table 4.3 above was the presidents' use of commissive speech acts. Commissives were used in this specific strategy with a frequency of 15. Commissives are defined as:

Acts of obligating oneself or of proposing to obligate oneself to do something specified in the propositional content, which may also specify conditions under which the deed is to be done or does not have to be done (Bach and Harnish, 1979, p. 50).

Two types were listed under this category: promises and offers. Promises are speech acts 'of obligating oneself; offers are proposals to obligate oneself' (Bach and Harnish, 1979, p. 50). In this specific generic strategy of *Self-defence Nature/Mission of the Military Action*, promises were used with a frequency of 14 and a percentage of 12.38%. The verbs that constitute promises are 'promise, swear, vow' (Bach and Harnish, 1979, p. 50). Embedded in the commissive speech acts used by presidents in this strategy was the use of promises addressed to oaths taken by presidents to protect American lives and interests.

62. When our citizens are abused or attacked anywhere in the world, on the direct orders of a hostile regime, we will respond, so long as I'm in this Oval Office (Promise) (S42, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

Promises were also used by presidents to address the presidents and the US commitments to continuing self-defence through promises of defeating global threat and destroying the enemy's chemical weapons.

63. But we will do everything to defeat it (Promise). Instead of drifting along toward tragedy, we will set a course toward safety (Promise). Before the day of horror can come, before it is too late to act, this danger will be removed (Promise) (S21-23, Bush, March 17, 2003).

Other forms of promises were used to address the US perseverance of self-defending itself, its allies and friends against the enemy's threat and danger.

64. But America will stand by her friends (promise)... Hopefully, they will not be needed long (Predictive). They will not initiate hostilities (Promise), but they will defend themselves, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and other friends in the Persian Gulf (Promise) (S62-65, Bush, August 8, 1990).

65. We will persevere (Promise) (S51, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

Overall, these findings were consistent with those reported by Łazuka (2006) whose analysis also demonstrated characteristic use of promises addressed to the people of Iraq during the war and to the American people in September 2003. As in the current study, by employing this strategy, speakers attempted to ensure a positive image of themselves and their government, renewing their commitment towards the American people. On the contrary, in Alattar's (2018) analysis of American presidential speeches, none of the presidents performed a commissive type of speech act (promises) except George W. Bush in his speech on Iraq war in 2003 with a very slight rate 0.9%.

Offers, as a sub-type of commissive speech acts, were used once in this strategy as a proposal to guarantee a safer long-run future of America's children, as shown in the excerpt below.

66. But when, with modest effort and risk, we can stop children from being gassed to death, and thereby make our own children safer over the long run (Requestive), I believe we should act (Offer) (S123-124, Obama, September 10, 2013).

Returning to Table 4.3 above, informative speech acts were also used in this generic structure with a frequency of 14 out of 113 performed speech acts and a percentage of 12.38%. Most of the informative speech acts in this exigency were used to inform the audiences how and why the United States had the right of self-defence as this is clear in the excerpts below.

67. I want to be clear about what we are doing and why (Informative) (S60, Bush, August 8, 1990).
68. Several weeks ago, in New Orleans, I warned Colonel Qaddafi we would hold his regime accountable for any new terrorist attacks launched against American citizens (Informative) (S5, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

Subsequently, predictives were used with a frequency of 8 and a percentage of 7.07%. In some examples, the speakers used them for both the government and the speakers, pointing to positive aspects of their future activities, for example, as stated by Reagan in his address of 1986.

69. We believe that this pre-emptive action against his terrorist installations will not only diminish Colonel Qaddafi's capacity to export terror (Predictive) -it will provide him with incentives and reasons to alter his criminal behaviour (Predictive) (S47-48, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

Another example of predictives was delivered by Bush in his address of March 17, 2003, this time for the enemy and the probability of using chemical weapons to kill innocent people in America and any other countries.

70. using chemical, biological or, one day, nuclear weapons, obtained with the help of Iraq, the terrorists could fulfil their stated ambitions and kill thousands or hundreds of thousands of innocent people in our country, or any other (Predictive) (S19, Bush, March 17, 2003).

Directives are speech acts expressing 'the speaker attitude toward some prospective action by the hearer' (Bach and Harnish, 1979, p. 47). Requestives are one sub-type of directive speech acts used to express 'the speaker's desire that the hearer do something. Moreover, they express the speaker's intention ... that the hearer take this expressed desire as reason (or part of his reason) to act' (Bach and Harnish, 1979: 47). In this specific strategy, requestives were used for 5 times with a percentage of 4.42%. Some uses were oriented to request the nation to stop the threat committed by the enemy as it is clear in the following excerpts.

71. Saddam Hussein must not be allowed to threaten his neighbors or the world with nuclear arms, poison gas or biological weapons (Requestive) (S6, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
72. The question now is what the United States of America, and the international community, is prepared to do about it (Requestive) (S37, Obama, September 10, 2013).

Descriptives and suppositives were other types of illocutionary speech acts that were performed in this strategy with very low occurrences, as shown in Table 4-3 above.

4.3.2.3 Lexico-grammatical Features Realising Strategy 2 Move 1

One of the grammatical features that were commonly used in this specific strategy of Move 1 is the use of ‘to infinitives’. This type of grammatical structure was commonly used in this specific generic structure to inform, declare and confirm that the American’s response to the enemy’s act of aggression was categorised under the right of the United States to defend itself or its allies. This defence took different forms represented by the uses of the ‘to infinitives’.

73. Their purpose is **to protect** the national interest of the United States... (S5, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
74. The credible threat to use force, and when necessary, the actual use of force, is the surest way **to contain** Saddam's weapons of ... (S84, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
75. I took this action **to assist** the Saudi Arabian Government in the defense of its homeland (S5, Bush, August 8, 1990).
76. But we will do everything **to defeat** it (S21, Bush, March 17, 2003).
The United States of America has the sovereign authority **to use** force in assuring its own national security (S24, Bush, March 17, 2003).
77. We are prepared **to sustain** this response until the Syrian regime stops its use of prohibited chemical agents (S16, Trump, April 13, 2018).
78. We intend **to stay** vigilant, and take action ... (S10, Obama, August 7, 2014)

On the contrary to Strategy 1 of Move 1, which was dedicated to recounting and reporting past events with past tenses, present and future tenses were most prevalent in this strategy. These specific tenses were used as a way of asserting the right of the United States to go to war as a self-defence strategy against present and future threats, as shown in the following excerpts.

79. This situation presents a clear and present danger to ... (S54, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
80. The mission of our troops is wholly defensive (S63, Bush, August 8, 1990).
81. Intelligence gathered by this and other governments leaves no doubt that the Iraq regime continues to possess ... (S13, Bush, March 17 2003).
82. The United States of America has the sovereign authority to use force ... (S24, Bush, March 17 2003).
83. Establishing this deterrent is a vital national security interest of the United States (S14, Trump, April 13, 2018).
84. The evidence is now conclusive that ... (S11, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

Presidents also focused on the lexical choices that depicted a legitimised self-defence mission and thus, conversely, led to delegitimise the enemy’s act of

aggression. These lexical choices established recurrent lexical fields which could be defined as a group of words that were related in meaning to denote a particular context of use and assisted in realising the function of the strategy in question. These lexical fields were, moreover, highly antonymous in nature, overly positive when they described the US actions and intensely negative when they denoted the enemy's behaviours and threats. In critical terms, the contrasting references resulted in an extremely polarised language in constructing identities and supporting the ideological positioning of Us vs Them. Thus, the lexical fields below characterised the US actions in a positive way and the enemy's actions in a negative way.

Lexical Field	Lexicon describing the US actions	Lexical Field	Lexicon describing the enemy's actions
Self-defence mission	'to protect the national interest, to assist the Saudi Arabian Government in the defense, to confront aggression, to preserve the integrity of Saudi Arabia and to deter further Iraqi aggression, to defend the Kingdom, is wholly defensive', and so on.	Enemy's threat and acts	'to threaten his neighbors, Saddam's weapons of mass destruction program, using force to advance its ambitions, Iraqi aggression, terrorism, today's new threat, possess ... the most lethal weapons, the terrorists could fulfill their stated ambitions and kill thousands or hundreds of thousands of innocent people in our country, mass killings', and so on.

4.3.3 Strategy 3. Communicating the Enemy's Atrociousness and Savagery

Through narrating accounts of the prospective enemy's atrocities, presidents attracted audiences to a sharp moral contrast between America's acts of humanity and the other's acts of savagery. In this rhetorical move, presidents' efforts were oriented to suggest that no evidence is needed to support the narration of these accounts of evil acts as these cruel acts prevailed the normal behaviour of the enemy. Instead, narratives played a great role in dehumanising the enemy in terms related to the positive and human values and experiences of the audiences. Atrocities, evilness and savagery of the enemy were not only verified and pointed to 'but dramatized and recounted, a rhetorical device that should produce an empathic reaction to the suffering

of the helpless and, consequently, garner support for America's military effort' (Ben-porath, 2007, p. 182). To have the rhetoric of atrocities and the enemy's savagery conceptualised led to an understanding of how the savagery trope was developed into an essential cause of the case for war, 'turning to evocative imagery and narrative accounts of concrete horrific actions' (Ben-porath, 2007, p. 182).

Narrating the atrocities of the enemy represented by its inhuman and evil acts was rendered one of the obligatory rhetorical strategies that have been frequently used by presidents as a means of justifying the taken military action as shown clearly in the following excerpts.

85. Other countries possess weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles. With Saddam, there is one big difference: He has used them. Not once, but repeatedly. Unleashing chemical weapons against Iranian troops during a decade-long war. Not only against soldiers, but against civilians, firing Scud missiles at the citizens of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Iran. And not only against a foreign enemy, but even against his own people, gassing Kurdish civilians in Northern Iraq (S13-18, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
86. Given the Iraqi government's history of aggression against its own citizens as well as its neighbors, to assume Iraq will not attack again would be unwise and unrealistic (S52, Bush, August 8, 1990).
87. As ISIL has marched across Iraq, it has waged a ruthless campaign against innocent Iraqis (S14, Obama, August 7, 2014).

American presidents' use of this strategy accounted for eight occurrences out of twelve APWAs.

In the case of the military action, a group of motives attached to the horrific deeds of the enemy was suitable with the president's inclination to take action. This rhetoric of atrocities focused on acts such as rape, torture, pillage, plunder and the victimisation of innocent people and children by the enemy. This type of rhetoric was vital and crucial in the dramatic narrative account that was requisite in the PWR to justify the momentous military action taken (Ben-porath, 2007). Presidents utilising the rhetoric of atrocities moved 'beyond denouncement of the perpetrators and a mere factual description of the extent of these crimes'. Presidents relied on narrative form, particularly anecdotes to detail 'the torment experienced by individuals as a result of the enemy's misdeeds' (Ben-porath, 2007, p. 182). The following were more other examples of the atrocities of the enemy.

88. While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities—and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children (S36-37, Bush, January 16, 1991).
89. This regime has already used weapons of mass destruction against Iraq's neighbors and against Iraq's people (S14, Bush, March 17, 2003).
90. Colonel Qaddafi is not only an enemy of the United States. His record of subversion and aggression against the neighboring states in Africa is well documented and well known. He has ordered the murder of fellow Libyans in countless countries. He has sanctioned acts of terror in Africa, Europe and the Middle East, as well as the Western Hemisphere (S24-27, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

Compared to previous studies, it must be pointed out that strategy 3 of Move 1 was completely absent as a generic structure in Hodges' (2011, 2013) analyses of the schematic structure of George W. Bush's addresses on 'War on Terror', and some selected PWAs respectively. This theme was implicitly mentioned in Campbell and Jamieson (2008) when they established the discourse of the right to go to war as a humanitarian intervention to rebuff the atrocities and savagery of the enemy presidents toward their people. According to the contemporary Just War theories, establishing the discourse of the enemy's atrocities and inhuman deeds in this study was a strategy followed by presidents in their war addresses to justify, along with other causes, the use of armed intervention (Coverdale, 2004).

4.3.3.1 Forensic Means to Deliberative End Realising Strategy 3 of Move 1

Dow (1989) argues that it is not possible to characterise any crisis rhetoric such as war rhetoric as being a homogeneous type of discourse. The different situations involved in presidential war narrative require different discursive responses. Such a type of discourse needs to be investigated in terms of the multiple exigencies it responds to and the different functions it accomplishes. Accordingly, communicating the enemy's atrocities and cruelty was the third obligatory strategy used to contribute to the communicative function of the semantic unit of justifying the military action conducted by the United States.

As it was one of the generic structures used by presidents in war times, presidents made use of the very favourable forensic rhetoric to define this strategy and

made it achieve its rhetorical role to serve for the communicative function of the move. Golden et al. (Cited in Ramos, 2010, p. 20) points out that this type of rhetoric was concerned with the past and ‘that past could be crimes committed, charges unjustly brought, or behaviour that needs public reckoning’. Presidents, in an implicit argument to gain the public support, also recounted the enemy’s acts of atrociousness. By this, presidents attempted to (a) urge audiences to make a judgment on the justice of the defending nation based on the crimes and atrocities of the attackers and (b) to persuade Americans and the public that those who committed evil crimes are required to be brought to justice. Both the explicit employment of the forensic type of rhetoric used to accuse the enemy of its voluntary criminal act and the implicit arguments of the deliberative rhetoric used to gather the support of the public to justify the American response were made clear in the following excerpt.

91. He (Saddam) has used them. Not once, but repeatedly. Unleashing chemical weapons against Iranian troops during a decade-long war. Not only against soldiers, but against civilians, firing Scud missiles at the citizens of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Iran. And not only against a foreign enemy, but even against his own people, gassing Kurdish civilians in Northern Iraq (S15-18, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

As such, Saddam was accused of committing evil crimes in using chemical weapons against Iranian soldiers and civilians, firing other deadly missiles at the citizens of Israel, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain and even using biological weapons against his people. By this, Clinton foregrounded these acts as crimes conducted against humanity that invoked a rapid response from the United States and the international community. Also, Clinton attracted the audience’s attention to an important fact that these crimes were part of the enemy’s nature and understanding.

By crafting this generic strategy in such a way, presidents, in general, were condemning individuals and their criminal acts and, simultaneously, mandating audiences to justify bringing them to justice, or at least, gaining their support. Jackson (2004b) also pointed out that George W. Bush used forensic rhetoric in his speech to Congress and the nation on September 20, 2001, when Bush referred to the necessity of bringing the radical Islamic terrorists to justice. Thus, by making the case against the radical Islamic terrorists, Bush was also able to influence the American people and convince them that those terrorists are required to be brought to justice which was

considered a just cause for a future course of action. By this analysis, Jackson (2004b) neglected the deliberative effect intended from utilising forensic rhetoric. Since this strategy was established as a just cause to justify the undertaken military action as being the deliberative effect intended, this study considered forensic rhetoric as a form required to achieve an effect (Hubanks, 2009). Other examples of the interaction of the explicit use of forensic rhetoric and the implicit argument of deliberative rhetoric are shown in the excerpts below. The ideas of the normal behaviour of the enemy and its criminal records were framed in the following excerpts.

92. And he's right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all (S86-87, Bush, January 16, 1991).
93. The evil and the despicable attack left mothers and fathers, infants and children, thrashing in pain and gasping for air. These are not the actions of a man; they are crimes of a monster instead (S9-10, Trump, April 13, 2018).
94. Colonel Qaddafi is not only an enemy of the United States. His record of subversion and aggression against the neighboring states in Africa is well documented and well known. He has ordered the murder of fellow Libyans in countless countries. He has sanctioned acts of terror in Africa, Europe and the Middle East, as well as the Western Hemisphere (S24-27, Reagan, April 14, 1986).

In fact, each move or strategy of a text constituted a section that performed a specific communicative function contributing to the general communicative purpose of the whole genre (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993). To have this strategy perform its communicative function, presidents created a strong relationship between forensic rhetoric and deliberative rhetoric. In other words, the role of forensic argument in criminalising the enemy and in recruiting the public support and approval to the undertaken military action was emphasised in this strategy. Thus, utilising forensic rhetoric to define and realise a given move or strategy does not necessarily preclude a text from demonstrating the deliberative effect. This phenomenon of the co-existence of Aristotle's modes of rhetoric congruently within a discourse (generic simultaneity) was a result demonstrated by Dow (1989), Hubanks (2009), Eisenstadt (2014), Vatnoey (2015) and Flanagan (2018).

4.3.3.2 Illocutionary Speech Acts Performed in Strategy 3 of Move 1

Table 4-4 below indicates the frequency and distribution of the performed speech acts in Strategy 3 of Move 1 of the APWAs.

Table 4-4 Frequencies of speech acts in strategy 3 of move 1

Number and Title of Move	Types of Speech Acts		Frequency	Percentage
Move 1: Strategy 3: Communicating the Enemy's Atrociousness and Savagery	Constatives	Assertives	11	33.33%
		Informatives	9	27.27%
		Confirmatives	12	36.36%
	Directive	Requestives	1	3.03%
	Total		33	100%

As demonstrated in Table 4.4 above, confirmatives occupied the first rate among the types of illocutionary speech acts employed by presidents in this important generic strategy. They accounted for 12 occurrences out of the performed speech acts with a percentage of 36.36%. Thus, to justify the military action conducted by the United States, presidential war narrative went further to persuade audiences of the right of the decision taken. Besides informatives and assertives, presidents utilised confirmative speech acts in an attempt to confirm and verify what events were informed and what opinions and beliefs were asserted related to the savagery and cruelty of the enemy. This is established in the following excerpts.

95. Colonel Qaddafi is not only an enemy of the United States (Confirmative). His record of subversion and aggression against the neighboring states in Africa is well documented and well known (Confirmative). He has ordered the murder of fellow Libyans in countless countries (Informative). He has sanctioned acts of terror in Africa, Europe and the Middle East, as well as the Western Hemisphere (Informative) (S24-27, Reagan, April 15, 1986).
96. With Saddam, there is one big difference: (Assertive). He has used them. Not once, but repeatedly (Confirmative). Unleashing chemical weapons against Iranian troops during a decade-long war (Confirmative). Not only against soldiers, but against civilians, firing Scud missiles at the citizens of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Iran (Confirmative). And not only against a foreign enemy, but even against his own people, gassing Kurdish civilians in Northern Iraq (Confirmative) (S14-18, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

In the same vein, informative and assertive types of illocutionary acts were frequently used in this strategy as well. Assertives were used with a frequency of 11

out of 33 speech acts and a percentage of 33.33%. Informatives stood for 9 frequencies and a percentage of 27.27%. As for requestive speech acts, they stood for 1 frequency and a percentage of 3.03%. Among the types of constative speech acts used, confirmative, informative and assertive speech acts were more focused in this specific strategy. They are mostly used to define and realise the persuasive nature of Move 1, *Communicating Narratives and Arguments to Justify the Military Action*. Presidential war narrative was constructed and framed to inform the audiences of the atrocities and inhuman actions committed earlier by enemies, as shown in the excerpts below.

97. He (Saddam) subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities—and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children (Informative) (S37, Bush, August 8, 1991).
98. Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas, attempting to use innocent men, women and children as shields for his own military -- a final atrocity against his people (Informative) (S11, Bush, March 20, 2003).

Presidential war narrative was also used to assert the beliefs and facts of the enemy's possession of weapons of mass destruction, the enemy's history of committing aggression and the inhumanity of enemies as shown in the following excerpts.

99. Other countries possess weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles (Assertive) (S13, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
100. Given the Iraqi government's history of aggression against its own citizens as well as its neighbors, to assume Iraq will not attack again would be unwise and unrealistic (Assertive) (S52, Bush, August 8, 1990).
101. The regime has a history of reckless aggression in the Middle East (Assertive). It has a deep hatred of America and our friends (Assertive) (S15-16, Bush, March 17, 2003).

Compared to Łazuka's (2006) study, both of the studies demonstrated an overt characteristic use of confirmative speech acts. In contrast, Alattar (2018) revealed the complete absence of this type of speech acts in her analysis of American presidential speeches.

4.3.3.3 Lexico-grammatical Features Realising Strategy 3 of Move 1

The presidents' overuse of the perfective tense was the dominant grammatical structure employed in Strategy 3 of Move 1. This grammatical structure was used as a

way of condemning the evil, cruel and inhuman past actions of enemies. The perfection has an ability:

To involve a span of time from earliest memory to the present, the perfection has an indefiniteness which makes it an appropriate verbal expression for introducing a topic of discourse. As the topic is narrowed down, the emerging definiteness is marked by the simple past as well as in the noun phrases (Quirk and Sidney, 1973, p. 44) .

Thus, through their frequent use of the present perfect as a way of fulfilling the interpretive function of portraying the enemy's evil actions, presidents introduced topics of discourse as new and not known to audiences. By this, presidents attempted to evoke the public's fear from the enemy's ability and intention of committing harm and danger to them. Although the cruel actions and inhuman evil acts of the enemy happened in the past, presidents informed and recounted them as new through adopting the present perfect which connects the past with the present. The frequent use of this tense in this specific strategy by presidents entailed that the United States and the world were also subject to such brutal acts through conducting them now or in future. The following are examples of the use of the perfective in this strategy.

102. Indeed, in the past, Saddam **has intentionally placed** Iraqi civilians in harm's way in a cynical bid to sway international opinion (S97, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
103. As ISIL **has marched** across Iraq, it has waged a ruthless campaign against innocent Iraqis (S14, Obama, August 7, 2014).
104. This regime **has already used** weapons of mass destruction against Iraq's neighbors and against Iraq's people (S14, Bush, March 17, 2003).
105. Saddam Hussein **has placed** Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas ... (S11, Bush, March 20, 2003).
106. He **has ordered** the murder of fellow Libyans in countless countries. He **has sanctioned** acts of terror in Africa, Europe and the Middle East, as well as the Western Hemisphere (S26-27, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

To differentiate between the government and its people, presidents denoted the agency of these acts as either being undertaken by the government, the regime or the president of the country against which America was waging war. Thus, words and expressions as Saddam, Saddam Hussein, he, Iraqi government, regime, enemy, monster, ISIL, and Colonel Qaddafi were obviously used in active voice sentences as the main agents of the evil acts that were conducted against the world peace and order. Through this lexical strategy, presidents were successful in polarising the world into

positive *We* (America and its allies) and negative *Them* (enemies against which America and its allies are waging war as self-defence) (Van Dijk, 1997).

4.4 Move 2. War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions by the Enemy

In PWR, it is necessary that the decision to go to war be portrayed as the product of thoughtful consideration, not of emotions and anger. Campbell and Jamieson (2008) argue that the urgent need for rational deliberation is well embodied in the language of presidential addresses when they apply their claims to Congress to declare war or to legitimise the military action. The principle of the last resort within the JWT postulates that peace should be given primacy over wars in Just War thinking. That means nations are required to try all available alternatives to defeat a particular threat and choose among the ones considered suitable to settle peace and avoid conflict. Thus, engaging in a military action should be the last reasonable and workable choice for defeating problems (Coverdale, 2004). In view of the JWT, the requirement of the last resort was described in the sense of necessity in the international law. Article 42 of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter (1945) states that the Security Council ‘may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security’ (Quoted in Calhoun, 2002, p. 45). Framing the military action as a last resort was one of the obligatory moves used by presidents to mitigate the atrocity of wars in general and to justify the forceful decision of going to war. It stood for eight occurrences out of twelve war addresses.

Embedded in framing the military action of the United States as a last resort was the enemy’s abortion of all the diplomatic efforts and solutions exerted to avoid war.

107. The United States has patiently worked to preserve UNSCOM as Iraq has sought to avoid its obligation to cooperate with the inspectors (S22, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
108. Faced with Saddam's latest act of defiance in late October, we built intensive diplomatic pressure on Iraq backed by overwhelming military force in the region. The

- UN Security Council voted 15 to zero to condemn Saddam's actions and to demand that he immediately come into compliance (S24-25, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
109. but after perhaps unparalleled international consultation and exhausting every alternative, it became necessary to take this action (S7, Bush, August 8, 1990).
 110. The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end (S42, Bush, January 16, 1991).
 111. Over the last two years, my administration has tried diplomacy and sanctions, warning and negotiations -- but chemical weapons were still used by the Assad regime (S93, Obama, September 10, 2013).

Conducting the military action as a last resort was also associated with explicit and implicit references that proclaiming the war was a difficult but unavoidable decision to the United States and there was no other alternative but to go to war. This is seen in the following excerpts.

112. Our patience is not unlimited (S149, Trump, August 21, 2017).
113. ... have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution—have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force (S16, Bush, January 16, 1991).
114. These countries had hoped the use of force could be avoided. Regrettably, we now believe that only force will make him leave (S54-55, Bush, January 16, 1991).
115. But even as planes of the multinational forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war (S75, Bush, January 16, 1991).
116. We did not ask for this mission, but we will fulfill it (S31-32, Bush, October 7, 2001).
117. Now, I know that after the terrible toll of Iraq and Afghanistan, the idea of any military action, no matter how limited, is not going to be popular. After all, I've spent four and a half years working to end wars, not to start them (S60-61, Obama, September 10, 2013).

Furthermore, Hodges (2013, p. 57) adds that placing the diplomatic process in the past, 'rather than leaving it open to continued public debate and consideration, allows the president to assume the extraordinary, even near-dictatorial powers associated with the office of commander-in-chief'. The importance of discourses about the past was accentuated by Dunmire (2007) when he focused on their contribution to the process of discussing war crimes, reconciliation and restitution. Finally, the strategy of going to wars as a last resort came in the form of warnings issued to an enemy as a way to avoid war. It also took the form of a rhetorical means to show that the United States and the international community, thus, were thrust into a war of which the enemy was responsible. This is clearly illustrated by the following excerpts.

118. Eight Arab nations -- Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Oman -- warned that Iraq alone would bear responsibility for the consequences of defying the UN (S26, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

119. Saddam was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations: Leave Kuwait, or be driven out (S49, Bush, January 16, 1991).
120. Despite our repeated warnings, Qaddafi continued his reckless policy of intimidation, his relentless pursuit of terror (S60-61, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

Thus, framing the discourse of the war as a last resort (with its different forms) was an obligatory rhetorical move consistent with the findings reported by Hodges (2013) where war as ‘a last resort’ was recognised as a major generic element in his study of the schematic structure of presidential war discourse. Similarly, war as a last resort was also reported as a product of thoughtful deliberation in Campbell and Jamieson's (2008) terms which has been recognised as the first and major generic structure to justify an undertaken military conflict. The same result was also pointed out in Reyes' (2011) work in which the theme of aborting all the diplomatic efforts to settle peace and engaging to war as a *last resort* was reported as a major theme under the name of ‘Legitimization through rationality’. ‘Last resort’ was rendered an important legitimisation strategy and a *Jus ad Bellum* (just war) criterion that must be met for a war to be just. As a result, Hodges (2011) implicitly presented the requirement of a *last resort* as one of the schematic structures of George W. Bush’s ‘war on terror’ addresses.

4.4.1 Forensic Means to Deliberative End of Rhetoric Realising Move 2

Hubanks (2009) argues that one of the remarkable things in crisis rhetoric is the co-existence of epideictic, deliberative and forensic types of rhetoric within a given discourse. Although the forensic type of discourse is oriented to attack or defend the past actions of some party by means of accusation and defence, it also has the potential, by extension and implication, to show the expediency of a policy for the sake of gathering support for policies already undertaken. This was clearly endorsed by Hubanks (2009) as well in citing George H. W. Bush’s post- 9/11 speech where Bush’s use of appeals of fear can be viewed as a discourse of both blame speech and implicit argument towards the deliberative end.

The terrorists rejoice in the killing of the innocent, and have promised similar violence against Americans, against all free peoples, and against any Muslims

who reject their ideology of murder. Their barbarism cannot be appeased, and their hatred cannot be satisfied.

[The terrorists] seek to oppress and persecute women. They seek the death of Jews and Christians, and every Muslim who desires peace over theocratic terror...And they seek weapons of mass destruction, to blackmail and murder on a massive scale (Bush, quoted in Hubanks, 2009: 208).

In fact, the title of Move 2 suggested that the United States already conducted the military action as a result of exhausting all the diplomatic efforts to avoid war and restore peace of the world. The presidential rhetoric employed by presidents aimed at criminalising the enemy through the appropriate use of the topic of the injustice of the enemy's past behaviours. It was also used to gain, by implicit argument, the public support of the nation to justify the military action. In his address on December 16, 1998, Clinton enumerated the diplomatic activities of the United States, the United Nation, and several other countries to restore peace and order to the Middle East. Clinton affirmed that so many Arab countries also attempted to have Saddam come into compliance, leaving no other option just to prepare for war and later wage it. Accusing the enemy of deliberately aborting all the diplomatic alternatives and choices was the focus of the forensic discourse used to realise this generic move. This is clear in the excerpts below.

121. Faced with Saddam's latest act of defiance in late October, we built intensive diplomatic pressure on Iraq backed by overwhelming military force in the region. The UN Security Council voted 15 to zero to condemn Saddam's actions and to demand that he immediately come into compliance. Eight Arab nations -- Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Oman -- warned that Iraq alone would bear responsibility for the consequences of defying the UN. When Saddam still failed to comply, we prepared to act militarily (S24-28, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

Thus, the presidents' credibility was evaluated by the nation through the interaction of the forensic and deliberative types of rhetoric to justify the present. Forensic rhetoric was translated in the text as the presidents' tendency to highlight the past that was represented by the behaviour of the enemy in aborting diplomatic solutions. Deliberative rhetoric, in turn, was reflected in speculating about the future represented by the goodness of the actions taken. The same reference to the various diplomatic and political efforts was carried out by George H. W. Bush in his addresses

on August 8, 1990 and January 16, 1991 when Bush also stated that the enemy left no choice for the United States just to conduct a military action.

122. No one commits America's Armed Forces to a dangerous mission lightly, but after perhaps unparalleled international consultation and exhausting every alternative, it became necessary to take this action (S6-7, Bush, August 8, 1990).
123. ... have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution—have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force (S16, Bush, January 16, 1991).

The overlap of the forensic type of rhetoric and its deliberative end was framed in terms of the honourable action that the United States adopted to defend the real values of the world. This overlap was also advocated by American presidents to demonstrate that accepting the undertaken course of action would bring good and keep these values safe (Bostdorff, 2011). Thus, enemies were explicitly accused and framed as doing past criminal actions through forensic rhetoric. In contrast, the expediency of America's choices of using military force to defeat enemies was implicitly argued through the deliberative type of genre. In relation, Dunmire (2011) supported the forensic themes used by recounting the past actions and efforts exerted by the United States and other nations to avoid war and restore peace. Like Jackson (2004b), Dunmire (2011) also foregrounded the use of the forensic rhetoric to criminalise the past actions of the enemy neglecting its intended deliberative role of gaining the audiences' support for the military decision taken. On the contrary to this study, other previous related studies of presidential crisis rhetoric (Bostdorff, 2011; Dow, 1989; Flanagan, 2018; Hubanks, 2009; Jackson, 2004b) concluded that discourses employed a combination of two types of rhetoric (epideictic and deliberative) and excluded the third type (forensic). Murphy's (2003) study of Bush-9/11 rhetoric was purely epideictic as, in his view, it aimed to the theme of the American unity and was not projected to convince the nation of the expediency of the decision taken.

4.4.2 Illocutionary Speech Acts Realising Move 2

Table 4.5 below shows the most frequently used speech acts in the second rhetorical move of the generic structure of the APWAs.

Table 4-5 Frequencies of speech acts in move 2

Number and Title of Move	Types of Speech Acts		Frequency	Percentage
Move 2: War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions by the Enemy	Constatives	Assertives	19	22.61%
		Informatives	50	59.52%
		Confirmatives	5	5.95%
		Predictives	1	1.19%
		Concessives	2	2.38%
		Retrodictives	1	1.19%
		Suppositives	2	2.38%
	Commissive	Promises	3	3.57%
	Acknowledgments	Bids	1	1.19%
Total		84	100	

As demonstrated in Table 4.5 above, informative speech acts were excessively used in this rhetorical move with a frequency of 50 out of 84 and a percentage of 59.52%. Besides being used to inform the precipitating event of move 1, informatives were also widely used by presidents to focally tell audiences of the huge contribution that the United States and the world carried out to avoid war and resort to peace. Mostly, informatives were employed to express how the enemy exhausted all the diplomatic efforts to avoid the military action and that the United States was forceful, after considerable thought and deliberation, to take such a decision. In a speech delivered by Clinton 1998, it seemed that the rhetorical move of *War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions by the Enemy* was dominantly prevailed with informative speech acts. These were employed to report the detailed diplomatic efforts taken by the United States and its allies as a last resort to avoid war.

124. Faced with Saddam's latest act of defiance in late October, we built intensive diplomatic pressure on Iraq backed by overwhelming military force in the region (Informative). The UN Security Council voted 15 to zero to condemn Saddam's actions and to demand that he immediately come into compliance (Informative). Eight Arab nations -- Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Oman -- warned that Iraq alone would bear responsibility for the consequences of defying the UN (Informative) (S24-26, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
125. Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution—have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force (Informative) (S16, Bush, January 16, 1991).
126. The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end (Informative) (S42, Bush, January 16, 1991).

Assertives represented the second category of speech acts that dominated move 2. Assertive speech acts were used with a frequency of 19 and a percentage of 22.61%. Mostly, assertives associated informative speech acts in this specific move to express a group of beliefs involving the unwillingness of the United States to commit its armed forces to a dangerous mission as waging war.

127. No one commits America's Armed Forces to a dangerous mission lightly (Assertive) (S6, Bush, August 8, 1990).
128. No President can easily commit our sons and daughters to war (Assertive). They are the Nation's finest (Assertive) (S79-80, Bush, January 16, 1991).

Assertives were also used to represent an affair or belief that peace was the preferable option to the United States and that the mission of waging war or using force was forcibly thrust on the United States as a last resort.

129. Regrettably, we now believe that only force will make him leave (Assertive) (S55, Bush, January 16, 1991).
130. But even as planes of the multinational forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war (Assertive) (S75, Bush, January 16, 1991).
131. We did not ask for this mission (Assertive) (S31, Bush, October 7, 2001).
132. Now, I know that after the terrible toll of Iraq and Afghanistan, the idea of any military action, no matter how limited, is not going to be popular (Assertive). After all, I've spent four and a half years working to end wars, not to start them (Assertive) (S60-61, Obama, September 10, 2013).
133. We Americans are slow to anger (Assertive). We always seek peaceful avenues before resorting to the use of force (Assertive) (S55-56, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

Confirmatives represented the third category of the performed illocutionary acts, which constituted 5 occurrences and stood for 5.95%. A further novel finding in the analysis of this rhetorical move was that each confirmative speech act followed a long series of informatives and assertives. This is because one of the communicative functions of this rhetorical move is to inform, assert and confirm that the enemy ridiculed all the political solutions and aborted all the peaceful options to settle the issue. This rhetorical move also aimed to show that resorting to war was a last resort for the United States and the international community. Other types of illocutionary speech acts such as promises, bids, predictives, concessives, retrodictives, and suppositives were used with very low occurrences, as shown in Table 4.5 above.

4.4.3 Lexico-grammatical Features Realising Move 2

One of the grammatical features used by presidents to realise this specific rhetorical move was the use of complex and compound sentences. The communicative function of this move was to communicate the ideas that (a) the United States was thrust in this war as a last resort, (b) the United States and the world have contributed to settle the conflict by resorting to the diplomatic efforts and (c) the enemy has aborted all these efforts and solutions. In this specific move, presidents attempted to compare between the US efforts to avoid war and restore peace on one hand and the enemy's contempt of these efforts on the other hand. Consequently, presidents used the complex and compound sentences to utilise dependent and independent clauses to tailor the amount of information they provided as shown in the following excerpts.

134. No one commits America's Armed Forces to a dangerous mission lightly, but after perhaps unparalleled international consultation and exhausting every alternative, it became necessary to take this action (S6-7, Bush, August 8, 1990).
135. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution, only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait (S11, Bush, January 16, 1991).
And while the world waited, while the world talked peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein dug in and moved massive forces into Kuwait (S39, Bush, January 16, 1991).
136. Peaceful efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime have failed again and again -- because we are not dealing with peaceful men (S11-12, Bush, March 17 2003).
137. We always seek peaceful avenues before resorting to the use of force, and we did. We tried quiet diplomacy, public condemnation, economic sanctions and demonstrations of military force - none succeeded (S56-59, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

In this move, the lexical choices were commonly used by presidents to lexically realise the notion of the enemy's abortion of the diplomatic alternatives and efforts to avoid war. These lexical choices included: 'avoid its obligation', 'defying the UN', 'failed to comply', 'failed to cooperate fully', 'failed to seize the chance', 'exhausting every alternative', 'exhausted all reasonable efforts', 'exhausted every means', 'warned over and over again to comply', 'rejected all warnings', 'None of these demands were met', 'defied Security Council resolutions', 'Peaceful efforts ... have failed again and again'. Accentuating the themes of a last resort to waging war and the United States' thrust in wars were represented by a set of expressions in this move. These included: 'one last chance' (2), 'necessary to take this action', 'have no choice', 'believe that only force will' ..., 'deceit and cruelty have now reached an end', 'I wish it were otherwise'.

4.5 Move 3. Legitimate Authority of the Military Action and the Collective Will of the World

In their ancient writings, philosophers have originally introduced that the requirement of legitimate authority or the right of going into war against any nation lies with the sovereign (Benbaji, 2018). According to the principles of the JWT, having a legitimate authority permits waging war against another nation or enemy as this is one of the Just War requirements needed to be met (Schmelzle, 2019). Many scholars working in the JWT see the concept of legitimate authority to be completely unproblematic. In other words, the simplest way of defining legitimacy is that ‘leaders of established nations are legitimate authorities, while the leaders of terrorist factions and extremist groups who victimize innocent civilians are illegitimate’ (Calhoun, 2002, p. 49). By this definition, the soldiers and leaders of established nations waging wars against attacking nations are primarily assigned with the job of institutional preservation and maintenance of the status quo. *Legitimate Authority of the Military Action and Collective Will of the World* as a rhetorical move was used with a frequency of eleven out of twelve presidential war addresses.

In the analysis of the presidents’ war addresses of the current study, the rhetorical move concerning the legitimacy of the war against the enemy (the legitimate authority) discursively took different forms. One of these was represented by an established nation that is ‘either elected or appointed by the people, or else he [the president] usurps the position of his predecessor and proclaims himself the leader’ (Calhoun, 2002, p. 49), as this is discursively clear in the following excerpt.

138. That is why, on the unanimous recommendation of my national security team -- including the vice president, the secretary of defense, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, the secretary of state and the national security adviser -- I have ordered a strong, sustained series of air strikes against Iraq (S67, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

States, according to the JWT, are allowed to conduct force in defence of their own interests. Consequently, the use of armed forces was justified only in the extent that US military actions were to be convincingly construed as a defence of the international order and protection of the common good of the world (Coverdale, 2004).

Another form of legitimate authority in the PWAs of the present study was discursively represented through reference to the international community, United Nations, Security Council, allies, friends and states of the world. This is obviously shown in the following excerpts.

139. We're also consulting with other countries -- and the United Nations -- who have called for action to address this humanitarian crisis (S38, Obama, August 7, 2014).
140. This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions and with the consent of the United States Congress (S9, Bush, January 16, 1991).
141. Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area... (S16, Bush, January 16, 1991).

Therefore, presidents' use of the United Nations, the Security Council and the international community recognised a communicative function. By acting multilaterally, presidents were able to achieve a set of benefits involving legitimacy and support for a group of policy actions. In employing the United Nations and the Security Council ethos, presidents were successful in situating the credibility of the United Nations and Security Council to legitimise and justify the undertaken military action or introduction (Rangel, 2007).

According to the United Nations traditions, threats to peace were the only causes for which waging wars was lawfully authorised. As such, the decisive meaning of what forms a 'threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression' originates from the legitimate authority of a nation or the United Nations Security Council (Quoted in Calhoun, 2002, p. 47). Accordingly, presidents were authorised to wage wars and defeat threats through highlighting the atrocities and acts of aggression of enemies as breaches to the measures of the United Nations and the international community. Therefore, portraying the decision of the military action taken by the United States under the umbrella of the United Nations and the international community ensured that the existence of a just cause to wage war and gaining the public support and approval.

Subsequently, Just War as a requirement exceeded 'the simple proclamation by legitimate authority' and that 'all of the other requirements are subject to the interpretation of legitimate authority' (Calhoun, 2002, p. 37). As a result, this theme was completely absent as one of the generic structures of the presidential war discourse

analysed by Hodges (2011; 2013) though it is important in unifying the world towards the military decision and justifying the war. The opposite occurred in Campbell and Jamieson's (2008) study wherein 'legitimate authority' was slightly referred to as a form of establishing the generic structure of 'a product of thoughtful deliberation'. As such, the reference to United Nations Resolutions and the consent of the US Congress was discursively utilised by presidents to show that the military intervention was presented as a prudent decision and a result of careful consideration (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008).

4.5.1 Epideictic Means to Deliberative End of Rhetoric Realising Move 3

One of the main aims of epideictic rhetoric in PWR is to secure communal understanding of what has already taken place (Dow, 1989). Beside the functional pair of definition and understanding, the functional pair of creation and sharing of community is also essential in epideictic rhetoric as human beings need to be comfortable when they share a symbolic community (Condit, 1985). In relation, this type of symbolic community is shaped and constructed when the rhetors speak about the community's legacy and values. In the presidential war narrative of the current study, presidents exploited this specific functional pair in assisting the community in understanding 'what the community will come to be in the face of the new event' (Condit, 1985, p. 289). As obtaining a legal right to initiate war attribute is one of the tenets of the JWT (Coverdale, 2004), this theme formed an obligatory rhetorical move that was carefully crafted and shaped by presidents in their war rhetoric.

The significance of this rhetorical move and the way by which it was realised in the texts can be ascribed to its potential of mixing the epideictic and deliberative types of rhetoric to achieve its communicative function. The epideictic type of rhetoric was apparent in this rhetorical move in terms of the presidents' attempts to create a sense of international community unified in its objectives to defeat enemies of humanity and universal terrorism. Thus, creating a community of friends and civilised countries gave the audiences a sense of sharing its values and defending the world order and its democracy. In addition to establishing legality for the military action,

audiences were encouraged to show intimacy towards these feelings and provide their support which is the end of deliberative manoeuvres. These ideas are presented clearly in the following excerpt.

142. We agree that this is not an American problem or a European problem or a Middle East problem: It is the world's problem. And that's why, soon after the Iraqi invasion, the United Nations Security Council, without dissent, condemned Iraq, calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its troops from Kuwait. The Arab world, through both the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council, courageously announced its opposition to Iraqi aggression. Japan, the United Kingdom, and France, and other governments around the world have imposed severe sanctions. The Soviet Union and China ended all arms sales to Iraq (S41-46, Bush, August 8, 1990).

Thus, by presenting that Iraqi invasion of Kuwait as 'not just an American problem or a European problem or a Middle East problem: It is the world's problem', Bush created a symbolic and real community. This community involved sovereign authority, friends and civilised countries shared by the same values of defeating terrorism in the Middle East and the world as a whole. By this rhetorical act, Bush fortified American armed forces deployment in Saudi Arabia through linking the US commitment to protecting Saudi Arabia and the world. This linkage reinforced a shared identity to create a sense of obligation for audiences to present their support for the decision taken. It also reinforced a sense of confidence for those who hold apposite voices towards the military deployment (Bostdorff, 2011). In an address on 14 April 1986, Reagan, at the same time of creating a community and sharing its value of freedom, was involved in the strategy of praise of the US friends and allies in Europe for their cooperation in the military mission. Besides, the strategy of blaming was reflected when epideictic rhetoric was exploited to dehumanise the enemy and describe it as an evil. By this way, deliberative rhetoric spun its power in supporting the action undertaken. Because the enemy was so evil and dehumanised, such type of rhetoric led to a self-positive image of the nation and its leader, and other-negative images of the enemy and those who provided sanctuary (Bostdorff, 2011). This is clearly shown in the excerpt below.

143. To our friends and allies in Europe who cooperated in today's mission, I would only say you have the primary gratitude of the American people. Europeans who remember history understand better than most that there is no security, no safety, in the appeasement of evil. It must be the core of Western policy that there be no sanctuary

for terror, and to sustain such a policy, free men and free nations must unite and work together (S36-39, Reagan, April 14, 1986).

To frame the defending states and allies as constituting a unified community inherited with past values and beliefs led to the formation of boundaries between two communities. The first community was represented by America and its allies. The second was represented by enemies of peace and freedom who existed outside America's community. By this discursive structure, presidents were successful in painting the existing enemies as opponents to the heritage of the values and beliefs of the civilised states. By their use of inclusive and exclusive terms, American presidents made their policy of the military action appealing to the public. Characterising America and its allies as *We* and enemies as *Other* through the use of inclusive and exclusive strategies enabled presidents to legitimise and create support for the policy, and to overcome crises (Glover, 2007). Linguistically, reframing the defending nations as a unified community against threat was a strategy used with deliberative ends to overcome the surrounding crisis and rally the public's approval for a policy. This policy denoted a battle of 'We good' versus 'Other bad' as this was also verified in Glover (2007). The following are further excerpts sustaining the generic simultaneity of epideictic and deliberative discourses. These types of rhetoric were apparent in creating a community and sharing its values and invoking the audiences' support to the undertaken action and its future expediency.

144. We are joined in this operation by our staunch friend, Great Britain. Other close friends, including Canada, Australia, Germany and France, have pledged forces as the operation unfolds. More than 40 countries in the Middle East, Africa, Europe and across Asia have granted air transit or landing rights. Many more have shared intelligence. We are supported by the collective will of the world (S3-6, Bush, October 7, 2001).
145. So today, the nations of Britain, France and the United States of America have marshaled their righteous power against barbarism and brutality (S44, Trump, April 13, 2018).

Flanagan (2018) and Hubanks (2009) also presented evidence of the interaction of epideictic means to achieve deliberative ends. Hubanks (2009), for instance, quoted the following example of George W. Bush's speech on September 20, 2001, to show how the president made the very use of the epideictic type of rhetoric (defining the situation) to achieve a deliberative end:

Americans are asking, how will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command, every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war, to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network (George W. Bush, quoted in Hubanks, 2009, p. 220).

4.5.2 Illocutionary Speech Acts Realising Move 3

Table 4-6 below shows the most frequently used speech acts in Move 3 of the generic structure of the APWAs.

Table 4-6 Frequencies of speech acts in move 3

Number and Title of Move	Types of Speech Acts		Frequency	Percentage
Move 3: Legitimate Authority of the Military Action and the Collective Will of the World	Constatives	Assertives	12	19.35%
		Informatives	26	41.93%
		Confirmatives	10	16.12%
		Predictives	1	1.61%
		Assentives	2	3.22%
	Commissives	Promises	4	6.45%
	Acknowledgments	Thanks	3	4.91%
	Directives	Advisory	2	3.22%
		Requestives	2	3.22%
	Total		62	100

Informatives were the most frequent type of speech acts used in this rhetorical move where it stood for 26 frequencies and a percentage of 41.93%. Embedded within the use of informative speech acts was the discourse of the support of the collective will of the world to the military action taken. In other words, informative speech acts were widely used in this specific move to show the unity of the world in its opposition to the enemy's act of aggression and its consent to conduct a response in terms of self-defence. This is obvious in the excerpts below.

146. In the last few days, I've spoken with political leaders from the Middle East, Europe, Asia, and the Americas; and I've met with Prime Minister Thatcher, Prime Minister Mulroney, and NATO Secretary General Woerner (Informative). And all agree that Iraq cannot be allowed to benefit from its invasion of Kuwait (Informative) (S38-39, Bush, August 8, 1990).

147. More than 35 countries are giving crucial support -- from the use of naval and air bases, to help with intelligence and logistics, to the deployment of combat units (Informative). Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense (Informative) (S4-5, Bush, March 20, 2003).

Thus, the consent of the international community to the conducted military intervention was implicitly inherited and realised through the informative type of speech acts. Because presidents were mostly talking about the taken military action, thus, the best way to prove and talk about the lawful authority or legitimacy of war was to realise the inherited assentive speech acts through informatives.

Assertives were the second most frequently used type of constative speech acts. They stood for 12 occurrences with a percentage of 19.35% in this specific rhetorical move. Assertive speech acts were used to assert the belief that the United States, represented by its presidents, has the sovereignty and the lawful authority to respond militarily against any threat. Assertive speech acts were also used by presidents to justify the military action as being taken under the umbrella of a lawful authority such as the Congress or the international world.

148. These sanctions, now enshrined in international law, have the potential to deny Iraq the fruits of aggression while sharply limiting its ability to either import or export anything of value, especially oil (Assertive) (S48, Bush, August 8, 1990).
149. I believe our democracy is stronger when the President acts with the support of Congress (Assertive). And I believe that America acts more effectively abroad when we stand together (Assertive) (S57-58, Obama, September 10, 2013).
150. We're also consulting with other countries -- and the United Nations -- who have called for action to address this humanitarian crisis (S38, Obama, August 7, 2014).

Confirmatives represented the third category of the most frequently performed speech acts in this rhetorical move. They were used with a frequency of 10 and a percentage of 16.12%. Most confirmatives used in this rhetorical move were aimed to address the certainty and verification of either the authority of the United States or the international community to act against the enemy's act of aggression. This is clearly shown in the excerpts below.

151. The United States of America has the sovereign authority to use force in assuring its own national security (Assertive). That duty falls to me, as Commander-in-Chief, by the oath I have sworn, by the oath I will keep (Confirmative) (S24-25, Bush, March 20 2003).

152. And in 1997, the United States Senate overwhelmingly approved an international agreement prohibiting the use of chemical weapons (Informative), now joined by 189 governments that represent 98 percent of humanity (Confirmative) (S20, Obama, September 10, 2013).
153. So even though I possess the authority to order military strikes (Confirmative) (S55, Obama, September 10, 2013).

Subsequently, the assentive orientation of the international community towards the military action was performed using informative speech acts which were widely used by presidents in this move. In relation, two assentive speech acts were used to declare the agreement of the international community on the response to the enemy's aggression. This is clearly shown in the excerpt below.

154. This new approach comes after consultations with Congress about the different courses we could take in Iraq (Assentive) (S143, Bush, January 11, 2007).
155. Acting on the good advice of Senator Joe Lieberman and other key members of Congress (Assentive), we will form a new, bipartisan working group that will help us come together across party lines to win the war on terror (Promise) (S156-157, Bush, January 11, 2007).

Other types of illocutionary speech acts were performed by presidents with low rates of frequency to define and realise this move-structure. Promise speech acts were used by presidents to bring into account the communicative function of this rhetorical move. This rhetorical move can be summarised in the US commitment and adherence to the instructions of the Congress in dealing with war crisis in question. Promises stood for 4 occurrences with a percentage of 6.45% of the speech acts performed. Promise speech acts are exemplified in the following excerpt.

156. In the days ahead, my national security team will fully brief Congress on our new strategy (Promise). If members have improvements that can be made, we will make them (Promise). If circumstances change, we will adjust (Promise) (S150-152, Bush, January 11, 2007).

Thanks were another frequently occurring type of communicative acts. As Acts of expressing gratitude, the category of 'thanks' occurred with a frequency of 3 and a percentage of 4.91%. Such actions, in addition to their function both to establish 'rapport with the audience and add positively to the speaker's overall self-presentation'

(Łazuka, 2006, p. 319), implicitly denoted the unity and consent of the world in the military action taken. This is clearly shown in the following excerpt.

157. Thanks to close cooperation with our friends (thank) (S21, Reagan, April 15, 1986).
158. To our friends and allies in Europe who cooperated in today's mission, I would only say you have the primary gratitude of the American people (thank) (S36, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

Advisory, requestive, and predictive speech acts were employed with 3.27%, 3.27% and 1.63% respectively.

4.5.3 Lexico-grammatical Features Realising Move 3

From a grammatical point of view, this specific rhetorical move was articulated by verbs denoting mental and verbal processes (Thompson, 2014) such as ‘agree’, ‘approve’, ‘remember’, ‘concur’ and ‘consult’ in an attempt to show the agreement and concordance of most of the world countries on the decision of the military intervention.

To continue, presidents relied heavily on lexicon to realise this rhetorical move. It is important to recognise that the use of lexicon was intrinsically linked with both the meaning of the rhetorical move and the communicative function it fulfils. Communicating the legitimate authority and the collective will of the world to wage wars to defeat the emerging threats was a fundamental theme in presidential war narrative to justify the wars. Consequently, the presidents’ word choice contained a group of verbs and nominal expressions related to the semantic field of the move and the function of authorising the conducted military action. A reference to lawful bodies in the United States such as the American Congress, or bodies in the world such as the Security Council, the United Nations or the international community was one of these nominal expressions. The purpose of the heavy use of these lawful bodies, associated with assentives and unity verbs, was to show the unity and collective will in the military decision taken to defeat threat. The following excerpts elucidate the vitality of the lexicon and syntax in realising this generic move.

159. Finally, **our allies**, including Prime Minister Tony Blair of Great Britain, **concurred** that now is the time to strike. I hope Saddam will come into cooperation with the **inspection system** now and **comply** with the relevant **UN Security Council resolutions** (S78-79, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
160. And **all agree** that Iraq cannot be allowed to benefit from its invasion of Kuwait. **We agree** that this is not an American problem or a European problem or a Middle East problem: It is the **world's problem**. And that's why, soon after the Iraqi invasion, the **United Nations Security Council, without dissent**, condemned Iraq, calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its troops from Kuwait (S40-44, Bush, August 8, 1990).
161. And in 1997, the **United States Senate** overwhelmingly **approved** an international agreement prohibiting the use of chemical weapons, now joined by **189 governments** that represent 98 percent of humanity (S20-21, Obama, September 10, 2013).

4.6 Move 4. Objectives and Real Intentions of the Military Action

A state must not only limit its war-making activity to necessarily maintain the just cause that it possesses to obtain lawful permission to initiate war. The state must also justify its just cause in a way probably yielding a 'just and lasting peace' which is the major intention at which all activities of war must always be directed and met. To build conditions for a just and lasting peace, two elements are needed to be tackled (Burkhardt, 2017). These two elements are peace and justice. The definition of these two elements, along with their constraints and requirements, is derived from the principles of the JWT. The aims and intentions of wars are given below:

1) those that derive from the requirement that states aim at peace (fighting with restraint, immunizing civilians from the harms of war, and educating its military); and 2) those that derive from the requirement that states aim at justice (fighting only until the rights that were violated have been vindicated, respecting human rights, leaving its enemy in a position to secure human rights, allowing for political self-determination, tolerating regimes that honor basic human rights, and supporting a public political culture that adheres to just war) (Burkhardt, 2017, p. 14).

In this commonly used rhetorical move of the APWAs, presidents denoted the intentions and objectives of the world's military response to the offensive act of the enemy. Given the JWT, Mosley (2009) stresses that the possession of right intentions portrays that the nation is waging a just military intervention against enemies for the cause of justice and not for causes of self-interest. Mosley (2009, p. 17) adds that 'a

just war cannot be considered to be just if reasons of national interest are paramount or overwhelm the pretext of fighting aggression'. Similarly, Reyes (2011) points out that public speakers in general and presidents, in particular, are cautious that their military actions do not appear motivated only by their personal interests. As shown in this rhetorical move, the presidents and their undertaken military actions were presented as serving the common good that would improve the conditions of a particular community including the community of the offending nation.

In addition, framing the military action as being enacted for the well-being of other people relates to the idea of altruism and moral evaluation in a way that easily attracts the public support and pushes more to the justification and legitimisation of the active proposal (Reyes, 2011). To go more in-depth, Johnson (2005) views the requirement of the right intention of waging war in two ways, negatively and positively. From a negative point of view, Johnson (2005, p. 4) eliminates evil intentions embodied by 'the desire for harming, the cruelty of avenging, an unruly and implacable animosity, the rage of rebellion, the lust of domination and the like'. The positive view that underlies the right intention is the intent of restoring a disordered peace. Both the negative and positive aspects were discursively included in the PWR of the current study. America's objectives and ends of waging war might take one or more forms. This rhetorical move was frequently used with a frequency of twelve out of the war addresses. Being an obligatory rhetorical move, it was frequently used in all of the twelve APWAs. Embedded within this move was the frame of preventing nuclear weapons and materials from coming into the hands of terrorists and being used against the United States or anywhere in the world as shown in the excerpts below.

162. In Afghanistan and Pakistan, America's interests are clear. We must stop the resurgence of safe havens that enable terrorists to threaten America. And we must prevent nuclear weapons and materials from coming into the hands of terrorists and being used against us or anywhere in the world, for that matter. But to prosecute this war, we will learn from history (S79-82, Trump, August 21, 2017).
163. The purpose of our actions tonight is to establish a strong deterrent against the production, spread and use of chemical weapons (S13, Trump, April 13, 2018).
164. Our military action is also designed to clear the way for sustained, comprehensive and relentless operations to drive them out and bring them to justice (S14, Bush, October 7, 2001).
165. Their mission is to attack Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programs and its military capacity to threaten its neighbors (S4, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

The US efforts to defeat terrorism, to destroy the enemy's capabilities to produce chemical and biological weapons and to prevent the resurgence of safe havens that enable terrorists to threaten the world were positive valued ends. These ends and motives formed a group of core values that all the citizens of the United States agreed upon. As a result, a call to wage war against those who wanted to use chemical weapons to kill Americans and threaten the world would be not objectionable. In other words, the presidential war narrative portrayed the fight in terms of saving America and the world from a destructive threat to which Americans would find no room for objection (Hodges, 2011). Although conducting a military action sometimes involves conquest or ambitions of occupation, the US motives of waging wars has been framed as having no selfish interests or occupation ambitions. Self-interest was not a motive that drove America's actions. Instead, 'all actions are merely a sign of pure altruism' (Reyes, 2011, p. 802), as shown in the following excerpts.

166. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq. It is the liberation of Kuwait (S70-71, Bush, January 16, 1991).
167. We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people (S16, Bush, March 20, 2003).
168. America does not seek an indefinite presence in Syria under no circumstances. As other nations step up their contributions, we look forward to the day when we can bring our warriors home. And great warriors they are (S30-32, Trump, April 13, 2018).

Inherited within the US efforts and contributions of defeating terrorism and fighting for the betterment of the world was the expression of friendship with the people against which America was waging wars. This frame of befriending those people and the US concern of liberating them and keeping them safe was well established in presidential war narratives delivered by presidents. This notion of befriending others was evidenced and reported by Hodges (2013). Hodges (2013) claimed that adopting this discursive skill of expressing friendship towards the people against whom the United States were waging war caused a distinction between the citizens of the government and the government itself represented by its leader dictator only. This is clearly explained in the excerpts below.

169. We have no quarrel with them. But without the sanctions, we would see the oil-for-food program become oil-for-tanks, resulting in a greater threat to Iraq's neighbors and less food for its people (S88-89, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

170. We have no argument with the people of Iraq. Indeed, for the innocents caught in this conflict, I pray for their safety (S67-69, Bush, January 16, 1991).
171. The United States of America is a friend to the Afghan people, and we are the friends of almost a billion worldwide who practice the Islamic faith (S17-18, Bush, October 7, 2001).
172. Before Qaddafi seized power in 1969, the people of Libya had been friends of the United States, and I'm sure that today most Libyans are ashamed and disgusted that this man has made their country a synonym for barbarism around the world (S32-33, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

The altruistically manifestation of the rhetorical move of *Objectives and Real Intentions of the Military Action* in the APWAs helped presidents to legitimise their decisions or actions. Accordingly, when any nation's actions appear as benefiting other groups, 'especially the innocent, the unprotected and the poor, etc., they are more likely to be accepted and approved by our interlocutors' (Reyes, 2011, p. 803). This result tied well with Hodges' (2013) work wherein, to use his terms, the discourse of 'America's motives and objectives' was established as one of the major generic structures in his analysis of the presidential war discourse. On the contrary, this theme or discourse was not among the generic structures of PWR investigated in Campbell and Jamieson's (2008) study and the schematic structure of George W. Bush's 'war on terror' discourse inquired by Hodges (2011).

4.6.1 Deliberative Type of Rhetoric Realising Move 4

The principle of right intention is central in guiding the JWT. This principle asserts that a state's recourse to war is just only if the war is waged for the right objectives and real intentions (Purves and Jenkins, 2016). Thus, to make the argument of the right objectives and intentions of the military intervention appealing to audiences and to urge them to support the military decision in this specific move, presidents adopted deliberative types of discourse. In this specific move, deliberative type of rhetoric took the form of the presidents' articulation of the future expediencies of the present action to seek support or approval by a majority of the nation. To enumerate the principles and objectives that guided the presidents' policy, presidents aimed at offering the expediency of the proposed course of action on the basis that it would do well. Thus, through evoking a broad sense of public expediency in one

course of action, presidents were able then to capitalise opinion and attract particular public support. In a speech delivered by George W. H. Bush on 8 August 1990, the president attempted to show the expediency of the undertaken decision of the American military action through listing its four objectives. It is clear in the excerpt below.

173. Four simple principles guide our policy. First, we seek the immediate, unconditional, and complete withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Second, Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored to replace the puppet regime. And third, my administration, as has been the case with every President from President Roosevelt to President Reagan, is committed to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf. And fourth, I am determined to protect the lives of American citizens abroad (S15-19, Bush, August 8, 1990).

The president overwhelmingly observed the deliberative account and established the expediency of the proposed course of action. The policy's expediency involved Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, restoring the legitimate government of Kuwait and providing evidence recollected from history that Bush's administration adheres to the stability of the Gulf region. Consequently, this type of argument was a fundamental component of deliberative rhetoric, whereby audiences were forced to express their positions as advocates and opponents of a proposed policy (Hubanks, 2009). In Dow (1989), deliberative rhetoric in war discourses operated to gain the audiences' public support for actions already taken. However, Aristotle's deliberative rhetoric operates to speak of actions occurring in future as a result of a present proposed policy (Aristotle, 2004). This is shown in the following excerpts.

174. Our objectives are clear: Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions, and then, when peace is restored, it is our hope that Iraq will live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf (S24-29, Bush, January 16, 1991).
175. The purpose of this strike would be to deter Assad from using chemical weapons, to degrade his regime's ability to use them, and to make clear to the world that we will not tolerate their use (S52, Obama, September 10, 2013).

Another form of the real intentions of the military action taken from Bush, March 20, 2003, is presented below.

176. We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization and for the religious faiths they practice. We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people (S15-16, Bush, March 20, 2003).

Bush established the deliberative rhetoric for the action, which was also elaborated in the speech as a whole. Bush revealed that the American military action was narrowly directed at Saddam's chemical weapons and not at Iraqi citizens and that the US military intervention was aimed at removing a threat and restoring peace to people of Kuwait. Through these propositions, Bush evidently assured that the action was rational, prudent and expedient. In this excerpt and other similar ones delivered by presidents under the move of the real intentions of the military action, presidents differentiated between dictators and the innocent people that are ruled under them. Thus, befriending the people of countries on which the United States was waging wars pushed audiences to accept the expediency of the military action taken or proposed. This notion was also endorsed by Dow's (1989) argument that the first ten sentences of Reagan's address on Libya in 1986 established the deliberative case for the action through providing specific evidence that the military action was rational and expedient. The rationality of the action came up when Reagan announced that it was Qadhafi and his regime which was attacked and not the Libyan people. Qadhafi was warned that his aggressive and terrorist attacks would bring retaliation and that Qadhafi's latest act was one in a series of similar acts in his previous history.

In another excerpt, Obama, in his address of September 10, 2013, attempted to obtain the sanction of the American Congress to strike targets of chemical weapons in Syria. In this address, Obama highlighted the deliberative power of the rhetoric drawing on collective memories of American wars as a means of intensifying the moral righteousness of the deliberative policy presented to Congress (Bostdorff and Goldzwig, 2005).

177. I will not put American boots on the ground in Syria. I will not pursue an open-ended action like Iraq or Afghanistan. I will not pursue a prolonged air campaign like Libya or Kosovo. This would be a targeted strike to achieve a clear objective: deterring the use of chemical weapons, and degrading Assad's capabilities (S69-72, Obama, September 10, 2013).

In the above excerpt, Obama was establishing the expediency of the policy proposed to Congress combined with surveying hard past memories of secret wars undertaken by the United States without a formal declaration by Congress. This was completely similar to Bostdorff and Goldzweig's (2005) argument that all humans, including political leaders, recalled their perception of the past to guide their policymaking or plan for future decisions. Besides, political leaders utilised the past to craft their addresses in a way to persuade audiences to rally particular policies and ends. Deliberative rhetoric in general presented potential advantages to presidents either to gain support for undertaken actions or to show the expedient benefits of the proposed course of action. But the combination of deliberative rhetoric with recollecting bad negative memories of American secret wars was an appealing potent brew. By this rhetorical act, Obama was successful in reassuring a democratic society labelled by rationality and wisdom in making decisions as this is clear in Obama's excerpt below.

178. So even though I possess the authority to order military strikes, I believed it was right, in the absence of a direct or imminent threat to our security, to take this debate to Congress. I believe our democracy is stronger when the President acts with the support of Congress. And I believe that America acts more effectively abroad when we stand together (S55-58, Obama, September 10, 2013).

It must be pointed out that the sources of memoria or shared recollection of the past were a strategy widely used by the American presidents to enhance their image. Bostdorff argues that this was clearly done by Clinton in the anniversary of the March on Washington to change the audiences' perception of the past and also by Reagan 'when he appropriated Martin Luther King, Jr.'s memory and cast him as an opponent of affirmative action' (Bostdorff, 2011, p. 300). Bostdorff (2011) then asserted that underlying these kinds of purposes was the epideictic recall of collective memory for political and deliberative goals. This notion is consistent with the finding of this study in using collective memories for deliberative effect. Bostdorff (2011) also supports the view of this study when he argued that years after America's war on terror and the war in Iraq, George W. Bush continued in manifesting collective memories of World War II. Bush did so to gain the strategic merits of epideictic arguments of rhetoric to boost his presidential status, rebuff public opposition and support deliberative ends embedded in wars in Iraq.

4.6.2 Illocutionary Speech Acts Realising Move 4

Table 4.7 below explains the most frequently used speech acts in the rhetorical Move 4 of the APWAs.

Table 4-7 Frequencies of speech acts in move 4

Number and Title of Move	Types of Speech Acts		Frequency	Percentage
Move 4: Objectives and Real Intentions of the Military Action	Constatives	Assertives	25	26.88%
		Informatives	9	9.67%
		Confirmatives	14	15.05%
		Predictives	2	2.15%
		Retrodictives	1	2.24%
		Descriptives	12	12.90%
		Responsives	1	1.07%
		Suppositives	1	1.07%
	Commissives	Promises	20	21.50%
	Acknowledgments	Bids	3	3.22%
	Directives	Requestives	4	4.30%
		Advisory	1	1.07%
	Total		93	100

A characteristic point in the rhetorical move of *Objectives and Intentions of the Military Action* was the speaker's use of assertive illocutionary acts. Assertives were a type of constative speech acts that were employed in this rhetorical move. They came first in the distribution and frequency rate in this move-structure. They stood for 25 occurrences out of 93 with a percentage of 26.88%. The representation of a state of affairs was the communicative function of assertive speech acts which might be verified as true and false (Trosborg, 2000). As a result, they were commonly utilised by presidents in this rhetorical move to state the objectives of the military actions and the clarity of this specific mission. This is shown in the following excerpts.

179. Four simple principles guide our policy (Assertive). First, we seek the immediate, unconditional, and complete withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait (Assertive) (S15-16, Bush, August 8, 1990).
180. Our objectives are clear (Assertive) (S24, Bush, January 16, 1991).
181. In Afghanistan and Pakistan, America's interests are clear (Assertive) (S79, Trump, August 21, 2017).
182. I've, therefore, authorized targeted airstrikes, if necessary, to help forces in Iraq as they fight to break the siege of Mount Sinjar and protect the civilians trapped there (Assertive) (S34, Obama, August 7, 2014).

Presidents also used assertive speech acts with the intention that audiences, in general, form the belief that the United States was a friend to all peaceful people and its hostility was addressed towards terrorists and barbaric criminals. Thus, they were used to demonstrate that America cared much for people's feelings, culture and history.

183. Also, the Muslim holy month of Ramadan begins this weekend (Informative). For us to initiate military action during Ramadan would be profoundly offensive to the Muslim world and, therefore, would damage our relations with Arab countries and the progress we have made in the Middle East (Assertive) (S75-76, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
184. The United States of America is a friend to the Afghan people (Assertive), and we are the friends of almost a billion worldwide who practice the Islamic faith (Assertive) (S17-18, Bush, October 7, 2001).
185. The Libyan people are a decent people caught in the grip of a tyrant (Assertive) (S34, Reagan, April 15, 1986).
186. We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization and for the religious faiths they practice (Assertive) (S15, Bush March 20, 2003).
187. Ultimately, it is up to the people of Afghanistan to take ownership of their future, to govern their society, and to achieve an everlasting peace (Assertive) (S91, Trump, August 21, 2017).

Another set of assertive illocutionary acts was performed by presidents in their presidential war narrative to state that the use of power was established for a truly just cause and solely for a known purpose. This purpose included the correction of a suffered wrong, exclusion of material gain and maintenance of economies. This is clearly shown in the following excerpts.

188. We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people (Assertive) (S16, Bush, 20 March, 2003).
189. America does not seek an indefinite presence in Syria under no circumstances (Assertive) (S30, Trump, April 13, 2018).
190. The United States will be a partner and a friend, but the fate of the region lies in the hands of its own people (Assertive) (S39, Trump, April 13, 2018).

Since framing the rhetorical move of the real objectives of the military mission mostly focused on encouraging audiences to hold the same beliefs of a lawfully undertaken justified war, assertives were dominant. The frequent use of assertive speech acts succeeded to have audiences form the same beliefs as those of the president. This result was consistent with Alemi et al. (2018) who showed that Obama's frequent performance of assertives in his two speeches delivered on

7/Aug/2014 and 10/Sep/2014 were used to justify the airstrikes of the US army on ISIS's zones in Iraq.

Promises represented the second category of the most frequently performed speech acts. They were used with a frequency of 20 and a percentage of 21.50%. Some speech acts of promises used by presidents to realise this specific move were addressed to the nation to state the US commitment to the security and stability of the world. Subsequently, this commitment was performed through degrading the enemy's capacity to develop weapons of mass destruction, degrading its ability to threaten the security of the world and retrieving the wrongly taken land to its real owners. These are made clear in the following excerpts.

191. And third, my administration, as has been the case with every President from President Roosevelt to President Reagan, is committed to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf (Promise) (S18, Bush, August 8, 1990).
192. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities (Promise). Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed (Promise) (S20-21, Bush, January 16, 1991).

Other speech acts of promises were addressed to the people of the governments against which the United States and its allies were waging wars. The purpose of their uses was to establish rapport with these people, to befriend them and to show that the United States had no hostility with them. They were also performed to show that the citizens of the nations against which the United States undertaking military actions were also included in the principle of the universal interests of everyone around the world. This is clearly explained in the excerpts below.

193. At the same time, the oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies (Promise). As we strike military targets, we will also drop food, medicine and supplies to the starving and suffering men and women and children of Afghanistan (Promise) (S15-16, Bush, October 7, 2001).
194. If we must begin a military campaign, it will be directed against the lawless men who rule your country and not against you (Promise). As our coalition takes away their power, we will deliver the food and medicine you need (Promise). We will tear down the apparatus of terror (Promise) and we will help you to build a new Iraq that is prosperous and free (Promise). In a free Iraq, there will be no more wars of aggression against your neighbors, no more poison factories, no more executions of dissidents, no more torture chambers and rape rooms (Promise). The tyrant will soon be gone (Promise) (S51-55, Bush, March 17, 2003).

In addition to establishing rapport, presidents attempted to ensure a positive image of themselves and their governments. Presidents also addressed promises to their audiences, thereby trying to reassure them of the US perseverance in its war against enemies, and its efforts to protect American people everywhere and to restore peace in troubled places.

195. And third, my administration, as has been the case with every President from President Roosevelt to President Reagan, is committed to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf (Promise). And fourth, I am determined to protect the lives of American citizens abroad (Promise) (S18-19, Bush, August 8, 1990).
196. No amount of American blood or treasure can produce lasting peace and security in the Middle East (Assertive). It's a troubled place (Assertive). We will try to make it better (Promise) (S35-37, Trump, April 13, 2018).

Confirmatives represented the third category of speech acts that were dominantly performed in this rhetorical move. Confirmative speech acts were used with a frequency of 14 and a percentage of 15.05%. Some confirmative speech acts were used by presidents to verify and confirm the belief and intention that the United States had no argument or quarrel with people of the countries against which they were fighting. Rather, by employing this type of speech acts, presidents not only confirmed that they did not quarrel with countries' people but also, they came to restore control and liberate the people.

197. The attacks were concentrated and carefully targeted to minimize casualties among the Libyan people (Descriptive), with whom we have no quarrel (Confirmative) (S2-3, Reagan, April 15, 1986).
198. We have no quarrel with them (Confirmative) (S88, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
199. We have no argument with the people of Iraq (Confirmative) (S67, Bush, January 16, 1991).
200. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq (Confirmative). It is the liberation of Kuwait (Confirmative) (S70-71, Bush, January 16, 1991).
201. We are a partner and a friend (Confirmative) (S92, Trump, August 21, 2017).

Other uses of confirmative speech act varied in their functions. They were used to address the friendship of the United States to people and countries, confirm the rationality of the mission of the military action and validate the greatness of the American warriors doing the military action job.

Another self-explanatory characteristic in the rhetorical move of *Objectives and Real Intentions of the Military Action* was the speaker's use of descriptive illocutionary acts. One of the central communicative functions of this move-structure was to tell about the objectives of the taken or proposed military action. Accordingly, the researcher expected that a set of descriptive illocutionary speech acts will be identified to offer elaborated details of the military mission. Descriptive speech acts accounted for 12 occurrences and a percentage of 12.90% and were employed to realise the military objectives of the conflict, as shown in the excerpts below.

- 202. The purpose of this strike would be to deter Assad from using chemical weapons, to degrade his regime's ability to use them, and to make clear to the world that we will not tolerate their use (Descriptive) (S52, Obama, September 10, 2013).
- 203. The attacks were concentrated and carefully targeted to minimize casualties among the Libyan people (Descriptive) (S2, Reagan, April 15, 1986).
- 204. Their mission is to attack Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programs and its military capacity to threaten its neighbors (Descriptive) (S4, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

On the contrary to other moves, informative speech acts were used with a slow rate of occurrence. Informatives, in this specific move, were used with a frequency of 7 that stood for 8.04% of the performed speech acts. They were utilised to inform audiences of the US concern for the safety of people and its respect to them and their traditions as this is clear in the following excerpts.

- 205. Also, the Muslim holy month of Ramadan begins this weekend (Informative) (S75, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
- 206. Many Iraqis can hear me tonight in a translated radio broadcast (Informative), and I have a message for them (Informative) (S49-50, Bush, March 17, 2003).
- 207. We have no argument with the people of Iraq (Confirmative). Indeed, for the innocents caught in this conflict (Informative), I pray for their safety (Informative) (S67-69, Bush, January 16, 1991).

Requestive speech acts, which were used for four times with a percentage of 4.30%, were also used by presidents to request the nation to act and to fulfil the future objectives of the military action.

- 208. Actions Can't Be Ignored (Requestive) (S35, Reagan, April 15, 1986).
- 209. Second, Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored to replace the puppet regime (Directive – Requestive) (S17, Bush, January 16, 1990).

210. We must stop the resurgence of safe havens that enable terrorists to threaten America (Requestive). And we must prevent nuclear weapons and materials from coming into the hands of terrorists and being used against us or anywhere in the world, for that matter (Requestive) (S80-81, Trump, August 21, 2017).

As shown in the table above, other types of illocutionary acts were also used but with quite low frequencies and percentages.

4.6.3 Lexico-grammatical Features Realising Move 4

The communicative function of this specific semantic unit was to answer the question of why the United States and its allies were waging wars. As a result, presidents relied heavily on the use of the syntactic feature of ‘to infinitives’. ‘To infinitives’ were commonly used by presidents to state the objectives of the taken military action. The most striking feature of ‘to infinitives’ in this specific rhetorical move was that they follow expressions of purpose in simple sentences type as this is clearly shown in the following excerpts.

211. Their mission is **to attack** ... (S4, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
212. These carefully targeted actions are designed **to disrupt** ... and **to attack** ... (S2, Bush, October 7, 2001).
213. Our troops will have a well-defined mission: **to help** ... **to help** ..., and **to help** ensure ... (S55, Bush, January 11, 2007).
214. The purpose of our actions tonight is **to establish** ... (S13, Trump, April 13, 2018).
215. The purpose of this strike would be **to deter** ..., **to degrade** his ... (S52, Obama, September 10, 2013).
216. The attacks were concentrated and carefully targeted **to minimize** ... (S2, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

From a lexical point of view, this rhetorical move contained some lexical features that realised the function of this move. Some lexical structures used to serve the statement of the real objectives of the military intervention were exemplified in the move. These examples included the following: ‘their mission is’..., ‘they are designed to’ ..., ‘four simple principles guide our policy’, ‘our operations are designed to’ ..., ‘these carefully targeted actions are designed to’ ..., ‘our military action is also designed to’ ..., ‘this military action is a part’ ..., ‘our troops will have a well-defined mission’ ..., ‘the purpose of our actions tonight is to’ ..., ‘the purpose of this strike

would be to' ..., 'this would be a targeted strike to' ..., 'the attacks were concentrated and carefully targeted'... .

4.7 Move 5. Consequences of Failing to Respond Militarily (Inaction)

Justifying war often takes place through a timeline connecting the past, present and future. Political actors display the present time as a time in which momentous military actions are demanded to exist. These military actions, undertaken or proposed, are associated with a cause which happened in the past and a consequence which may or will occur in the future time (Reyes, 2011). In another sense, what caused the present problem is an event in the past, and it now imposes imminent action to avoid repeating the same problem and its fearful consequences in the future. To secure a future represented by order and peace requires moving beyond the limit of inaction. In the APWAs, the process of justifying the war and gaining the public support projects the future of the nation according to the possible actions taken in the present (Reyes, 2011). In this way, the presence of inaction depicts the future of the nation and world in the following way: 'If we do not do what the speaker proposes in the present, the past will repeat itself. Terrorism will spread' (Reyes, 2011, p. 793). As such, to talk about the risks and consequences of failing to conduct a military action to repulse the offensive act done by the enemy was a rhetorical move that was frequently represented in the APWR of the current study. It stood for ten occurrences out of twelve addresses.

In this type of discourse, presidents rhetorically aimed to attract the support of audiences for actions either to be undertaken in the near term or already taken. To justify this decision, presidents tended to motivate the public to face hypothetical threats of the future, a finding also evidenced by Dunmire' (2007) study. This is explicitly shown in the following excerpts.

217. If we had delayed for even a matter of days from Chairman Butler's report, we would have given Saddam more time to disperse his forces and protect his weapons (S73-74, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
218. Heavy as they are, the costs of action must be weighed against the price of inaction. If Saddam defies the world and we fail to respond, we will face a far greater threat in

the future. Saddam will strike again at his neighbors. He will make war on his own people (S100-104, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

219. We are now acting because the risks of inaction would be far greater. In one year, or five years, the power of Iraq to inflict harm on all free nations would be multiplied many times over (S91-92, Bush, March 17, 2003).

In most of the APWAs, the enemy was represented as a deliberate agent whose offensive future actions would bring harm to the United States and the whole world if the United States fails to respond. In these war addresses, the United States was framed as ‘a highly effective and active agent’ that was thrust in a war compelled by external forces and necessities (Dunmire, 2007, p. 32). Embedded within this rhetorical move was the tendency that ensuring a privileged future of peace and freedom depended on the military action the United States took against enemies. This type of future was completely contrasted with the hypothetical fearful future in case the United States failed to repulse the threat. To secure one of these contrasting futures depended on who was the first agent of using force and to select what the future would be (Dunmire, 2007). The following examples revealed why the United States chose to meet the emerging threat before facing its disastrous consequences in cases of the US inaction.

220. And one message came through loud and clear: Failure in Iraq would be a disaster for the United States (S24, Bush, January 11, 2007).
221. A hasty withdrawal would create a vacuum that terrorists, including ISIS and al Qaeda, would instantly fill, just as happened before September 11 (S53-54, Trump, August 21, 2017).
222. And for us to ignore, by inaction, the slaughter of American civilians and American soldiers, whether in nightclubs or airline terminals, is simply not in the American tradition (S41, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

The threat of the use of nuclear weapons was one of the hypothetical fearful consequences in cases of not supporting the presidents’ military actions. In the next excerpts, presidents specified the consequences of not supporting his suggestions. Those future consequences evoked the past, more specifically, the events of 9/11.

223. The international community had little doubt then (Confirmative), and I have no doubt today (Confirmative), that left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will use these terrible weapons again (Predictive). And mark my words, he will develop weapons of mass destruction (Predictive). He will deploy them (Predictive), and he will use them (Predictive) (S19-21, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

224. If we fail to act, the Assad regime will see no reason to stop using chemical weapons. As the ban against these weapons erodes, other tyrants will have no reason to think twice about acquiring poison gas, and using them. Over time, our troops would again face the prospect of chemical warfare on the battlefield. And it could be easier for terrorist organizations to obtain these weapons, and to use them to attack civilians (S41-45, Obama, September 10, 2013).

The situation of threat posed by the enemy and its ambition of using chemical and biological weapons were hypothetical as Bush confirmed this in his speech on March 17, 2003 ‘These attacks are not inevitable. They are, however, possible’. However, the meaning indexed by them contributed in constituting a belief that these situations would be repetitive if we took in mind the nature and savagery of the enemy. This conclusion was also supported and reported in Reyes' (2011) study. Reyes (2011) argued that this repetitive structure caused the discursive goals of the emerging threat and danger to become established as present. When presidents attempted to enact or justify a decision, ‘this hypothetical association of cause–consequence has been exploited in the discourse so that the decision stands as natural, necessary and, often, the only way to proceed’ (Reyes, 2011, p. 794). On the contrary to Reyes' (2011) study which supports a similar pattern of result in this study, Hodges (2011; 2013) and Campbell and Jamieson (2008) missed this theme as one of the generic structures of presidential war discourse.

4.7.1 Deliberative Type of Rhetoric Realising Move 5

The communicative function of this generic structure was established to show that the very existence of the world or the United States was under threat of enemies if a decision of the military action was opposed. As a result, deliberative rhetoric was heavily used to garner the public support to ensure a future of peace and order which is contrasted with a future of threat and danger if the United States failed to act. In the international law, the idea of supreme emergency refers to a situation where the states are under an approximate threat and that, ‘the national security, foreign policy and economy of the state is at risk’ (Jackson, 2005, p. 99). Given this threat, the international law allows states at a threat to take all the necessary precautions and measures for the sake of their survival ‘including pre-emptive war, the suspension of

constitutional rights, preventive detention, or any other extraordinary measure' (Jackson, 2005, p. 99). According to the appeals of fear and threat invoked by the speaker, deliberative type of rhetoric will automatically capitalise audiences urging them unconsciously to accept the expediency of the action undertaken. The deliberative type of rhetoric is concerned with the future and expediency of the action. As such, this rhetorical move has been defined through establishing the future benefits of the military action taken and the future harm of not moving to act militarily. This rhetorical move was deliberatively framed to have audiences imagine the fearful and disastrous hypothetical consequences that would be done hereafter if the present military action did not occur. In a speech delivered by Clinton on December 16, 1998, the two types of future that audiences would face were revealed.

225. Heavy as they are, the costs of action must be weighed against the price of inaction. If Saddam defies the world and we fail to respond, we will face a far greater threat in the future. Saddam will strike again at his neighbors. He will make war on his own people. And mark my words, he will develop weapons of mass destruction. He will deploy them, and he will use them (S100-106, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
226. Because we're acting today, it is less likely that we will face these dangers in the future (S108-109, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

Aristotle (2004) grounds his deliberative rhetoric based on the argument of good versus bad evidence. To effectively attract the public support for the proposed or taken course of action, Aristotle (2004) suggests that the speaker must appeal to the nation's interests through calling to account the harmful future consequences in case of inaction and the comfortable issues of the decision carried out. In the following excerpt taken from George W. Bush on March 17, 2003, the president provoked audiences' anxiety.

227. We are now acting because the risks of inaction would be far greater. In one year, or five years, the power of Iraq to inflict harm on all free nations would be multiplied many times over. With these capabilities, Saddam Hussein and his terrorist allies could choose the moment of deadly conflict when they are strongest (S91-93, Bush, March 17, 2003).

This reinforcement of the enemy's threat followed by a comforting reassurance was a familiar discursive device in the APWAs as shown in the following excerpt.

228. We choose to meet that threat now, where it arises, before it can appear suddenly in our skies and cities (S94, Bush, March 17, 2003).

The merit of the proposed course of action was foregrounded through the use of deliberative rhetoric and its tenet of the thematic arguments of good and harm in an attempt to garner the audiences' support and to mitigate the war opposition voices.

Consequently, by simply enumerating this barrage of threats that the United States and world may face in case of inaction, presidents implicitly reinforced deliberative arguments for action. In this way, praising the step of the action can be seen to function as the right policy. In the same vein, the blame statements directed to the enemy and its constructed threats and dangers functioned as expediency arguments supportive to the undertaken policy. Dow (1989) also highlighted the deliberative rhetoric of the speech through Reagan's reinforcement of the disastrous consequences of inaction. Reagan's speech on Libya in 1986 stating that 'refuting the counter-argument that Qadhafi should be ignored rather than dignified through retaliation' (Reagan, quoted in Dow, 1989, p. 305). Dow (1989) went further to emphasise the deliberative argument of the consequences of inaction when Reagan decided the time of military response and highlighted the fearful consequences of opposing this response. This is clearly stated in the quoted excerpt of Reagan's speech:

[Qadhafi] suffered no economic or political or military sanction; and the atrocities mounted in number, as did the innocent dead, and wounded and to ignore by inaction the slaughter of American civilians and American soldiers... is simply not in the American tradition (Reagan, quoted in Dow, 1989, p. 305).

Similarly, Hubanks (2009) also established the deliberative character in Bush' post-9/11 war discourse when Bush attempted to show the nation the fitting aspects of the military response and the harmful consequences of any decision of inaction. Hubanks (2009) asserted that the employment of the deliberative type of rhetoric to meet this specific move of the fearful consequences of military inaction was reflected in the very utilisation of 'fear-laden rhetoric'.

4.7.2 Illocutionary Speech Acts Realising Move 5

Table 4-8 below offers the types of speech acts that are used most frequently in this rhetorical move of the APWAs.

Table 4-8 Frequencies of speech acts in move 5

Number and Title of Move	Types of Speech Acts		Frequency	Percentage
Move 5: Consequences of Failing to Act Militarily (Inaction)	Constatives	Assertives	15	16.30%
		Informatives	14	15.21%
		Confirmatives	7	7.60%
		Predictives	35	38.04%
		Retrodictives	6	6.52%
		Suppositives	5	5.43%
	Commissives	Promises	3	3.26%
		offers	1	1.08%
	Directives	Requestives	4	4.34%
		Questions	1	1.08%
		Requirements	1	1.08%
		Total		92

The increased use of predictive speech acts could be seen in the rhetorical move of *Consequences of Failing to act Militarily (Inaction)*. They were used with a frequency of 35 out of 92 and a percentage of 38.04%. This rate did not give a surprise for the researcher as the study expected the frequent use of predictive speech acts to depict the fearful hypothetical present and future that might exist in case America failed to act against the constant aggressive behaviours of the enemy. The speakers used them most often for the enemies, pointing to negative and evil aspects of their future activities. In Clinton's 1998 speech, the president made use of the predictives as a type of constative speech acts to communicate the evil aspects that the enemy might act in case the United States failed to respond. By portraying the fearful results and the risks of inaction, presidents were closer to the legitimacy of the military intervention conducted and more to attract the audiences' support and acceptance.

229. If Saddam defies the world and we fail to respond (suppositive), we will face a far greater threat in the future (Predictive). Saddam will strike again at his neighbors (Predictive). He will make war on his own people (Predictive). And mark my words, he will develop weapons of mass destruction (Predictive). He will deploy them (Predictive), and he will use them (Predictive). Because we're acting today (Assertive), it is less likely that we will face these dangers in the future (Predictive) (S101-109, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

Other examples were also taken from a speech delivered by George W. Bush in 2003, and Obama in 2013 where the presidents explained the harmfulness and evilness that may be brought to the United States and the World in case America would not respond to the emerging threat.

230. We are now acting because the risks of inaction would be far greater (Predictive). In one year, or five years, the power of Iraq to inflict harm on all free nations would be multiplied many times over (Predictive). With these capabilities, Saddam Hussein and his terrorist allies could choose the moment of deadly conflict when they are strongest (Predictive) (S91-93, Bush, March 17, 2003).
231. If we fail to act, the Assad regime will see no reason to stop using chemical weapons (Predictive). As the ban against these weapons erodes, other tyrants will have no reason to think twice about acquiring poison gas, and using them (Predictive). Over time, our troops would again face the prospect of chemical warfare on the battlefield (Predictive). And it could be easier for terrorist organizations to obtain these weapons, and to use them to attack civilians (Predictive) (S41-45, Obama, September 10, 2013).

A self-explanatory characteristic in constructing and realising the rhetorical function of this move was the predictivity, as opposed to confirmability of the projected future actions that enemies might or would take if the United States fails to act. The main purpose of constructing a powerful discourse of threat and danger was to legitimise the conducted military action or the pre-emptive war against enemies. Consequently, the evil and the fearful future actions of these enemies resulting from inaction were undermined by presidents and not given heavy centrality through the excessive use of predictive speech acts.

Informatives were ranked the second among the illocutionary speech acts used to construct and realise the rhetorical function of this rhetorical move. They were used with a frequency of 14 and a percentage of 15.21%. Some informative speech acts were used by presidents to inform audiences of the military response the United States and its allies already conducted to be then justified through the predictive discourse of the future threats and dangers posed by the enemy.

232. Because we're acting today (Informative), it is less likely that we will face these dangers in the future (Predictive) (S108-109, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
233. We choose to meet that threat now, where it arises, before it can appear suddenly in our skies and cities (Informative) (S94, Bush, March 17, 2003).
234. Our nation enters this conflict reluctantly (Informative) (S21, Bush, March 20, 2003).

In another example cited from George H. W. Bush's speech of 1990, the president attempted, through informative speech acts, to prove that Saddam Hussein formed a threat to his neighbours.

235. We see in Saddam Hussein an aggressive dictator threatening his neighbors (Assertive). Only 14 days ago, Saddam Hussein promised his friends he would not invade Kuwait (Informative). And 4 days ago, he promised the world he would withdraw (Informative). And twice we have seen what his promises mean: His promises mean nothing (Informative) (S35-37, Bush, August 8, 1990).

Assertives speech acts were also frequently performed in this rhetorical move. They stood for 15 occurrences with a percentage of 16.30%. As they served to express beliefs and states of affairs, assertive speech acts used in this move were addressed to express beliefs constructing the rhetorical function of this move and, generally, justifying the doctrine of the fearful future in case of inaction. The following are some excerpts of the use of assertive speech acts.

236. Terrorists and terror states do not reveal these threats with fair notice (Assertive), in formal declarations -- and responding to such enemies only after they have struck first is not self-defence (Assertive), it is suicide (Assertive) (S98-100, Bush, March 17, 2003).
237. Second, the consequences of a rapid exit are both predictable and unacceptable (Assertive) (S50, Trump, August 21, 2017).
238. And for us to ignore, by inaction, the slaughter of American civilians and American soldiers, whether in nightclubs or airline terminals, is simply not in the American tradition (Assertive) (S41, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

Other types of speech acts were also used by presidents to refer to the probability or supposition of these threats through the use of the suppositive type of speech acts. In supposing, 'what S expresses is the belief that it is worth considering the consequences of P, irrespective of whether it is true that P' (Bach and Harnish, 1979, p. 46). As such, suppositives were another way used by presidents to mitigate the consequences of the present and future threats posed by enemies with the ideological purpose of pushing audiences into accepting the decision taken. This is shown in the excerpts below.

- 239. If Saddam defies the world and we fail to respond (Suppositive), we will face a far greater threat in the future (Predictive) (S101-102, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
- 240. In desperation, he and terrorists groups might try to conduct terrorist operations against the American people and our friends (Suppositive). These attacks are not inevitable (Suppositive). They are, however, possible (Suppositive) (S74-76, Bush, March 17, 2003).

In fact, the function of this rhetorical move was to suppose or predict the threats and dangers that may be brought to the United States and the world in case the United States fails to respond to these threats. Consequently, retrodictives were also utilised by presidents to recount disastrous past facts that took place as a result of failing to act. Retrodictives accounted for 6 occurrences and a percentage of 6.52% out of the performed illocutionary acts. In the following excerpts, presidents affirmed that leaving appeasement and immediately resisting threat was the only way of not experiencing the severe events and facts that the nation witnessed in the past.

- 241. Appeasement does not work (Assertive). As was the case in the 1930's (Retrodictive), we see in Saddam Hussein an aggressive dictator threatening his neighbors (Assertive) (S33-35, Bush, August 8, 1990).
- 242. In the 20th century, some chose to appease murderous dictators, whose threats were allowed to grow into genocide and global war (Retrodictive) (S96, Bush, March 17, 2003).
- 243. The consequences of failure are clear (Assertive) ... (S25, Bush, January 11, 2007).
- 244. On September the 11th, 2001, we saw what a refuge for extremists on the other side of the world could bring to the streets of our own cities (Retrodictive) (S30, Bush, January 11, 2007).

Requestives were also performed in this move with a frequency of 4 and a percentage of 4.34%. Mostly, requestive speech acts were used by presidents to motivate the nation to respond militarily as the securest way to resist aggression and avoid emerging threats and dangers.

- 245. Heavy as they are, the costs of action must be weighed against the price of inaction (Requestive) (S100, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
- 246. It is that we must resist aggression (Requestive) or it will destroy our freedoms (Predictive) (S31-32, Bush, January 16, 1990).

An interesting finding in the analysis of this move was that predictive speech acts mostly followed either informative, assertive or confirmative speech acts. This is performed by presidents in an attempt to capitalise the psychological state of the

audiences in the presence of the threat and danger. In case of not responding, thus, America would witness a fearful and disastrous future. In the excerpt below taken from George H. W. Bush, the president initiated his utterance with an informative speech act about the American history that audiences must make use. Then it was followed by a requestive speech act of the necessity of rebuffing the aggression as American ancestors already did, or that aggression would destroy America's freedom. This is represented in the predictive speech act in the excerpt below.

247. But if history teaches us anything (Informative), it is that we must resist aggression (Requestive) or it will destroy our freedoms (Predictive) (S30-32, Bush, January 16, 1990).

Promise, offer, question and requirement types of speech acts were also used in one way or another to serve the communicative function of this cognitive move-structure. However, they were used with very low rates as indicated in the table above.

4.7.3 Lexico-grammatical Features Realising Move 5

Presidents presented a hypothetically fearful future scenario through the use of modality (will, would and could) to make the nation psychologically perplexed and prepared to accept without challenge the presidents' policies. Having people imagine the terrifying future scenarios through the use of modality is a finding strongly verified by Reyes (2011). The use of modality 'will' and 'would' was the most salient grammatical feature that framed this rhetorical move. The heavy use of modality in this move was consistent with its communicative function. This communicative function guided the nation to the worse future that may be brought to the United States and the world as a whole if the World failed to respond militarily to the present and future threats. This is shown in the following excerpt.

248. If we turn our backs on his defiance, the credibility of U.S. power as a check against Saddam **will** be destroyed. We **will** not only have allowed Saddam to shatter the inspection system that controls his weapons of mass destruction program; we also **will** have fatally undercut the fear of force that stops Saddam from acting to gain domination in the region (S64-66, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

As such, the discourse of the pre-emptive war proceeded from a dialogue about the benefits of the US actions against enemies to a monologue about the risks that might harm the United States in the nearest future in case of inaction. These two sides of the policy of pre-emptive war were mostly constructed by the dominant use of the future modality ‘will’ and ‘would’. Besides, this epistemic future, represented by the lexical structure of modality, did assist in legitimating the US action shortly (Dunmire, 2011). The deontic future of Iraqi action and the epistemic future of what would result if the US failed to act were represented through the use of modality in the following excerpts.

249. But if history teaches us anything, it is that we **must** resist aggression or it **will** destroy our freedoms (S30-32, Bush, August 8, 1990).
250. A hasty withdrawal **would** create a vacuum that terrorists, including ISIS and al Qaeda, **would** instantly fill, just as happened before September 11 (S53-54, Trump, April 13, 2017).
251. If we fail to act, the Assad regime **will** see no reason to stop using chemical weapons. As the ban against these weapons erodes, other tyrants **will** have no reason to think twice about acquiring poison gas, and using them. Over time, our troops **would** again face the prospect of chemical warfare on the battlefield. And it **could** be easier for terrorist organizations to obtain these weapons, and to use them to attack civilians (S41-45, Obama, September 10, 2013).

Hypothetical future problems and fearful scenarios were also constructed mainly through the use of conditional structures of the type: ‘If + past → would + Infinitive without to’, or ‘If + present → will + Infinitive without to’ (Reyes, 2011). In this meaning, the future, then, was represented as ‘an ideologically significant site in which dominant political actors and institutions can exert power and control’ (Dunmire, 2007, p. 19) as shown in the following excerpts.

252. **If we had delayed for even a matter of days from Chairman Butler's report, we would have given Saddam more time to disperse his forces and protect his weapons** (S73-74, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
253. **But if history teaches us anything, it is that we must resist aggression or it will destroy our freedoms** (S30-32, Bush, August 8, 1990).
254. **If Saddam Hussein attempts to cling to power, he will remain a deadly foe until the end** (S73, Bush, March 17, 2003).

These types of linguistic structures helped presidents achieve their political goals by justifying and legitimising actions by constructing a hypothetical fearful future.

4.8 Move 6. Standing up for Challenges and Commitments

This obligatory rhetorical move was frequently advocated by presidents in the PWR of the present study. In this type of rhetorical move, presidents refer to challenges that the United States had already faced to secure a peaceful world. It also referred to calls to go ahead amidst those challenges to achieve universal values and to serve for the common good of people all over the world. Besides references to past and present challenges, the rhetorical frame of this move ended with the discourse of the US commitments to look ahead to a future characterised as being more peaceful than the past. This rhetorical move was an obligatory one as it occurred in all of the twelve APWAs. The following are some excerpts of challenges confronted and commitments to be achieved in the future.

255. My fellow Americans, the world is confronted by many challenges. And while America has never been able to right every wrong, America has made the world a more secure and prosperous place (S60-62, Obama, August 7, 2014).
256. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order—a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations (S62-63, Bush, January 16, 1991).
257. And helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable and free country will require our sustained commitment (S14, Bush, March 20, 2003).

Notably, *Standing up for Challenges and Commitments* as a move represented the discourse of prevailing or victory against challenges and enemies confronted. In this type of discourse, presidents made sure that armed forces either have succeeded in the mission planned or that they will surely prevail. This is shown in the excerpt below.

258. From initial reports, our forces have succeeded in their mission (S4, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

The reasonable chance for success as one of the demands of the Just War was attributed to professional wisdom more than justice (Calhoun, 2002). In waging wars, whether it is possible or impossible to win, leaders sacrifice a number of human lives, especially the ones who are enlisted as troops to fight. Thus, committing one's nation into a bloody war with dim prospects will outcome with soldiers and troops be less

encouraged about enlisting (Calhoun, 2002). Critically, George H. W Bush in his war address on January 16, 1991, frequently confirmed that ‘this will not be another Vietnam’ in a reference that victory and success in war were guaranteed matters (O’Driscoll, 2019). Although insufficient by itself, the principle of reasonable success of the military actions conducted to rebuff the enemy’s act of aggression was one of the conditions besides other tenets of the JWT – the right to go to war – required to justify war. Mosley (2009, p. 17) holds that ‘the thrust of the reasonable success principle emphasises that human life and economic resources should not be wasted in what would obviously be an uneven match’. According to the JWT, the frame of the reasonable success of waging war was discursively shaped through the certainty of victory referred to in presidential discourses.

- 259. We will not fail (S17, Bush, January 16, 1991).
I am convinced not only that we will prevail but ... (S76, Bush, January 16, 1991).
- 260. Should Saddam Hussein choose confrontation, the American people can know that every measure has been taken to avoid war, and every measure will be taken to win it (S67-68, Bush, March 17, 2003).
- 261. The question is whether our new strategy will bring us closer to success. I believe that it will (S135, Bush, January 11, 2007).
- 262. And in the end, we will win (S68, Trump, August 21, 2017).

When comparing our findings to those of previous studies, it must be pointed out that *Standing up for Challenges, Commitments and Principles* was also recognised as a major generic structure in Hodges' (2011) study of George W. Bush’s addresses of ‘war on terror’. This move was frequently repeated in all the addresses of the present study and that it covered the highest rates of words in the war addresses under study. However, it was completely absent from Reyes' (2011) model of strategies of legitimisation, Hodges (2013), and Campbell and Jamieson’s (2008) models of generic structures of presidential war addresses.

4.8.1 Epideictic and Deliberative Types of Rhetoric Realising Move 6

This specific rhetorical move exposed the challenges that the United States confronted in the past and its continued perseverance amidst those challenges. This move was established in an attempt to demonstrate the potential of the American

leadership to look ahead to the future commitments that ensure peace in the United States and the common good of the world. Accordingly, presidents recalled the meaning of an experience which was characteristically praise-based in an attempt to emphasise ideal values pursued by America during its history and to create paths to the future. To overcome future challenges, presidents, through the definition function of the epideictic rhetoric, reminded their nation of the successes that have been achieved during history to overcome past and present challenges. In other words, presidents were oriented to recall past experiences from the sources of *memoria* to renew the community's enthusiasm and demonstrate leadership (Noon, 2004). In his address on December 16, 1998, Clinton aspired as far as possible to show his nation deeds in an attempt to have audiences look at them and contemplate about the future.

263. In the century we're leaving, America has often made the difference between chaos and community, fear and hope (S114, Clinton, December 16, 1998).

This result goes in line with Bostdorff's (2011) study which stated that Bush, in his address of August 20, 2005, drew on collective memories of the World War II as a way of renewing community and uniting an audience. Throughout his praise for World War II veterans as a strategy of realising epideictic rhetoric, Bush desired to demonstrate leadership and to pave the way for future commitments. Bostdorff proved his point through Bush's utmost utilisation of the epideictic rhetoric and collective memories of World War II to recruit the public rally for the war in Iraq. He elaborated stating that Bush, in his address, also offered praise for the past generation through connecting it to the current one. Similarly, Bush blamed, decontextualised and dehumanised past and present enemies by adopting lessons from the past. Bush also enhanced a shared community with his nation to secure an obligation to the undertaken policy (Bostdorff, 2011).

As epideictic rhetoric was reflected in the text according to three general exigencies, message-centred, speaker-centred and audience-centred, presidents, in this rhetorical move, made the very use of the 'message orientation to rhetoric' (Condit, 1985, p. 285). As such, the message's content was oriented to direct praise to deeds that had already been undertaken by America as part of milestones achieved to overcome past and present challenges. In the following example, President Bush made

the very use of the epideictic type of rhetoric when he utilised the definition function in explaining that America was pursuing to overcome the current challenges of the undertaken military action.

264. We are working around the clock to deter Iraqi aggression and to enforce U.N. sanctions. I'm continuing my conversations with world leaders. Secretary of Defense Cheney has just returned from valuable consultations with President Mubarak of Egypt and King Hassan of Morocco. Secretary of State Baker has consulted with his counterparts in many nations, including the Soviet Union, and today he heads for Europe to consult with President Ozal of Turkey, a staunch friend of the United States. And he'll then consult with the NATO Foreign Ministers (S67-71, Bush, August 8, 1990).

The epideictic rhetoric, crafted by praise-and-blame argument, was also verified in different studies of presidential rhetoric (Murphy, 2003; Hubanks, 2009; Bostdorff, 2011). It also tied with Eisenstadt's (2014) view that since epideictic speakers praise or blame in terms of the state of current events, they are predominantly oriented to the present especially when speakers often find it useful to invoke the past and guess about the future.

Because commitments are promises or pledges related to the future, standing up for commitments was discursively highlighted in the texts through the utilisation of the deliberative tools of rhetoric. One of the functions of deliberative rhetoric, according to Aristotle (2004), concerns future actions or events. In Bush's address three days before the American invasion of Iraq in 2003, Bush enumerated the commitments that the United States would carry out in future including making Iraq an example of a peaceful and self-governing country and advancing liberty and peace in the Middle East.

265. As we enforce the just demands of the world, we will also honor the deepest commitments of our country. Unlike Saddam Hussein, we believe the Iraqi people are deserving and capable of human liberty. And when the dictator has departed, they can set an example to all the Middle East of a vital and peaceful and self-governing nation (S102-104, Bush, March 17, 2003).

In his address of August 21, 2017, Trump declared that America was committed to defeating terrorism in Afghanistan, cutting off the sources of their funding and

condemning their evil nature. All these commitments would take place in the future, and they were deliberately established in the text to make audiences desire these future achievements resulting from the undertaken policy. In connecting the deliberative rhetoric with the rhetorical move of American commitments, presidents prescribed the future through utilising its means of inducement and dissuasion and its special topics of the advantages and disadvantages. This is reflected in the excerpt below.

266. As I outlined in my speech in Saudi Arabia, three months ago, America and our partners are committed to stripping terrorists of their territory, cutting off their funding and exposing the false allure of their evil ideology. Terrorists who slaughter innocent people will find no glory in this life or the next. They are nothing but thugs and criminals and predators, and, that's right, losers. Working alongside our allies, we will break their will, dry up their recruitment, keep them from crossing our borders, and yes, we will defeat them, and we will defeat them handily (S73-78, Trump, August 21, 2017).

Deliberative rhetoric in this move was characterised by the political use of 'must' and 'will' modality, which expressed the obligatory and certainty of the future nature of the present decision. In other words, the expediency of the present American decision was translated through future commitments and achievements that would and had to take place. This finding was completely consistent with that of Hummadi (2009) in which the author studied the rhetorical and persuasive strategies used by George W. Bush in his presidential speeches given between September 2002 and March 2003 to legitimise the American war on Iraq. In Hummadi (2009), Bush foregrounded the vitality of the prescriptive arguments as a tenet of deliberative rhetoric in prescribing the future by providing facts and evidence that the result would be positive. These facts and evidence have been framed as certain and necessary results that would occur as a result of adopting the future course of action.

Another form of commitment performed by George H. W. Bush was represented, this time, by the certainty of America's victory in its war against enemies and terrorism as in the excerpts below. Thus, Bush made the case to secure the audiences' support on the military action through portraying that prevalence in this specific war was certain. Subsequently, securing a world order in which the United

Nations can use its terms of reference to restore peace and humanity all over the world were the expedient advantages resulting from the victory and the policy adopted.

267. When we are successful—and we will be—we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders (S64-66, Bush, January 16, 1991).
268. I am convinced not only that we will prevail but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united, no nation will be permitted to brutally assault its neighbour (S76-78, Bush, January 16, 1991).

In this form of the rhetorical move, presidents established the expediency of the undertaken course of action through presenting arguments based on their potential to do well. As such, examining the deliberative characteristics used by past presidents to form and capitalise public perception of political events is a result also reported in some other studies of presidential rhetoric (Dow, 1989; Glover, 2007; Hubanks, 2009; Jackson, 2004b).

4.8.2 Illocutionary Speech Acts Realising Move 6

Table 4-9 below reveals the most frequently used speech acts in this rhetorical move of the APWAs.

Table 4-9 Frequencies of speech acts in move 6

Number and Title of Move	Types of Speech Acts		Frequency	Percentage
Move 6: Standing up for Challenges and Commitments	Constatives	Assertives	35	18.13%
		Informatives	45	23.31%
		Confirmatives	11	5.69%
		Predictives	8	4.14%
		Retrodictives	2	1.03%
		Assentives	1	0.51%
		Suppositives	3	1.55%
	Commissives	Promises	75	38.86%
	Directives	Requestives	10	5.18%
		Questions	1	0.51%
		Requirements	2	1.03%
	Total		193	100%

Promises represented the most frequently used speech act in this rhetorical move of *Standing up for Challenges, Commitments and Principles* with a frequency

of 75 out of 193 speech acts and a percentage of 38.86%. The study expected the increased use of promise type of illocutionary acts as commitments and standing up for war challenges were discursively represented by presidents' promises. Presidents used promises regarding the countries on which they were waging war in an attempt to gain their audiences' support and thus promise that the United States would do its best to restore peace and order in these countries.

- 269. So we will pursue a long-term strategy to contain Iraq and its weapons of mass destruction and work toward the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people (Promise) (S82, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
- 270. The United States, with other countries, will work to advance liberty and peace in that region (Promise) (S105, Bush, March 17, 2003).
- 271. America will change our approach to help the Iraqi government as it works to meet these benchmarks (Promise). In keeping with the recommendations of the Iraq Study Group, we will increase the embedding of American advisers in Iraqi Army units, and partner a coalition brigade with every Iraqi Army division (Promise). We will help the Iraqis build a larger and better-equipped army (Promise), and we will accelerate the training of Iraqi forces, which remains the essential U.S. security mission in Iraq (Promise). We will give our commanders and civilians greater flexibility to spend funds for economic assistance (Promise). We will double the number of provincial reconstruction teams (Promise) (S82-87, Bush, January 11, 2007).

Another group of promise speech acts was used by presidents to address the perseverance of the United States to fight terrorism.

- 272. As we make these changes, we will continue to pursue al Qaeda and foreign fighters (Promise) (S90, Bush, January 11, 2007).
- 273. They are nothing but thugs and criminals and predators, and, that's right, losers (Assertive). Working alongside our allies, we will break their will, dry up their recruitment, keep them from crossing our borders (Promise), and yes, we will defeat them (Promise), and we will defeat them handily (Promise) (S75-78, Trump, August 21, 2017).

Speech acts of promises were also employed by presidents to give promises of the certainty of victory or winning the war against enemies.

- 274. We succeeded in the struggle for freedom in Europe because we and our allies remain stalwart (Informative). Keeping the peace in the Middle East will require no less (Promise) (S26-27, Bush, August 8, 1990).
- 275. We will not fail (Promise) (S17, Bush, January 16, 1991).
- 276. When we are successful—and we will be (Promise)—we have a real chance at this new world order (Informative) (S64-65, Bush, January 16, 1991).
- 277. And now, the Taliban will pay a price (Promise) (S11, Bush, October 7, 2001).

278. As we send our bravest to defeat our enemies overseas, and we will always win (Promise) (S28, Trump, August 21, 2017).
279. And in the end, we will win (Promise) (S68, Trump, August 21, 2017).

Informatives were ranked the second among the speech acts used by presidents in this specific rhetorical move. They were used with a frequency of 45 and a percentage of 23.31%. Presidents also used informative speech acts as a discursive way of communicating commitments associated with waging wars. Mostly, informative speech acts were employed by presidents to inform audiences of the efforts and commitments they have already done to deter the enemy's aggression, to win the war and to keep order and peace in the world. This is clearly shown in the excerpts below.

280. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war (Informative). We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order—a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations (Informative) (S62-63, Bush, January 16, 1991).
281. I know many Americans feel fear today (Informative). And our government is taking strong precautions (Informative). All law enforcement and intelligence agencies are working aggressively around America, around the world and around the clock (Informative). At my request, many governors have activated the National Guard to strengthen airport security (Informative). We have called up reserves to reinforce our military capability and strengthen the protection of our homeland (Informative) (S36-40, Bush, October 7, 2001).

Assertives were the third most frequently used category of speech acts in this move with a frequency of 35 and a percentage of 18.13%. Some assertive speech acts were used by presidents to communicate the use of decisive force to preserve the commitment of prevailing in war. They were also aimed as the preferable way to communicate the notion of limiting the war duration and lessening the casualties. This is clear in the following excerpts.

282. Yet, the only way to reduce the harm and duration of war is to apply the full force and might of our military (Assertive), and we are prepared to do so (Informative) (S71-72, Bush March 17, 2003).
283. Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force (Assertive) (S26, Bush, March 20, 2003).

Presidents also utilised assertive speech acts to express beliefs and represent states of affairs functioning in preparing their audiences to accept the US commitments and principles of securing a peaceful world. Presidents used this mode again when referring to their actions, the actions of the government, or both, often depicting them in such positive terms.

284. In the century we're leaving, America has often made the difference between chaos and community, fear and hope (Assertive) (S114, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
285. Standing up for our principle is an American tradition (Assertive) (S82, Bush, August 8, 1990).
286. Unlike Saddam Hussein, we believe the Iraqi people are deserving and capable of human liberty (Assertive) (S103, Bush, March 17, 2003).
287. The United States has a lot to offer, with the greatest and most powerful economy in the history of the world (Assertive) (S24, Trump, April 13, 2018).

Requestives were another form of performed illocutionary acts employed by presidents to express the US commitments during or after waging wars. Requestive speech acts were reflected in 10 occurrences out of 193, with a percentage of 5.18%. In Clinton's speech in 1998, the requestive speech acts used to realise the US commitment expressed the speaker's attitude towards some prospective action by the nation to use force against Saddam Hussein again. They also expressed the speaker's intention that his utterance was regarded as a reason for the nation to act. This utterance was reflected by Saddam's ambition to reconstitute his weapons of mass destruction, to threaten his neighbors, to challenge allied aircraft over Iraq or to move against his own Kurdish citizens'. Other uses of requestive speech acts were used regarding Americans and the president's efforts to heal economic problems coming up as war consequences. This is clearly shown in the following excerpt.

288. Americans everywhere must do their part (Requestive). And one more thing: I'm asking the oil companies to do their fair share (Requestive). They should show restraint and not abuse today's uncertainties to raise prices (Requestive) (S75-77, Bush, August 8, 1990).

Predictives, as constative speech acts, were also used in this rhetorical move, mostly, to address the size and difficulty of challenges the United States may and will face to restore order and peace of the world. They also entailed the difficulty of persevering the achievements the United States was committed to fulfilling for the sake of advancing liberty and peace in the world. In relation, they were used to

communicate that America's goals and commitments required patience and resolve as well. Predictive speech acts were used with a frequency of 8 and a percentage of 4.14%. In the following excerpts cited from Bush's addresses in 2001, 2003 and 2007, the president, after stating the US intention to advance liberty and peace in the Middle East, predicted that keeping this commitment would come over time.

289. In the months ahead, our patience will be one of our strengths (Predictive)--patience with the long waits that will result from tighter security, patience and understanding that it will take time to achieve our goals (Predictive) (S41-42, Bush, October 7, 2001).
290. The United States, with other countries, will work to advance liberty and peace in that region (Promise). Our goal will not be achieved overnight (Predictive), but it can come over time (Assertive) (S105-107, Bush, March 17, 2003).
291. Fellow citizens: The year ahead will demand more patience, sacrifice, and resolve (Predictive) (S169, Bush, October 7, 2007).

As presenting the victory was one of the commitments and principles that the United States stood up for, most confirmative illocutionary acts were used to confirm and verify the rhetorical function of this move-structure. Confirmatives stood for 11 occurrences out of the total number of the performed speech acts and with a percentage of 5.69%. The following excerpts indicate the commitment of the United States to achieve victory through this type of speech act.

292. We can (Confirmative), and we will, prevail (Promise) (S174-175, Bush, October 7, 2007).
293. A commander in chief sends America's sons and daughters into battle in a foreign land only after the greatest care and a lot of prayer (Confirmative) (S45, Bush, October 7, 2001).

Although used with very low rates of frequency, other types of illocutionary acts were also utilised for the sake of further defining and realising the rhetorical function of this specific rhetorical move. They were retrodictives with a percentage of 1.03%, assentives with 0.51%, suppositives with 1.55%, questions with 0.51% and requirements with 1.03%.

4.8.3 Lexico-grammatical Features Realising Move 6

Standing up for Challenges and Commitments represented an obligatory rhetorical move that was frequently common in the APWAs. From a structural point of view, challenges were discursively divided, in this specific move, into past and present challenges. Past challenges were structurally realised with the common use of the present perfect tense. Because present perfect tense implies a connection of the past with the present, it was used in this move to describe the challenges that started in the past and continued to the present. As a result, to repeat, the perfection has been characterised as having an indefiniteness which makes it an appropriate verbal expression for recounting and introducing past actions as new topics of discourse (Quirk and Sidney, 1973). As such, presidents mostly utilised the present perfect tense to report old challenges that America faced as new ones, as shown in the following excerpts.

294. In the century we're leaving, America **has often made** the difference between chaos and community, fear and hope (S114, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
295. We **have in this past year made** great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war (S62, Bush, January 16, 1991).
296. At my request, many governors **have activated** the National Guard to strengthen airport security. We **have called up** reserves to reinforce our military capability and strengthen the protection of our homeland (S39-40, Bush, October 7, 2001).
297. In recent days, American authorities **have expelled** from the country certain individuals with ties to Iraqi intelligence services. Among other measures, I **have directed** additional security of our airports, and increased Coast Guard patrols of major seaports (Bush March 17 2003) (S82-83, Bush, March 17, 2003).

As for present challenges which happened due to the conducted military action, they were structurally represented in this move by the frequent use of the present continuous tense as shown in the following excerpts.

298. We **are working** around the clock to deter Iraqi aggression and to enforce U.N. sanctions. **I'm continuing** my conversations with world leaders (S67-68, Bush, August 8, 1990).
299. I know many Americans feel fear today. And our government **is taking** strong precautions. All law enforcement and intelligence agencies **are working** aggressively around America, around the world and around the clock (S36-38, Bush, October 7, 2001).
300. Our government is on heightened watch against these dangers. Just as we **are preparing** to ensure victory in Iraq, we **are taking** further actions to protect our homeland (S79-81, Bush, March 17, 2003).

Future challenges which are called commitments in the war addresses under scrutiny were the focus of this move and dominantly prevailed it. Commitments entailed obliging the United States to an obligation towards the world or the people of the countries against which the United States was waging wars. Consequently, these commitments were structurally realised by the frequent use of the modality ‘will’. Modality refers to a degree of certainty, high or low, about the truth of a proposition (Thompson, 2014). As a result, it was used to generate commitments in which speakers adhere themselves to the truth of what they were saying (Reyes, 2011). The following are examples of the US commitments delivered to the nation.

301. ... and I **will** continue my own discussions with President Putin. ... (S102, Obama, September 10, 2013).
302. ...and we **will** work together in consultation.... We’**ll** also give U.N. inspectors the opportunity to report.... And we **will** continue to rally support from... (S104-106, Obama, September 10, 2013).
303. Terrorists who slaughter innocent people **will** find no glory in this life or the next (S74, Trump, August 21, 2017).
304. Working alongside our allies, we **will** break their will, dry up their recruitment, keep them from crossing our borders, and yes, we **will** defeat them, and we **will** defeat them handily (S76-78, Trump, August 21, 2017).

4.9 Move 7. Arousing Patriotism, Spirits and Unity in Americans

In Sandford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Primoratz (2019) defines patriotism as ‘love of one’s country, identification with it, and special concern for its well-being and that of compatriots’. It involves an appreciation for one's culture and people. In Merriam-Webster English Dictionary, a patriot is defined as ‘a person who loves his or her country and is ready to boldly support and defend it’(Patriot: Merriam-Webster). Arousing sentiments of patriotism was a salient rhetorical move that was frequently adopted by presidents to represent the coda of the APWAs. It accounted for ten occurrences out of twelve addresses.

Thus, after meeting the requirements of going to war, presidents shifted to the process of stirring the sentiments of audiences to join a just cause in defence of humanity and civilisation. This was also highlighted by Campbell and Jamieson’s (2008) study which asserted that the audiences to which presidential war narrative

delivered were constituted as united individuals of patriots that were sentimentally moved to defeat the existing danger and threat. As such, the discourse of arousing the audiences' patriotism was characterised as having a language that was emotionally charged. One form of arousing sentiments of patriotism that has been addressed in audiences was related to the people's historical and cultural aspects. This is clear in the following excerpts.

305. Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls." Those well-known words are so very true today (S73-74, Bush, January 16, 1991).
306. Since the founding of our republic, our country has produced a special class of heroes whose selflessness, courage, and resolve is unmatched in human history. American patriots from every generation have given their last breath on the battlefield - for our nation and for our freedom. Through their lives, and though their lives were cut short, in their deeds they achieved total immortality. By following the heroic example of those who fought to preserve our republic, we can find the inspiration our country needs to unify, to heal and to remain one nation under God. The men and women of our military operate as one team, with one shared mission and one shared sense of purpose (S9-13, Trump, August 21, 2017).

It was also framed to include an extreme pride for one's country and often the belief that one's country is superior to others. This is clearly stated in the excerpt below when Bush referred to the sons and daughters' warriors of the United States as the Nation's finest.

307. No President can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the Nation's finest. Ours is an all-volunteer force, magnificently trained, highly motivated (S79-81, Bush, January 16, 1991).

Another form of calling the nation's feeling of patriotism was expressing a special concern for the sacrifice of the US troops and considering them the best among the US people. By this, presidents intended to inspire among Americans the sense of dedication and shared sacrifice for defending America and its people.

308. Today, those sacrifices are being made by members of our armed forces who now defend us so far from home, and by their proud and worried families (S44, Bush, October 7, 2001).
309. They are dedicated. They are honorable. They represent the best of our country, and we are grateful (S48-51, Bush, October 7, 2001).
310. Not far from where we are gathered tonight, hundreds of thousands of America's greatest patriots lay in eternal rest at Arlington national cemetery. There is more

- courage, sacrifice and love in those hallowed grounds than in any other spot on the face of the Earth (S158-159, Trump, August 21, 2017).
311. They (men and women in uniform) represent American leadership at its best (S82, Obama, August 7, 2014).

Indeed, one characteristic of PWR is to encourage and urge the audiences into processes of sameness and distinction as characteristics of identity information (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004), or into unanimity of purpose and total commitment (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). The notion of sameness or unanimity of purpose is clearly described below:

Adequation involves the pursuit of socially recognised sameness. In this relation, potentially salient differences are set aside in favour of perceived or asserted similarities that are taken to be more situationally relevant (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, p. 383).

Embedded within the common purpose of the military action fulfilled by the defenders of the United States despite their diversity was the discursive projection of unity between them. Although Hodges' (2013) analysis did not demonstrate this move as a generic structure, this conclusion was revealed in Campbell and Jamieson (2008) under the major generic structure of 'Exhortation to Unified Action', and Hodges (2013) under the final major generic structure 'The Narrative's Coda'. Thus, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) and Hodges (2013) asserted that racial, religious, economic or political disparities were backgrounded in times of war. In contrast, the common element of shared citizenship and the unity of purpose were highlighted as shown in the excerpts below.

312. Tonight, I ask all Americans to say a prayer for our noble warriors and our allies as they carry out their missions (S45, Trump, April 13, 2018).
313. Let us find the courage to heal our divisions within. Let us make a simple promise to the men and women we ask to fight in our name, that when they return home from battle, they will find a country that has renewed the sacred bonds of love and loyalty that unite us together as one (S30-32, Trump, August 21, 2017).
314. The men and women of our military operate as one team, with one shared mission and one shared sense of purpose. They transcend every line of race, ethnicity, creed and color to serve together and sacrifice together in absolutely perfect cohesion. That is because all service members are brothers and sisters. They are all part of the same family. It's called the American family. They take the same oath, fight for the same flag and live according to the same law. They are bound together by common purpose, mutual trust and selfless devotion to our nation and to each other (S13-19, Trump, August 21, 2017).

4.9.1 Epideictic Means to Deliberative End of Rhetoric Realising Move 7

Raising the audiences' spirits in the face of present and future threats through invoking their feeling of patriotism was discursively reflected through the use of epideictic means of rhetoric to satisfy deliberative ends. The process of arousing the audiences' patriotism entailed that the speaker was involved in praising which is one tenet of epideictic rhetoric that is implicitly loaded with deliberative ends of gaining support for the policy adopted. This is evidenced by Aristotle, who reveals that to offer praise for someone is to provoke him/her to do a course of action. As such, to urge a man to do a thing, the rhetor would praise him/ her for what has been done (Aristotle, 2004). In the excerpts below, the presidents attempted to fortify the nation's adherence to American universal values of braveness, sacrifice and call for duty as a way of encouraging them to accept and support the undertaken military actions. In short, the use of the epideictic type of rhetoric to praise military sacrifice and to highlight the deliberative ends of the action has its ancient root in America's long history.

315. Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls." Those well-known words are so very true today (S73-74, Bush, January 16, 1991).
316. American patriots from every generation have given their last breath on the battlefield - for our nation and for our freedom. Through their lives, and though their lives were cut short, in their deeds they achieved total immortality. By following the heroic example of those who fought to preserve our republic, we can find the inspiration our country needs to unify, to heal and to remain one nation under God. The men and women of our military operate as one team, with one shared mission and one shared sense of purpose (S10-13, Trump, August 21, 2017).

Another form of epideictic rhetoric was defined to realise the rhetorical function of the move of *Arousing Patriotism, Spirits and Unity in Americans* when presidents created and shaped a sense of patriots' community. One of the discourses that presidents aspired to highlight in their PWR was to identify American warriors and troops as a specific and honourable community. This was done through the means of describing them in a group of symbols and values that constitute the underlying principles of that community's identity. For example, in his speech in 2001, Bush created a community of the members of the armed forces shaping them with the values of sacrificing their own families for the sake of defending America and its people.

317. Today, those sacrifices are being made by members of our armed forces who now defend us so far from home, and by their proud and worried families (S44, Bush, October 7, 2001).

In another speech delivered by Bush in 2007, the president created and shaped a community of young American warriors maintained by praising them as making ‘the quiet sacrifices of lonely holidays and empty chairs at the dinner table’. The same was also true in the following example cited from Trump’s speech in 2017. In this address, Trump created a symbolic community of American heroes with unique, brave characteristics maintained through highlighting America’s legacy and character throughout its history.

318. Since the founding of our republic, our country has produced a special class of heroes whose selflessness, courage, and resolve is unmatched in human history (S9, Trump, August 21, 2017).

Epidictic discourse performed a set of functions, including numerous ways to praise or blame individuals. The praise and blame strategies of the epidictic rhetoric and the advocacy-oriented rhetoric of the deliberative discourse prevailed in the examples mentioned above. Hubanks (2009) demonstrated several examples of the appropriation of the epidictic praise strategies towards achieving a deliberative effect. Hubanks (2009) noted that Bush tended to generic hybridisation by frequently exploiting epidictic rhetoric as a tool to pursue deliberative goals rather than as a means for praise or blame. The same was found true in Bostdorff’s (2011) study of George W. Bush’s speech on August 20, 2005. Through praise and blame, Bush pushed at gaining the nation’s approval and support for the military action taken or proposed through presenting its expediency by several arguments. These arguments included defeating terrorism, establishing a democratic government, defending freedom and making the necessary sacrifices in lives to accomplish the tasks (Bostdorff, 2011). Praising American values such as sacrifice and veterans as models of virtue was the type of epidictic rhetoric used to gain support.

Since presidents were able to define why an event took place and who they were in the face of what has happened, they could reveal leadership over issues of public morality which is one of the tenets of the entertainment function of epidictic

rhetoric. Presidents, in this rhetorical move, exhibited leadership through directly benefitting the community in teaching it that ‘if virtue is a faculty of beneficence, the highest kinds of it must be those which are the most useful to others’ (Hauser, 1999, p. 14). These virtues involved commendatory acts of bravery, sacrifice and justice that characterise the American soldiers. Thus, entertainment refers to this phenomenon of teaching the American community the heroic works and virtuous deeds of the American warriors in the dangerous crisis times as an attempt to raise their spirits and patriotism to achieve deliberative ends (Condit, 1985). This type of epideictic rhetoric played a great role in capitalising the nation by encouraging people to emulate the narratives of heroism performed by Americans through its history.

319. In these dangerous times, the United States is blessed to have extraordinary and selfless men and women willing to step forward and defend us (S162, Bush, January 11, 2007).
320. Since the founding of our republic, our country has produced a special class of heroes whose selflessness, courage, and resolve is unmatched in human history. American patriots from every generation have given their last breath on the battlefield - for our nation and for our freedom (S9-10, Trump, August 21, 2017).

Condit’s (1985) understanding of entertainment certainly refers to attractive performative nature of epideictic language. However, the display (or entertainment) function seems more appropriate for deliberative ends as it entails that leaders disclose leadership through telling heroic stories, and listeners are convinced to mirror these expressed virtuous deeds (Eisenstadt, 2014). This was consistent with Jackson’s (2004b) study in which she made the very use of third functional pair of epideictic rhetoric, display and entertainment.

4.9.2 Illocutionary Speech Acts Realising Move 7

Table 4.10 below indicates the frequency and percentages of the performed illocutionary speech acts in this specific move-structure, Move 7 of the APWAs.

Table 4-10 Frequencies of speech acts in move 7

Number and Title of Move	Types of Speech Acts		Frequency	Percentage
Move 7: Arousing Patriotism, Spirits and Unity in Americans	Constatives	Assertives	18	19.14%
		Informatives	12	12.76%
		Confirmatives	6	6.38%
		Descriptives	11	11.70%
	Commissives	Promises	6	6.38%
	Directives	Requestives	18	19.14 %
	Acknowledgments	Thanks	6	6.38%
		Bids	1	1.06%
		Greets	2	2.12%
		Condoles	1	1.06%
		Congratulates	13	13.82%
	Total		93	100%

An important finding in the analysis of the performed illocutionary acts was the remarkable use of acknowledgement speech acts with a frequency of 23 and a percentage of 24.46%. They were distributed between varieties of acknowledgements sub-types of speech acts as indicated in the table above. According to Bach and Harnish (1979), acknowledgements express the feeling towards the hearer or, in the case of formal utterances, the speaker's intention that his/her utterances satisfy certain social expectations regarding the expression of certain feelings. The major one of these expectations for which the genre established was to justify the military decision taken and to push audiences into a certain course of action. Acknowledgement illocutionary acts were similar to praise mechanisms in function where, according to Aristotle (2004), offering praise to someone is implicitly urging him/her to a given policy or action.

Because acknowledgements (e.g. commiserate, condole, compliment, greet, acknowledge) constitute an immense part of the build-up of an emotional speech (Alattar, 2018), they were best suited to serve the function of arousing the patriotic feelings and spirits to gain the audiences' support and approval for the proposed policy. Congratulate illocutionary acts were used with a frequency of 13 and a percentage of 13.82% in an attempt by speakers to congratulate American troops for the past and present honourable, brave deeds such as sacrifices made to defend America and its people. The excerpts below make this clear.

321. Today, those sacrifices are being made by members of our armed forces who now defend us so far from home, and by their proud and worried families (Congratulate) (S44, Bush, October 7, 2001).
322. For your sacrifice, you have the gratitude and respect of the American people (Congratulate) (S19, Bush, March 20, 2003).
323. By following the heroic example of those who fought to preserve our republic, we can find the inspiration our country needs to unify, to heal and to remain one nation under God (Congratulate) (S12, Trump, August 21, 2017).

Thank speech acts were also used to arouse spirits towards the proposed policy. They were performed with a frequency of 6 and a percentage of 6.38%. In the use of thank speech acts, speakers expressed the gratitude to the American military warriors for the sacrifice and selflessness in defending their country.

324. In these dangerous times, the United States is blessed to have extraordinary and selfless men and women willing to step forward and defend us (Thank) (S162, Bush, January 11, 2007).
325. Thanks to the vigilance and skill of the American military, and of our many allies throughout the world (Thank) (S33, Trump, August 21, 2017).

The same also was true for other types of acknowledgement speech acts which were used with low rates of occurrences as shown in Table 4-10 above.

Thus, after praising past and present honourable deeds of the troops through performing acknowledgement types of speech acts, presidents moved to another way of stirring the audiences' sentiments through the use of requestive illocutionary speech acts. Requestives were used in an attempt to urge audiences, after praising, to a given course of action. Requestives speech acts were explicitly and implicitly immersed with an emotional style of communication to request audiences to lend their approval and support for the military action. Requestives accounted for 18 occurrences standing for 19.14% of the used speech acts. Requestive speech acts performed by presidents mostly focused on demanding American armed forces to make sacrifices to defend America and to keep the world safe.

326. We ask a lot of those who wear our uniform (Requestive). We ask them to leave their loved ones, to travel great distances, to risk injury, even to be prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice of their lives (Requestive) (S46-47, Bush, October 7, 2001).
327. Fellow citizens: The year ahead will demand more patience, sacrifice, and resolve (Requestive) (S169, Bush, January 11, 2007).

Another set of requestive illocutionary speech acts was used by presidents to address unity among division caused by practising political life and activities. Urging Americans to unite in crises such as war crisis was a discourse that was discursively shaped and represented in presidential war narrative. As such, some requestives were utilised to address this type of discourse. This is indicated in the following excerpts.

328. ... let us find the courage to heal our divisions within (Requestive) (S30, Trump, August 21, 2017).
329. We must unite to defend America from its enemies abroad (Requestive). We must restore the bonds of loyalty among our citizens at home (Requestive), and we must achieve an honorable and enduring outcome worthy of the enormous price that so many have paid (Requestive) (S164-165, Trump, August 21, 2017).
330. And so, to my friends on the right, I ask you to reconcile your commitment to America's military might with a failure to act when a cause is so plainly just (Requestive). To my friends on the left, I ask you to reconcile your belief in freedom and dignity for all people with those images of children writhing in pain, and going still on a cold hospital floor (Requestive) (S113-114, Obama, September 10, 2013).

Assertives speech acts were also performed by presidents to realise the rhetorical function of the coda move. Assertive speech acts stood for 18 occurrences with a percentage of 19.14%. Assertives are expressions of a belief with the intention that hearers form or constitute a similar belief (Bach and Harnish, 1979). Accordingly, assertive illocutionary acts were used in this cognitive move-structure to arouse the patriotic feelings and spirits through communicating facts and opinions related to devotion of home, sacrifice and heroism.

331. Since September 11, an entire generation of young Americans has gained new understanding of the value of freedom and its cost and duty and its sacrifice (Assertive) (S61, Bush, October 7, 2001).
332. These young Americans understand that our cause in Iraq is noble and necessary (Assertive)-- and that the advance of freedom is the calling of our time (Assertive) (S163-164, Bush, January 11, 2007).
333. And when one citizen suffers an injustice, we all suffer together (Assertive). Loyalty to our nation demands loyalty to one another (Assertive). Love for America requires love for all of its people (Assertive). When we open our hearts to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice, no place for bigotry and no tolerance for hate (Assertive) (S22-25, Trump, August 21, 2017).

Some other assertives were used to gain the public support and arouse patriotism through addressing the unity of destination as in the excerpt below.

334. The young men and women we send to fight our wars abroad deserve to return to a country that is not at war with itself at home (Assertive). We cannot remain a force for peace in the world if we are not at peace with each other (Assertive) (S26-27, Trump, August 21, 2017).

Presidents also made use of informative speech acts to stir the audiences' sentiments and emotions of love and devotion to the United States and its people. Informatives accounted for 12 occurrences and 12.76%. Some sayings and deeds of authoritative and prestigious people were brought and informed in the discourse of arousing patriotism through the use of the informative type of illocutionary acts. Connor and Gladkov (2004) state that one type of argument is the appeal of authority whereby the argument of authority can be fulfilled depending on the match between a person and his/her behaviours and activities. Here, in this type of argument, Connor and Gladkov (2004) argue that persons always imitate acts and deeds of authoritative and prestigious people. The following are excerpts cited from authoritative figures and effective individuals in an informative manner of communication.

335. Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls" (Informative) (S73, Bush, January 16, 1991).
336. Listen to Hollywood Huddleston, Marine lance corporal (Requestive). He says, "Let's free these people, so we can go home and be free again." (Informative) (S84-85, Bush, January 16, 1991).
337. Franklin Roosevelt once said, "Our national determination to keep free of foreign wars and foreign entanglements cannot prevent us from feeling deep concern when ideals and principles that we have cherished are challenged." (Informative) (S118, Obama, September 10, 2013).

Another group of informative illocutionary acts were used to address deeds of heroism performed by American soldiers through recounting their love to America and their sacrifice to ensure liberty and democracy.

338. Many of those who have fought and died in Afghanistan enlisted in the months after September 11, 2001 (Informative). They volunteered for a simple reason (Informative): they loved America and they were determined to protect her (Informative) (S160-162, Trump, August 21, 2017).
339. They serve far from their families, who make the quiet sacrifices of lonely holidays and empty chairs at the dinner table (Informative). They have watched their comrades give their lives to ensure our liberty (Informative) (S165-166, Bush, January 11, 2007).

Description of the unique braveness, sacrifice and devotion of the American armed forces was one of the strategies adopted by presidents to move the audiences' positive emotions towards the action taken. This strategy was also advocated by presidents to urge the audiences to a prospective course of action. Thus, the use of descriptive speech acts was not a surprising finding, although their uses were fair. This type of illocutionary acts stood for 11 occurrences and 11.70%. Some of the descriptive illocutionary speech acts were mainly used to describe the uniqueness of the American troops among Americans in general and their skilful fighting and training abilities. This is exemplified in the following excerpts.

340. They are the Nation's finest (Descriptive). Ours is an all-volunteer force, magnificently trained, highly motivated (Descriptive) (S80-81, Bush, January 16, 1991).
341. They are dedicated (Descriptive). They are honorable (Descriptive). They represent the best of our country (Descriptive), and we are grateful (Thanks) (S48-50, Bush, October 7, 2001).
342. They are bound together by common purpose, mutual trust and selfless devotion to our nation and to each other (Descriptive) (S19, Trump, August 21, 2017).

Another group of descriptive illocutionary speech act was employed by presidents to describe how the American troops are united despite their racial diversity. These descriptives were oriented to express the unity of American soldiers in sharing the same principle, purpose and destination, especially in crises. They were performed in war times as an attempt to gain the nation's approval of the decision taken and to unite all the divergent parties to the proposed policy. This is indicated in the following excerpts.

343. That is because all service members are brothers and sisters (Descriptive). They are all part of the same family (Descriptive). It's called the American family (Descriptive) (S15-17, Trump, August 21, 2017).
344. They are bound together by common purpose, mutual trust and selfless devotion to our nation and to each other (Descriptive). The soldier understands what we as a nation too often forget, that a wound inflicted upon on a single member of our community is a wound inflicted upon us all (Descriptive). When one part of America hurts, we all hurt (Descriptive) (S19-21, Trump, August 21, 2017).

The same also applied to confirmatives and promises which were used with a frequency of 6 and a percentage of 6.45% for each. These types of illocutionary speech

acts were also utilised to define and realise the communicative function of the present cognitive move-structure.

4.9.3 Lexico-grammatical Features Realising Move 7

Raising the spirits of the men and women warriors in the American army and their families for their courage and unselfishness in facing the present and future threats was the rhetorical function behind constructing this move. To define and identify those warriors and distinguish them from ordinary Americans, presidents resorted to the use of restrictive relative clauses. These clauses were used for opening more space for detailed descriptions in praising the American soldiers in the military conflict. The relative clause ‘modifies a noun or noun phrase’ (Richards et al., 1992, p. 393) and is regularly introduced by a relative pronoun such as that, which, who, whose, when or where. Relative clauses are types of noun post-modifying structure characterised in grammar books by their role in giving additional information about the head nouns so that readers/ listeners can identify them more easily or recover more information about them. As such, relative pronouns in these clauses were followed by expressions arousing spirits and patriotic feelings in warriors and their families. The following excerpts elucidate the way relative clauses help create a favourable image of the American soldiers by providing detailed characterisation.

345. May God bless and protect the brave men and women **who are carrying out this vital mission and their families** (S117, Clinton, December 16, 1998).
346. Today, those sacrifices are being made by members of our armed forces **who now defend us so far from home, and by their proud and worried families** (S44, Bush, August 18, 1990).
347. They serve far from their families, **who make the quiet sacrifices of lonely holidays and empty chairs at the dinner table** (S165, Bush, January 11, 2007).
348. Our actions and in months to come, all of them will honor the sacrifice of every fallen hero, every family **who lost a loved one** and every wounded warrior **who shed their blood in defense of our great nation** (S167, Trump, August 21, 2017).
349. Tonight, I salute the skill and professionalism of the men and women of our armed forces **who carried out this mission** (S53, Reagan, April 15, 1986).

4.10 Summary of Discussion

4.10.1 The Obligatory Rhetorical Moves of the APWAs

The first research question of the study was concerned with examining the generic structure of the APWAs utilised to justify American wars and military actions as the major communicative purpose of the genre in question. A move analysis, using NVivo 12 and drawing on Bhatia (1993), was conducted in the study to identify whether similar obligatory rhetorical moves would be observed in the generic structure of the APWAs. The findings of the study indicated that seven rhetorical moves were exhibited in the war addresses under scrutiny, as shown in Table 4.11 to serve for the communicative purpose of the genre. Yet, not every war address comprised these seven obligatory moves. However, the finding coming out of this analysis was not surprising as it was expected that not all the rhetorical moves and strategies would be revealed in all the addresses. In addition, the frequency of occurrences of each obligatory rhetorical move in the addresses was highlighted and the pattern of obligatory rhetorical moves was also noted. Four APWAs out of twelve are set to comprise all of the nine generic structures (moves and strategies together). These included George H. W. Bush, August 8, 1990; George H. W. Bush, January 16, 1991; George W. Bush, March 20, 2003; Ronald Reagan, April 15, 1986. Three addresses included eight generic structures. These comprised Barak Obama, September 10, 2013; Barak Obama, August 7, 2014; Bill Clinton, December 16, 1998. Only five war addresses contained seven generic structures. These included George W. Bush, October 7, 2001; George W. Bush, March 17, 2003; George W. Bush, January 11, 2007; Donald Trump, August 21, 2017; Donald Trump, April 13, 2018.

The cyclical nature of some rhetorical moves and strategies was also found to be a common occurrence in the APWAs. An important distinctive feature of the Strategies 1, 2 and 3 of Move 1 and Moves 2, 3, 4 and 5 was their cyclical nature; that is, it was normal to find these generic structures repeated in a series of throughout the same address. Specifically, the cyclical pattern of Strategy 2 of Move 1 and Move 5 was typical of the APWAs as a genre as these generic structures represented the heart of justifying the American wars. Besides, the common cyclicity of Strategy 2 *Self-*

defensive Nature/Mission of the Military Action of Move 1 was invariably viewed as ‘self-defence’ regardless of the nature of such actions. American presidents relied on cyclicity of the rhetorical moves and strategies to enrich the genre with the statement of the right of America to defend itself against the existing or emerging threat.

Concerning the pattern and sequence of the obligatory rhetorical moves for each presidential address used for the study, the moves and strategies varied greatly in sequence from one address to another, and their variation was established in terms of the overflow of meanings and ideas contained in the content, represented by the principles of the JWT and the emphasis speakers gave to them. However, these obligatory rhetorical moves almost took the sequential order, as shown in Table 4-11 below.

Table 4-11 Frequency of moves and strategies in the American presidential war addresses

Number and Title of Move	Frequency
Move 1: Communicating Narratives and Arguments to Justify the Military Action	
Strategy 1. Precipitating Event Showing the Enemy's Act of Aggression, and	11
Strategy 2. Self-defensive Nature/Mission of the Military Action, and	12
Strategy 3. Communicating the Enemy's Atrociousness and Savagery	8
Move 2: War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions by the Enemy	8
Move 3: Legitimate Authority of the Military Action and the Collective Will of the World	11
Move 4: Objectives and Real Intentions of the Military Action	12
Move 5: Consequences of Failing to Respond Militarily (Inaction)	10
Move 6: Standing up for Challenges and Commitments.	12
Move 7: Arousing Patriotism, Spirits and Unity in Americans	10

The frequent occurrence of the same rhetorical moves and strategies in the APWAs referred to a fact that presidents were consistent in the way they organised the content of their overall messages into a certain genre, PWR. The organisation of the rhetorical moves and strategies of the generic structure of the presidential war discourse operated to justify wars in terms of the Just War principles. As such, the selection of the rhetorical moves of the text and the way by which they were organised was not arbitrarily accomplished. However, they were systematic, governed and conventionalised with constraints on allowable choices in respect of their intent,

positioning, form and functional value (Bhatia, 1993). The major findings of the data analysis went in line with Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993) who view that a genre is not only defined by the frequency of its rhetorical moves and linguistic structures, but also by the purpose it serves its discourse community.

In reviewing past literature related to the generic or rhetorical move analysis of PWR, it sounded that findings of earlier studies support and confirm what the present study arrived at. Specifically, suggesting *Precipitating Event Showing the Enemy's Act of Aggression* as an obligatory strategy was an important finding that was evidently explored in earlier studies (Hodges, 2011; 2013) to justify and legitimise the military action taken by the United States and its allies. As for Strategy 2. 'Self-defensive Nature/Mission of the Military Action' of Move 2, a similar pattern of finding was explicitly revealed in Campbell and Jamieson (2008); Hodges (2011; 2013) that was rhetorically utilised to justify the undertaken military intervention. Specifically, Hodges (2013) described American response to the precipitating event of 9/11 as a defensive mission. Though considered one of the obligatory rhetorical moves in the present study, Strategy 3 of Move 1 was completely absent as a generic structure in Hodges' (2011, 2013) analyses of the schematic structure APWAs. However, this structural pattern was implicitly referred to in Campbell and Jamieson (2008) when they established the discourse of the right to go to war as a humanitarian intervention to rebuff the atrocities and savagery of the enemy presidents toward their people. Again, framing a piece of discourse as with the meaning or theme of 'War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions by the Enemy' was one of the obligatory rhetorical moves of APWAs of the present study. This finding was consistent with the findings reported by Hodges (2013) where war as 'a last resort' was recognised as a major generic element in the schematic structure of presidential war discourse. Similarly, war as a last resort was also reported as a product of thoughtful deliberation in Campbell and Jamieson's (2008) terms which has been recognised as the first and major generic structure to justify an undertaken military conflict. The same result was also revealed in Reyes' (2011) under the major theme of 'Legitimization through rationality'. In addition, Hodges (2011) implicitly highlighted *last resort* as one of the schematic structures of George W. Bush's 'war on terror' addresses.

Subsequently, 'Legitimate Authority of the Military Action and the Collective Will of the World' represented Move 3 of the generic structure of the APWAs in the current study. Though it was considered one of the obligatory moves in the present study, this theme was completely absent in the generic structures of the presidential war discourse analysed by Hodges (2011; 2013). The occurrence of this rhetorical move as one of the obligatory moves was supported by Campbell and Jamieson's (2008) study wherein 'legitimate authority' was slightly referred to as a form of establishing the generic structure of 'a product of thoughtful deliberation'. Speaking in the name of United Nations Resolutions and the US Congress was aimed to show the military intervention as a prudent decision and a result of careful consideration (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008). The same was also true for Move 4 'Objectives and Real Intentions of the Military Action' which was one of the obligatory rhetorical moves as it occurred in all the presidential addresses of the present study. This finding was also revealed in Hodges' (2013) work wherein, to use his terms, the discourse of 'America's motives and objectives' was shaped as one of the major generic structures in his analysis of the presidential war discourse. However, this rhetorical move was missing among the schematic structure of PWR in Campbell and Jamieson (2008) and Hodges (2011). 'Consequences of Failing to Respond Militarily (Inaction)' as Move 5 in the generic structure of the APWAs projected the discourse of the hypothetical fearful future and scenario that American and the world may encounter if the enemies coming threats were not repulsed – a finding that was also revealed in Reyes' (2011) study.

To justify a decision, American presidents adopt this hypothetical discourse of cause–consequence so that the decision appears as natural and necessary to proceed toward a peaceful future (Reyes, 2011). However, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) and Hodges (2011; 2013) missed this important theme as one of the schematic structures of presidential war discourse. Move 6 in the present study was represented by the discourse of 'Standing up for Challenges and Commitments'. This move occurred in all the war addresses of the the study and its occurrence was also evidenced in Hodges' (2011) study of George W. Bush's addresses of 'war on terror'. Though Hodges (2013) maximised the importance of this generic structure as a strategy to shape situations

and justify wars, Campbell and Jamieson (2008), Reyes (2011) and Hodges' (2013) analyses did not give any mention to this them.

Finally, the generic structure of the APWAs closes with Move 7 'Arousing Patriotism, Spirits and Unity in Americans' as one of the rhetorical moves serving the attainment of the communicative purpose of the genre. This finding was completely similar to what was found in Hodges (2013) in which this rhetorical move was named as 'The Narrative's Coda'. The same was also true for Campbell and Jamieson (2008) in which their analysis showed the frequent use of this them under the name of 'Exhortation to Unified Action'. On the contrary, Hodges' (2013) analysis did not make any mention to this move in the schematic structure of the PWR of the American presidents.

Pertinent to the current study, justifying an undertaken military action as the communicative purpose of the genre under examination shaped the generic and rhetorical structure of the genre, specifically, the rhetorical moves. To put it differently, the cognitive move-structures of the APWAs as a genre were organised according to its intended communicative purpose of the genre. This implied and stressed that although the words and structures presidents produced in their discourses were of great and crucial importance, what more important and attractive was the way these words and structures were organised into meaningful and rhetorical units. How things in the message are said and done is regarded an interesting phenomenon which was also supported and confirmed by Sornig (1989) and Beard (2000).

As has been observed through the analysis of the structural organisation of the addresses in question, the generic structure of the APWAs indicated that the rhetorical moves did not necessarily coincide with paragraphs; there may be two or more moves in one paragraph. For example, we got portions of Moves, 2 and 3, in one paragraph and 3 and 5 in another paragraph. On the other hand, Move 6, *Standing up for Challenges and Commitments*, took several paragraphs. Occasionally two moves overlapped, Moves 2 and 3. This phenomenon of moves overlap was likely attributed to the multi-functionality of moves. Therefore, it seemed natural to find two moves intertwined. To draw lines or ends for the rhetorical moves was not clear-cut where

this was a problem encountered in the empirical evidence of analysis. This problem was simply overcome in the current study by the adoption of a functional trend to text analysis which called for cognitive understanding, rather than a reliance on linguistic criteria, to identify the communicative purpose of a text, rhetorical moves and the textual markings (Kwan, 2006). Consequently, adopting a top-down trajectory of analysis was a logical orientation used by the study to pass problems of this type.

An interesting finding pertinent to the first research question was that the depiction of the particulars of the narrated events and the rhetorical response to the needs of audiences comprised in the obligatory rhetorical moves have not been produced arbitrarily but in the light of the ethical, philosophical traditions of the JWT. Crafting the content according to the principles of the JWT offered morality to the discourse and intensified its credibility in line with the communicative purpose of justification intended.

4.10.2 Aristotle's Types of Rhetoric Realising the Obligatory Rhetorical Moves

As for the second research question, war rhetoric was viewed in an attempt to intrinsically search for stable discursive patterns of Aristotle's types of rhetoric used to realise the rhetorical moves and their communicative functions. In answering this research question, the study attempted to describe the different functions performed by instances of Aristotle's types of rhetoric and how they are used to realise the communicative functions of the rhetorical moves in which they are used. These types of rhetoric were responses to recurring rhetorical exigencies which were represented by the rhetorical moves and what the audiences needed to be convinced. The findings indicated that the study of the presidential war discourse should be based on an understanding of the differing exigencies (rhetorical moves in this study) that gave rise to the establishment of the war rhetoric. The findings also showed that different functions of moves called for different rhetorical responses – a finding also noted by Dow (1989) and Flanagan (2018). If different rhetorical moves and strategies produced different rhetorical responses, it should be considered how these differences affected the rhetorical actions. The important answer that the second research question gave

was that crisis rhetoric in general and war rhetoric in particular centred on how it responded to the exigencies (rhetorical moves and strategies) that called them forth. These exigencies were created 'by the events, the needs of the audience and the purposes of the rhetor' (Dow, 1989, p. 296).

The findings of the second research question showed that the rhetorical moves and strategies responding to critical events such Strategy 1 of Move 1 were described by epideictic types of rhetoric that operated to have the audiences reach a communal understanding of the events that happened (Dow, 1989). Consequently, the enemy's act of aggression was a new event breaking the normalcy of life which required to be aligned by speakers to have the public understand it. In contrast, rhetorical discourse rationalising military revenge (Cherwitz and Zagacki, 1986) such as Strategy 2 of Move 1, Move 4, Move 5 and partly Move 6 were discursively reflected by the deliberative types of rhetoric. Deliberative rhetoric operated to highlight the expediency of actions in an attempt to recruit public support – a finding also reported in Dow (1989), Gregory (2020) and Hubanks (2009).

Furthermore, other parts of war discourse (rhetorical moves) contained elements of both kinds of rhetoric though one of the two types was primary and an end in itself and the other was just a means to the accomplishment of that end such as Strategy 3 of Move 1, Move 2, Move 3 and Move 7. This co-existence or hybridity of types of rhetoric in the APWAs entailed that this genre is multi-layered in terms of the different situations involved in it. This multi-functionality of the genre demanded the interaction of its component structures and called for different discursive responses. Thus, as the presidents' addresses displayed both forensic, epideictic and deliberative types of rhetoric, the study implied that this specific genre might be best understood as performing a three-folded function: to discuss justice or injustice of past actions, to communicate masterful arguments of rhetoric for future actions and to provide definition and understanding of confusing events and situations. This finding was confirmed by Dow (1989) who stressed that it is not possible to attribute any crisis rhetoric such as war rhetoric as being a homogeneous type of discourse. The different situations involved in the presidential war narrative of the current study required different discursive responses. Such a type of discourse needed to be investigated in

terms of the multiple exigencies it responded to and the different functions it accomplished – a finding also reported by Hubanks (2009) and Gregory (2020). Table 4-12 below shows the use of Aristotle’s types of rhetoric in each rhetorical move.

Table 4-12 Aristotle’s types of rhetoric realising the rhetorical moves

Move No.	Move Title	Type of Rhetoric Used
1	Communicating Narratives and Arguments to Justify the Military Action	
	Strategy 1. Precipitating Event Showing the Enemy's Act of Aggression, and	Epideictic
	Strategy 2. Self-defensive Nature/Mission of the Military Action, and	Deliberative
	Strategy 3. Communicating Enemy's Atrociousness and Savagery	Forensic Means to Deliberative End
2	War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions by the Enemy	Forensic means to Deliberative End
3	Legitimate Authority of the Military Action and the Collective Will of the World	Epideictic Means to Deliberative End
4	Objectives and Real Intentions of the Military Action	Deliberative
5	Consequences of Failing to Act Militarily (Inaction)	Deliberative
6	Standing up for Challenges and Commitments.	Epideictic and Deliberative
7	Arousing Patriotism, Spirits and Unity in Americans	Epideictic Means to Deliberative End

Windt (1986) argued that justificatory rhetoric moves from deliberative arguments to epideictic ones when the president first focuses on describing the facts of the situation and then moves into presenting the crisis as a test of national character. On the contrary, this study presented that war rhetoric, as a justificatory discourse, moved from the epideictic type of rhetoric to deliberative type of rhetoric. Epideictic rhetoric was represented through presenting a communal understanding of the events which have occurred and the war as a test of national character. In contrast, deliberative rhetoric was represented through presenting facts of the situation. From the analysis of the data, it was observed that deliberative rhetoric was more primary and dominant than other types of rhetoric. It was dominant in terms of using it mostly as the main end for rhetorical responses and its relatedness to the communicative purpose that the discourse fulfilled in this situation (to justify American military actions).

An interesting finding of the study was that consummatory rhetorical elements, showing the international community that attacks of enemies were unprovoked and based on hostility (Cherwitz and Zagacki, 1986), were also best evidenced in the

addresses. This was reflected when presidents, in Strategy 3 of Move 1 and Move 2, employed the forensic type of rhetoric in an attempt to present a case for the guilt of the enemy and to justify the undertaken military decision. The analysis of the second research question highlighted the importance of the particulars of the events and the needs of the audiences all situated in the rhetorical moves to determine the type of rhetoric needed. Epideictic rhetoric was used when presidents realised that audiences need to be comforted in explanation.

In Strategy 3 of Move 1 and Move 2, the same was true for deliberative rhetoric and forensic rhetoric which were intentionally created and produced by presidents when the audiences felt the need to know the expediency of the undertaken policy and the need to bring criminals and offenders into justice. This finding was consistent with Dow's (1989) discussion which clearly stated that although the purpose is crucially significant, it only embodies one of several factors that establish an exigency. Other exigencies which are represented by the needs of the audiences are another important factor in defining the different functions of rhetoric. In other words, the dominance of forensic, epideictic or deliberative arguments was the result of the exigency (rhetorical move) which allowed speakers to select the generic type that meets the audiences' needs (Dow, 1989).

4.10.3 Illocutionary Speech Acts Realising the Obligatory Rhetorical Moves

The analysis of the illocutionary speech acts in the rhetorical moves of the generic structure of the APWAs is the focus of the third research question. Table 4-13 below summarises the analysis of the speech acts and their frequencies and distribution in the moves.

Table 4-13 Frequency of illocutionary speech acts in the rhetorical moves and strategies

SA	M1			M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	F	P
	S1	S2	S3								
Assertive	9	29	11	19	12	25	15	35	18	173	20.91%
Predictive		8		1	1	2	35	8		55	6.65%
Retrodictive	6			1		1	6	2		16	1.93%
Descriptive	1	2				12			11	26	3.14%
Informative	42	14	9	50	26	9	14	45	12	221	26.72%
Confirmative	1	35	12	5	10	14	7	11	6	100	12.9%
Concessive	1			2						3	0.36%
Retractive	1									1	0.12%
Assentive					2			1		3	0.36%
Responsive		4				1				5	0.60%
Suppositive		1		2		1	5	3		12	1.45%
Requestive	2	5	1		2	4	4	10	18	46	5.56%
Question							1	1		2	0.24%
Requirement							1	2		3	0.36%
Advisories					2	1				3	0.36%
Promises		14		3	4	20	3	75	6	125	15.11%
Offers		1					1			2	0.24%
Condole									1	1	0.12%
Congratulate									13	13	1.57%
Greet									2	2	0.24%
Thank					3				6	9	1.08%
Bid				1		3			1	5	0.60%
Total	63	113	33	84	62	93	92	193	93	827	100%
Percentage	7.62%	13.68%	3.99%	10.16%	7.50%	11.25%	11.13%	23.36%	11.36%	100%	

Based on the table above, it was observed that informative speech acts were most frequently performed with the highest rates in all the moves of the generic structure of the APWAs. Across all the moves of the generic structure of the war speeches, informatives accounted for 221 occurrences out of 827 performed speech acts with a percentage of 26.72%. This was consistent with what has been found in previous studies such as Łazuka's (2006) study of communicative intention in George W. Bush's speeches during the period from 11 September 2001 to 11 September 2003. In Łazuka's (2006) study, informatives were the type of speech acts that were prevalently used by the president in 2001 and 2003: the times when two significant events took place – the attack on the World Trade Centre (11 September 2001) and the war in Iraq (20 March–14 April 2003). Similar to the finding of this study, informative speech acts were most frequently used in the presidents' addresses in an attempt to make citizens feel suitably informed. They were also performed to provide the nation with much information related to the particulars of the events and the needs of the audiences represented in the unfolding rhetorical moves. The same finding was also reported by Alattar's (2018) study of selected American presidential speeches whereby George W. Bush's speech on August 2, 1990 was primarily established with informative type of speech acts. Thus, in both of the studies, informatives were performed to reflect an informational goal to provide information on why the United States was acting militarily against offending nations.

Recent military actions in Iraq (1990, 1991, 1998, 2003, 2007, 2014), in Afghanistan (2001), in Libya (1986), and in Syria (2018, 2017) have been conducted without any congressional declaration of war. Through the increased use of informative illocutionary acts, this genre responded to these critical events. This was carried out by informing the audiences of the new events taking place and allowing them to reach a communal understanding of the events which have occurred (Condit, 1985; Dow, 1989). That justified the frequent use of informatives and went in harmony with the function of the rhetorical move and its epideictic type of rhetoric of having audiences comfortably informed.

Assertives represented the second category of illocutionary speech acts which were performed in all the rhetorical moves of the war addresses. As informatives, assertives were widely used by presidents to present beliefs and have hearers hold the same beliefs. As observed in Table 4.13, the total number of assertive speech acts performed in all the moves was 173, with a percentage of 20.91%. When comparing the findings of the current study to those of older studies, it must be pointed out that assertive speech acts were widely used by politicians in their different types of presidential discourse. In Alemi's (2018) study, assertives were the dominant speech acts used in Obama's first speech of August 7, 2014 where they were used with 73 frequencies out of 100 performed speech acts. These assertives were aimed to let President Obama convince his audiences that ISIS was a savage terrorist group and a real threat to the United States and the world. In Obama's second speech of September 10, 2014, assertives, used to justify the airstrikes against ISIS in Iraq, were also dominant with a frequency of 101 out of 134 performed speech acts. Similarly, Łazuka's (2006) study also showed that assertives were widely used in Bush's speeches delivered in 2001 and 2003 to portray the enemy in an overtly negative way and to suggest the certainty of the speaker as for the expressed opinions.

In this study, the increased use of assertive illocutionary acts proved effective in allowing presidents to assert a series of beliefs and states of affairs related to the communicative functions of the generated rhetorical moves. Presenting arguments of the right of self-defence, the US efforts to solve the crisis and restore peace, the lawful responsibility of the international community to rebuff aggression and risks of not acting against enemy's atrocities were beneficial in achieving the communicative purpose for which the genre in question was established. An interesting finding of the use and distribution of the assertive speech acts was their appearance and correspondence with Aristotle's types of rhetoric employed in each move to realise its local communicative function. Thus, assertive speech acts were proved to have mostly accompanied the deliberative type of rhetoric in most of the rhetorical moves in an attempt to present beliefs and to have hearers hold the same beliefs. These beliefs were related to the certainty of the enemy's act of aggression and the expediency of the action undertaken as a self-defence behaviour against real active threats. Further, they were also related to the war as the last decision to America after the enemy aborted all

the political solutions, the legitimacy of the military action taken and the validity of the objectives of the military action.

Although not used in all the moves of the generic structure as observed in Table 4.13, promise speech acts occupied the third category of illocutionary acts out of the performed speech acts. This category of illocutionary communicative acts stood for 125 frequency out of 827 with a percentage of 15.11%. Promises were primarily performed in Move 4 and Move 6, which required deliberative rhetoric to craft future actions or events (Aristotle, 2007). Promises were also used to show the expediency of actions performed for the sake of attaining public support (Dow, 1989). This implied that rhetorical structures such as the performance of illocutionary speech acts were not only consistent with the local rhetorical function of the move but also consistent with the type of rhetoric used to realise the move as well. Put differently, wars were undeclared and that public demonstration of such deliberation necessarily came after-the-fact. Consequently, it became necessary for national addresses in this situation to discuss the undertaken military action and highlight the deliberative characteristics to keep the minds of audiences away from the negative memories of undeclared and secret wars that America had already conducted. Thus, Move 4 of *Objectives and Intentions of the Military Action* and Move 6 of *Standing up for Challenges and Commitments* were dominant with promise illocutionary acts. They were used as one of the mechanisms of justificatory presidential rhetoric to mitigate the burden of the secret wars and to highlight the deliberative expediency of the actions taken.

Comparatively, this finding was also reflected in Alemi's (2018) study in which commissives occupied the second position after assertives in terms of the number of frequencies used in Obama's selected speeches. Through the use of assertives, Alemi argued that Obama attempted at helping Americans be sure that suitable measures would be taken and responsibility would be shouldered in America's fight against ISIS in Iraq. The use of promise speech acts by presidents as a finding in the analysis of the data also tied to Łazuka's (2006) analysis in which promises were also performed frequently by George W. Bush when delivering his speeches and statements of 2001 and 2003. On the contrary, Alattar's (2018) analysis of American presidential speeches almost showed complete absence of the performed promise

illocutionary acts except 1 occurrence out of 465 of the speech acts performed by four American presidents.

Confirmatives represented the fourth category of speech acts performed in almost all the moves and strategies of the generic structure of the APWAs. Confirmatives accounted for 100 occurrences out of 827 performed illocutionary speech acts and with a percentage of 12.9%. As shown in Table 4.13, confirmative illocutionary acts constituted a fundamental justificatory element in the presidential war narrative. This justification was clear especially when it came to confirm and verify the *Self-defensive Nature of the Military Action, Enemy's Atrociousness and Savagery, War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions* and *the real Intentions of the Military Action*. This finding, the frequent use of confirmative type of speech act, went in line with Łazuka (2006) in which confirmative speech acts were also widely used. Łazuka explained the increased use of confirmatives in the following way:

The use of the former increases in 2001, when they refer mainly to other nations, the military and the government, and in 2003, when they are used mainly with respect to the military. In these, the speaker appraises and diagnoses the actions of agents represented by the categories mentioned as positive. Indicative of the speaker's communicative intention seems to be the increased use of confirmatives in the year of conflict when he assesses the military and the government's actions as positive (Łazuka, 2006, p. 317).

On the contrary, Alattar (2018) demonstrated the complete absence of the use of this type of illocutionary acts in all the speeches selected for analysis. As text-internal rhetorical structures, confirmative speech acts were also characterised to be consistent with the function of deliberative rhetoric in the rhetorical moves in question. For instance, confirmatives were frequently performed in Strategy 2 of Move 1 to confirm the expediency of the self-defence action conducted by America. They were also performed in Strategy 3 of Move 1 to verify savage and devil deeds committed by enemies and in Move 4 to confirm the expediency of the objective and intention of the military actions taken.

In fact, predictives represented another frequent category of illocutionary communicative acts that were used in the rhetorical moves of the APWAs. As has been observed in Table 4-13 above, two rhetorical Strategies 1 and 3 of Move 1 and rhetorical Move 7 showed the complete absence of this type of communicative acts. However, predictives were totally used in the moves with a frequency of 55 out 827 of the performed speech acts with a percentage of 6.65%. They were mostly used in the rhetorical Move 5 of *Consequences of Failing to Act Militarily (Inaction)* to depict the fearful hypothetical present and future that might exist in case America failed to act against the constant aggressive behaviours of the enemy. In fact, the frequent use of predictive speech acts in Move 5 was consistent with the deliberative type of rhetoric that dominated it. This notion supported the facts that the rhetorical structures constructing the body of the move were not arbitrarily produced. Still, their selections and productions within moves were harmonic with each other. Their selections also revealed consistency with the communicative function of these moves.

Admittedly, this deliberative strategy invoked the feeling of fear in the mind of audiences and psychologically prepared them to accept without challenges any undertaken or proposed policies. Predictive type of speech acts constituted an essential element in defining and realising Move 5 and its communicative function, which in turns served to accomplish the communicative purpose of the address as a whole. Predictives were also used in Move 6 mostly to address the size and difficulty of challenges the United States might or would face restoring order and peace of the world. They were also used to address the difficulty of persevering the achievements it was committed to fulfilling for the sake of advancing liberty and peace in the world. Furthermore, they were used to communicate that America's goals and commitments required patience and resolve as well and that standing up for commitments would not be achieved shortly.

Thus, performing predictive illocutionary acts was a distinctive rhetorical strategy that was frequently advocated in the APWAs to justify waging wars – a finding that was reported in Łazuka's (2006) study as well. In her analysis of the speech acts performed in George W. Bush's speeches between 2001 and 2003, Łazuka (2006) observed the increased use of predictives in Bush's speech of 2001. Concerning

the present study, presidents employed this type of speech acts for both the government and the speaker, pointing to positive aspects of their future activities. In contrast to this study and Łazuka's (2006) study, Alattar's (2018) analysis testified a rare use of predictive illocutionary speech acts in American presidential speeches. Thus, among 465 speech acts performed in four presidential speeches, Łazuka (2006) surveyed that only 6 predictive speech acts occurred in Barack Obama's speech - A National Address to American Schoolchildren.

Requestives were used with a frequency of 46 out of 827 performed speech acts and a percentage of 5.56%. Requestive speech acts came next after predictives as regards the number of their occurrences in the rhetorical moves of the generic structure of the APWAs. Requestives, though performed with fair frequency rate in the moves, were used in all the moves except in Move 2 *War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions*. Almost similar to this finding was linked to Alattar (2018) in which requestive speech acts were used with a frequency of 23 out of 465 performed speech acts and with a rate of 4.94%. Likewise, Łazuka (2006) also concluded the frequent use of requestive illocutionary acts in George W. Bush's speeches. In Łazuka's (2006) analysis, requestives were used mainly in September 2001 immediately after the military conflict. They were used 'to give the people notice of possible inconveniences and ask for their forbearance in a polite requestive form' (Łazuka, 2006, p. 319). In the analysis of the data under study, it was observed that requestive illocutionary acts have mostly been appropriated by presidents to motivate the nation to stop threat and to respond militarily as the securest way to resist aggressions and avoid emerging threats. Other types of illocutionary speech acts were also used in some of the rhetorical moves and strategies of the generic structure of the war addresses. Though performed with low rates of frequency, they interacted with the most frequent types of illocutionary speech acts and the use of Aristotle's types of rhetoric to gain the public support and justify the military actions.

4.10.4 Salient Lexico-grammatical Features Realising the Obligatory Rhetorical Moves

As for the fourth research question of the lexico-grammatical features used to serve the communicative functions of the rhetorical moves and strategies, it might be said that the analysis showed a considerable consistency between the communicative functions of the rhetorical moves and the selected grammar and lexicon. In other words, all the grammatical and lexical selections selected by presidents in their APWAs to realise moves and strategies are functional. Thus, they are intentionally selected to locally serve the communicative functions of the rhetorical moves of the generic structure of this genre. Table 4-14 summarises the salient lexico-grammatical features that were used with each rhetorical move to achieve its communicative function.

Table 4-14 Summary of the findings – the salient lexico-grammatical features within the rhetorical moves

No. and title of move	The most salient lexico-grammatical features
Move 1: Communicating Narratives and Arguments to Justify the Military Action	
<u>Strategy 1.</u> Precipitating Event Showing the Enemy's Act of Aggression, and	past tense; specific time expressions
<u>Strategy 2.</u> Self-defensive Nature/Mission of the Military Action, and	'to infinitives'; present and future tenses; lexical choices depicting a legitimised self-defence mission
<u>Strategy 3.</u> Communicating the Enemy's Atrociousness and Savagery	Present perfect tense; polarising lexicon
Move 2: War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions by the Enemy	complex and compound sentences; lexical choices realising the enemy's abortion of the diplomatic alternatives;
Move 3: Legitimate Authority of the Military Action and the Collective Will of the World	mental and verbal processes; lexicon realising the will of the world
Move 4: Objectives and Real Intentions of the Military Action	'to infinitives'; lexicon realising the objectives of military actions
Move 5: Consequences of Failing to Respond Militarily (Inaction)	conditional structures; modality (will, would)
Move 6: Standing up for Challenges and Commitments.	present perfect; present continuous; modality 'will'
Move 7: Arousing Patriotism, Spirits and Unity in Americans	restrictive relative clauses

In comparing the findings of the current study with earlier related studies, it sounds that some lexico-grammatical features were also apparent in these studies. Thus, the use of the past tense and specific time expressions, as shown in the Table above, to achieve the communicative function of Strategy 1 of Move 1 was consistent with Hodges's (2013) use of these linguistic features in the first generic element 'Precipitating Event'. Hodges (2013) earlier indicated that past tense was heavily used in this generic element to narrate about past acts of aggression done by enemies and that past expressions were used to state the date of the aggression and to divide the world into normal and peaceful one before the aggression and violent and threatening one after the aggression. Lexical choices depicting a legitimised self-defence mission of the American armed forces for Strategy 2 of Move 1 also tied to Hodges' (2013) study which positioned the war as defensive in nature through the use of the lexeme 'defense'. In the same vein, polarising lexicon was one of the salient characteristics used in Strategy 3 of Move 1 to polarise the world into positive *We* (America and its allies) who are peace searching bodies and negative *Them* who are savage bodies with atrocious nature (Van Dijk, 1997). This is also consistent with Zghayyir (2016) finding of the use of the negative and positive lexicons, war and military lexicons which in turn can urge their followers to commit terrorist works. Zghayyir (2016), therefore, has noted the use of the negative and positive lexicons which assisted in achieving the ideological representations framed by speakers to positively view the *in-group* as victims and defenders and to negatively view the *out-group* as assailants and oppressors. In fact, lexicon was considered a vehicle or a main tool by which presidents fulfilled the communicative function of the obligatory rhetorical moves as this was evidenced in the indicative lexical features used in the rhetorical Moves 2, 3, and 4. This finding was also supported and evidenced in other earlier related studies such as Campbell and Jamieson (2008) and Hodges (2011) though these lexical features were not referred to explicitly in analysis.

Present perfect tense was a salient grammatical structure that was frequently employed by presidents in Strategy 3 of Move 1 and Move 6 to introduce topics of discourse as new and not known to audiences – a finding also revealed by Hummadi (2009). Present perfect tense was also revealed in Zghayyir's (2016) analysis as it characterised bin Laden's and Prabhakaran's speeches for the same purpose. For Bin

Laden, for example, the present perfect was aimed to explain the events and to highlight that ‘the destructive occupation of the Islamic civilian society’ has already started and must be repulsed (Zghayyir, 2016, p. 307). Another grammatical feature used to dominate Move 3 in the present study was the use of verbs denoting mental and verbal processes (Thompson, 2014) such as ‘agree’, ‘approve’, ‘remember’, ‘concur’ and ‘consult’ in an attempt to show the agreement of most of the world countries on the undertaken military attack policy. The use of mental and verbal transitivity processes to explicitly indicate the concordance of the international community on the military decision was also supported by Reyes (2011). Reyes (2011) indicated that the legitimisation strategy of ‘legitimization through voices of expertise’ was linguistically articulated in the discourse with verbs referring to verbal processes like ‘say’, ‘announce’, ‘report’, etc (Reyes, 2011, p. 800). The same was also earlier evidenced in Dunmire’s (2007) finding in depicting the oppositional future of fear and terror in case of failing to act against enemies (inaction). As such, this oppositional future of fear and waiting was linguistically reflected by the means of mental and verbal process clauses which denoted that future within a modality of ‘hope’, ‘belief’, ‘wonder’, ‘worry’, and ‘argument’. Again, Reyes’s (2011) finding of ‘legitimization through a hypothetical future’ articulated clearly through the use of conditional structures of the type: *If + past → would + Infinitive without to*, or *If + present → will + Infinitive without to* (Reyes, 2011) was also a salient grammatical characteristic in depicting the hypothetical future problems and fearful scenarios articulated of Move 5 of the present study. Finally, modality, the frequent use of ‘will’, ‘would’, ‘must’, etc in Move 5 to depict the fearful future if the world fails to act against present and future threats and Move 6 to realise the presidents’ adherence to achieve future commitments, was also characteristic in earlier studies such as Dunmire (2007), Hummadi (2009) and Reyes (2011).

4.11 Consistency of the Micro-Structures with the Obligatory Rhetorical Moves

Hence, guided by the four research questions and Table 4.1 in section 4.2 above, the study’s findings related to the rhetorical moves and their rhetorical and

linguistics structures are briefly recounted to show the compatibility and consistency of the rhetorical and linguistic structures with the rhetorical function of each move.

As shown earlier in Table 4.1, the selection and use of the rhetorical and linguistic structures were compatible and consistent with the communicative function intended for each rhetorical move. In Strategy 1 of Move 1, the communicative function of *Precipitating Event Showing the Enemy's Act of Aggression* was to inform audiences of the new enemy's act of aggression and to recount the new world after aggression. Thus, the pair function of definition/understanding of epideictic rhetoric was employed to report about the newly happening event and to provide a sense of comfort through their being familiar with this event. In the same vein, the selection of informative speech acts to prevail this generic structure was also logical and effective as the act of aggression was better to be made known and clear through this type of illocutionary acts. Also, informative speech acts were not only in harmony to the communicative function of Strategy 1 of Move 1, but also consistent with the type and function of Aristotle's rhetoric used to realise the strategy. In other words, to inform audiences of the newly created world and to achieve communal understanding, presidents relied heavily upon informativity. The same was also true for the lexicon, which was aimed to label the time of the act of aggression and to split the world into two contrastive realms, one before the aggression and the other after. For grammar, past tense was employed to narrate aggressions and to mark the boundary of the divided world.

The function of Strategy 2 of Move 1 was to recount the US military action as a desirable policy to defend the nation against a big threat. To depict the expediency of this military action as self-defence, presidents frequently employed deliberative type of rhetoric to realise the communicative function of Strategy 2. Confirmative and assertive types of speech acts were performed in this strategy to confirm and assert the right of the United States of America to defend itself as the communicative function of Strategy 2 of Move 1. To define this generic structure and to realise its communicative function, lexical choices related to America's right of self-defence were demonstrated. This was also intensified by the grammatical structure of 'to

infinitive' which was narrowed down to defensive and protective practices of the action taken.

Dehumanising the enemy through communicating its atrocities was the communicative function of Strategy 3 Move 1. Accordingly, presidents, in an implicit argument to gain public support, recounted the enemy's acts of atrociousness through the use of the forensic type of rhetoric. The purpose of this specific use of rhetoric was to persuade Americans and the public that the military action taken was the best option. The forensic type of rhetoric was also used in this rhetorical move to argue that those who committed evil crimes were required to be persecuted and brought to justice. To realise the function of Strategy 3 and its deliberative ends, the use of informative and confirmative speech acts was dominant to inform and confirm the savagery of the enemy's actions as its usual normal behaviour. In fact, polarised lexical choices were clearly demonstrated to attract audiences to a sharp moral contrast between America's human action and the evil actions of the enemy. Further, present perfect tense was used to introduce past evil atrocities of the enemy as new events aiming towards the dehumanisation of their agent.

Move 2 of *War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions by the Enemy* was established to aim at viewing the military action as the product of thoughtful consideration and the last reasonable choice after aborting all the peaceful solutions by the enemy. To realise this communicative function, forensic type of rhetoric was used as a means to the deliberative end. Forensic rhetoric was employed to attack the enemy's evil attempts to abort diplomatic efforts and to implicitly attract the public support for the military action. Informative speech acts were performed to inform audiences through forensic arguments of the enemy's abortion of peaceful efforts to avoid war. Assertive speech acts were demonstrated to assert that war was the last option to save America and the world. Hence, illocutionary speech acts were not only performed to realise the communicative function of this move, but their uses were also consistent with the types of Aristotle's rhetoric dominating the move. Moreover, to realise the function of framing the war as a last option and avoiding war as the product of wise behaviour, complex and compound sentences were used to survey the overload of these thoughts in this rhetorical move. Lexically, America's

attempt to avoid war through diplomatic efforts and the enemy's attempts to abort these efforts were clearly articulated.

In Move 3 *Legitimate Authority of the Military Action and the Collective Will of the World*, epideictic type of rhetoric was represented by creating and sharing the international community which embodied the legitimate authority to the military action taken. Thus, creating and sharing a community of friends and civilised nations led to deliberative ends of encouraging audiences to show intimacy towards these feelings. Informative speech acts were frequently performed to recount the unity of the world in its opposition to the enemy's evil acts. Indeed, assertive and confirmative speech acts operated to serve the communicative function of this move through confirming and asserting the sovereignty of the international community to act against any threat. Moreover, this function was lexically realised by demonstrating lexicon related to the collective will of the world. It was grammatically realised as well by the use of mental and verbal transitivity processes which were aimed to show the agreement of the international community on the military decision.

The communicative function of Move 4 was to assert that a state's recourse to war was just only if it conducted war for the right objectives and intentions. Thus, to offer the present and future expediencies of the undertaken military action, deliberative type of rhetoric was dominantly used on the basis that it will do the best. In terms of the speech acts used, assertive and confirmative acts were frequently performed to assert and confirm the right intentions and objectives of the military action taken or proposed. They were also commonly performed to interact with deliberative rhetoric in asserting and verifying the expediency of the decision. Besides, the use of promise speech acts also came true to realise the functions of deliberative rhetoric which was generally projected to build conditions for a just and lasting peace. Grammatically, presidents frequently used the syntactic feature of 'to infinitive' in types of simple sentences to realise the communicative function of Move 4.

The communicative function of Move 5 was to show that the very existence of the world or the United States was under threat of enemies if a decision of the military action was opposed. As a result, deliberative rhetoric was dominantly used to garner

the public support to ensure a future of peace which was contrasted with a future of threat if the United States failed to act. As such, deliberative arguments were maximised to accept the present and future expediency of the action. To realise the communicative function of this rhetorical move and its dominant type of rhetoric, predictive illocutionary acts were frequently used to depict the disastrous hypothetical present and future that might exist if the United States failed to act. Thus, the use of predictive speech acts was compatible with both the function of the move and the type of rhetoric used to realise that move. The fearful consequences of failing to act against aggressions were lexically realised through the heavy use of modality 'will and would'. The conditional structure of the types 'If + past → would + Infinitive without to', or 'If + present → will + Infinitive without to' also reflected these fearful consequences (Reyes, 2011).

In Move 6 of *Standing up for Challenges and Commitments*, the function was to recount the challenges that America overcame in the past when experienced crises such as wars against enemies. It also denoted calls to go ahead amidst those challenges to achieve universal values and to serve for the common good of people all over the world. American presidents frequently used the epideictic type of rhetoric to mirror how America encountered past challenges and still encounters challenges. Further, presidents crafted standing up for future commitments in the text through the very use of deliberative rhetoric. Thus, the creation of epideictic and deliberative types of rhetoric was consistent with the communicative function of recounting past, present and future challenges of war crisis. In relation, two types of illocutionary speech acts were performed to realise this function: informatives and promises. Informative speech acts were performed to inform audiences of the efforts and commitments that America had already overcome to keep order and peace in the world. While promise speech acts were used to reveal the US ability to stand up for future commitments. More interestingly, the two types of performed speech acts came to be consistent with the epideictic and deliberative arguments of rhetoric, respectively. Linguistically speaking, American presidents crafted past challenges as new ones through the use of the present perfect. As for the present challenges happening due to the conducted military actions, they were structurally represented by the frequent use of the present

continuous tense. In addition, modality 'will' was frequently employed by presidents to realise the function of committing the United States to its promises.

The consistency between the communicative function of the move and its rhetorical and linguistic structures were also true in Move 7 of *Arousing Patriotism, Spirits and Unity in Americans*. In this move, presidents aroused the feelings of patriotism and unity in the face of the present and future threats. They utilised epideictic means of discourse to satisfy deliberative ends of gaining the public support for the policy adopted. In short, presidents demonstrated the communicative function of this move in the use of epideictic rhetoric to praise military sacrifice and to push audiences towards deliberative ends to advocate for war. To arouse the patriotic spirits of the American people, acknowledgement speech acts were frequently used. Acknowledging individuals was rendered a form of praising that epideictic speakers frequently employed. As such, the frequent use of acknowledgements corresponded with the tendency of epideictic rhetoric. Presidents also employed requestive speech acts in this move to realise the function of achieving unity among Americans by directly urging them to unity, especially in crisis times. In addition, presidents aroused patriotic feelings of Americans through employing the assertive speech acts which were aimed to communicate facts and opinions related to devotion of home, sacrifice and heroism. To be compatible with the communicative function of this move of raising the spirits of the American warriors and their families, presidents preferred the use of restrictive relative clauses. Restrictive relative clauses are one of the grammatical features used for opening more space for detailed descriptions in praising the American soldiers in the military conflict.

Finally, the employment of the rhetorical moves of the APWAs to achieve a given communicative purpose and of the rhetorical and linguistic structures to achieve the communicative function of each move identifies these addresses as a genre. In other words, a deep look at the variety and organisation of the obligatory rhetorical moves and their rhetorical and linguistic structures urges researchers to answer the question of why members of any discourse community including American presidents use language in the way they do (Bhatia, 1993). To see it from another angle, structural regularities associated with the APWAs as specific genre provide members of its

discourse community and others, such as EFL, with the generic production and rhetorical stability needed to construct all types of its knowledge effectively.

4.12 Summary

This chapter has analysed the data and discussed the findings. In particular, this chapter has focused on identifying the obligatory rhetorical moves, their frequency and sequence in the APWAs. Then, it set out to examine the rhetorical structures (types of Aristotle's rhetoric and illocutionary speech acts) and linguistic features in each rhetorical move, and how they were employed to achieve the communicative function of each move. Besides, this chapter has provided a discussion of the findings and shown how consistent the lower-level patterns (the rhetorical and linguistic structures) are with the communicative function of each rhetorical move in which they were used.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the analysis of data and discussion of the findings of the four research questions have been presented. This chapter is dedicated to providing a summary of the major findings, contributions of the study, pedagogical implications and suggestions for future research.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

By employing a qualitative content analysis as a research strategy, this genre-based study analysed the typical obligatory rhetorical moves of the generic structure of the APWAs. It also investigated the lower-level patterns represented by the rhetorical and linguistic structures employed to realise the communicative functions of those rhetorical moves. For this purpose, twelve APWAs, retrieved from the American presidential addresses (<https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches>) created by the University of Virginia and the online database provided by the American Presidency Project at the University of California at Santa Barbara (<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>) (Woolley and Peters, n. d.), were selected and analysed. ‘Move analysis’ (Bhatia, 1993; Swales, 1990) as the most common tool of a genre-based analysis has been adopted in a top-down trajectory - where the focus is on meaning and ideas - to analyse the obligatory rhetorical moves of texts. Thus, the text has been investigated as constituting a sequence of semantic units or ‘rhetorical moves’, where each move involves a part of text produced to accomplish a particular communicative (that is, semantic) function. The analysis of the selected APWAs revealed some important frequency findings in terms of the rhetorical moves of the generic structure and speech acts performed, and other important findings related to

Aristotle's rhetorical arguments and recurring lexico-grammatical features. Each research question is first reiterated below before interpreting its findings and conclusions.

RQ1. What are the obligatory rhetorical moves used to achieve the communicative purpose of the APWAs as a genre?

Referring to the first research question on the rhetorical moves of the generic structure of the APWAs, the study, informed by Bhatia's (1993) model on genre analysis, reveals that American presidents at the onset of any military action organise their PWAs in a noticeably similar way. Thus, to justify the undertaken military decision and to win public consent for war, seven cognitive move-structures (rhetorical moves) appear in the structural organisation of the content of the presidential war discourse. These rhetorical moves and their sequence in the addresses prove to be varied. However, they almost take the following sequential, predictable order:

Move 1: *Communicating Narratives and Arguments to Justify the Military Action* with its three obligatory Strategies: *Precipitating Event Showing the Enemy's Act of Aggression*, *Self-defensive Nature/Mission of the Military Action* and *Communicating the Enemy's Atrociousness and Savagery*;

Move 2: *War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions by the Enemy*;

Move 3: *Legitimate Authority of the Military Action and the Collective Will of the World*;

Move 4: *Objectives and Real Intentions of the Military Action*;

Move 5: *Consequences of Failing to Act Militarily (Inaction)*;

Move 6: *Standing up for Challenges and Commitments*; and finally

Move 7: *Arousing Patriotism, Spirits and Unity in Americans*.

Pertinent to the current study, justifying an undertaken military action as the communicative purpose of the genre under examination affects in shaping the rhetorical structure of the genre, specifically, the rhetorical moves. Put differently, the cognitive move-structures or rhetorical moves of the APWAs as a genre are organised according to its intended communicative purpose. Accordingly, the study finds that, immediately after announcing the military action, the war narrative focuses heavily on serving the communicative purpose of the genre by presenting narratives and arguments extending within three obligatory rhetorical strategies. These communicative narratives are represented and reflected with two obligatory strategies of *Precipitating Event Showing the Enemy's Act of Aggression* and *Communicating*

Enemy's Atrociousness and Savagery. While logical arguments are seen in the form of *Self-defensive Nature/Mission of the Military Action*. Thus, after depicting the precipitating event as an offensive act committed by America's enemy as a constant criminal behaviour, the US response to rebuff aggressiveness is invariably portrayed as self-defence regardless of the character of these actions in reality.

Following Move 1 is the second rhetorical move of *War as a Last Resort after the Enemy's Abortion of Diplomatic Solutions* with the implication that America has to act to stop the enemy's act of offence. The use and arrangement of the discourse structures lead to the implication that the US national identity is reconstructed as an enduring and peace-searching nation ready to defend the world against terrorism. It also leads to the understanding that the military decision taken is based on the outcome of thoughtful consideration, not of anger.

These purposefully organised discourses are effectively supported by the US employment of the ethos of the international community and the world which is represented by Move 3 of *Legitimate Authority of the Military Action and the Collective Will of the World*. A war is only a just war and lawfully justified by authoritative bodies if it is waged with the right motives.

To accomplish the communicative function of Move 4, *Objectives and Real Intentions of the Military Action*, the US good intentions are generally offered to restore a just peace, to right a wrong or to assist the innocents. After attracting public consent, presidents go a step further to report that the military action is the right decision taken and that the risks and consequences of failing to respond militarily (Move 5) are disastrous on the security of the United States and the peace of the world. Highlighting such a type of discourse further enhances the communicative purpose of justifying war through stopping the opposing voices and making them less important.

Move 6, *Standing up for Challenges and Commitments* is repeatedly established by American presidents to demonstrate leadership and emphasise American perseverance to overcome present and future challenges of waging wars. In addition, mitigating the burden of the formally undeclared wars, standing for

challenges and commitments of victory and protecting American troops all establish a democratic society that has negative memories of past American secret wars. Ultimately as presented in Move 7, to gain the public approval, American military troops are roused through narrating the heroic stories of Americans during the history and praising the courage, devotion and sacrifice of the American soldiers in all military fronts. As such, presidents or writers of the APWAs intentionally construct their texts into communicative chunks to serve for the intended communicative purpose and to meet the current events and needs of the audience given the ethics of the JWT.

RQ2. What types of Aristotle's rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative or forensic) are employed and how are they used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs?

The answer to this specific research question draws upon Aristotle's types of rhetoric (Aristotle, 2004; 2007) and their modern characteristics (Condit, 1985). The study concludes that any move, responding to critical and momentous events, is defined and realised by the epideictic type of rhetoric that is concerned to explain the newly happened aggression by the enemy and to allow the audiences reach a communal understanding of the events that have occurred. Strategy 1 of Move 1, *Precipitating Event Showing the Enemy's Act of Aggression* is rendered to be a critical and important event which is identified and realised by epideictic type of rhetoric. In other words, since the enemy's aggression breaks the canonicity of the world, presidents are aware that audiences feel the need for epideictic rhetoric to remove ambiguity and to make events communal to them. Consequently, initiating the generic structure of the APWAs in their socio-political context with the epideictic type of rhetoric is a logical choice matching the requirements of justificatory discourse. In Strategy 1 of Move 1, the pair function of definition/ understanding is exploited by presidents to meet the needs of audiences who want to reach a communal understanding of the events which have occurred. After that, presidents move to realise Strategy 2 of Move 1 with the deliberative type of rhetoric. Discourse responding to justificatory ends is characterised and realised by deliberative type of rhetoric that functions to discover the expediency of the taken action to gain public support. By this type of rhetoric, presidents confirm that the military decision implemented is the most expedient plan to have taken to repulse the enemy's acts of aggression.

Further, in reviewing the presidents' addresses, the study observes tendencies toward generic hybridisation or generic simultaneity similar to those reported in some previous studies (Dow, 1989; Hubanks, 2009). In this type of rhetorical phenomenon, the three different types of rhetoric, epideictic, deliberative and forensic, often coexist consistently within the same presidential address. Thus, to intensify the discourse of justifying the military action, presidents successfully move to hybridise the forensic and deliberative types of rhetoric to realise the rhetorical functions of Strategy 3 of Move 1, *Communicating Enemy's Atrociousness and Savagery* and Move 2, *War as a Last Resort after Aborting Diplomatic Solutions by the Enemy*. In these specific rhetorical moves, the forensic type of rhetoric reflected by the enemy's atrocities and its abortion of diplomatic solutions is masterfully and subtly appropriated by presidents for deliberative ends of gaining the public support. Presidents highlight the enemy's past actions of atrociousness and its attempt to abort all the peaceful options as a normal behaviour of the enemy. Through this, presidents attract the approval of the audiences that this enemy should be punished and brought into justice. Move 3, *Legitimate Authority of the Military Action and the Collective Will of the World* and Move 7, *Arousing Patriotism, Spirits and Unity in Americans* are presented as rhetorical moves consistent with the generic hybridisation. In these two moves, presidents use the epideictic type of rhetoric as a means to a deliberative end. In Move 3, the epideictic type of rhetoric is successfully employed by presidents to group America and its allies under the international community which is unified through highlighting its legacy and values; that is, to give legality to the American military action. The same is also true for Move 7 in which presidents employ the epideictic type of rhetoric through praising audiences' patriotism to achieve a deliberative end of gaining their support for the undertaken policy. Of the epideictic rhetoric vehicles employed in these two rhetorical moves is the functional pair of creation/ sharing of community. This function is reflected in the presidents' attempts to create a sense of international community unified in its objectives to defeat enemies of humanity and universal terrorism. Another device exploited in these two and other rhetorical moves realised by epideictic rhetoric is the praise strategy. Thus, arousing the audiences' patriotism and spirits is achieved through the very use of praising strategies that are implicitly loaded with deliberative ends of gaining the public support and approval for the policy adopted.

Move 4, *Objectives and Real Intentions of the Military Action* and Move 5, *Consequences of Failing to Act Militarily (Inaction)* are regarded exigencies or rhetorical moves which require the deliberative type of rhetoric to define them. For these moves, deliberative rhetoric is dominantly employed to realise their communicative functions. As such, by enumerating the objectives that guide the taken military decisions of the presidents and highlighting the fearful present and future consequences of failing to act against enemies, presidents offer the expediency of their actions based on the benefits that they create. As for Move 6 *Standing up for Challenges and Commitments*, it is realised equally by the epideictic and deliberative types of rhetoric. Move 6 demonstrates a parallel combination of epideictic and deliberative strategies of rhetoric, thus, focusing on what is being done and what must and will be done in the future. Past and present challenges are represented by epideictic rhetoric to make clear to Americans and other audiences how America was and is still able to overcome challenges and difficulties. At the same time, future commitments of different forms are realised by deliberative rhetoric to secure the approval and support of the public for the military action taken.

Finally, the study also suggests that exigency is the key element in generating the type of rhetoric necessary to meet the situation. In other words, the study concludes that different exigencies within the same address (represented by the different rhetorical moves) lead to the employment of different types of war rhetoric. Organising the content of the APWAs into different rhetorical moves and the shift from one move to another creates the exigency that calls for which type of Aristotle's rhetoric needed. The vitality and major difference between the three types of rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative or forensic) centre on how they respond to the exigency (rhetorical move) represented by the events and the needs of the audiences. Accordingly, to generate overarching generic categories to describe which type of rhetoric dominantly governs which type of discourse is often incomplete and may not discover all allegedly generic similarities and differences in presidential war discourse as a genre (Hubanks, 2009). As such, the study goes beyond an intrinsic analysis of data to subtly understand both the appearing complex exigencies (rhetorical moves) that construct this genre, and functions of Aristotle's types of rhetoric to realise these exigencies.

RQ3. What types of illocutionary speech acts are performed and how are they used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs?

Inspired by Bach and Harnish's (1979) model, the objective of the third research questions is the identification of illocutionary speech acts in the rhetorical moves of the APWAs. Within this model of intention and inference, Bach and Harnish (1979, p. xvii) propose that 'linguistic communication essentially involves the speaker's having a special sort of intention (an intention that the hearer make a certain sort of inference) and the hearer's making that inference'.

As for the findings of the analysis presented in chapter four, the study observes that the presidents' selection of speech acts is indicative of the communicative functions of the obligatory rhetorical moves of the APWAs. Also, the socio-political context that surrounds the APWAs has a great impact on the types of illocutionary speech acts performed by American presidents. Accordingly, the intentional performance of speech acts yields cognitive move-structures (rhetorical moves) that can be characterised as informative, assertive, confirmative and so on. As such, they respond to the recurring rhetorical exigencies represented by the rhetorical moves and their justificatory communicative functions. To rally the public support and to justify the undertaken military actions, presidents generate the content of their addresses consciously in terms of the rhetorical moves in which they are mentioned. When carrying their PWAs, American presidents strategise their discourses in a particular intentional way through the selection of appropriate speech acts in an attempt to influence some intended present and future outcomes. To summarise, informative and assertive speech acts are commonly used in Strategy 1 of Move 1 to inform audiences of the enemy's act of aggression and to assert past aggressions. Confirmative and assertive types of speech acts are performed in Strategy 2 to confirm and assert the right of the United States of America to defend itself against threats. Informative and confirmative speech acts are dominant in Strategy 3 to inform and confirm the savagery of the enemy's actions as its usual normal behaviour. In Move 2, informative speech acts are performed to inform audiences of the enemy's abortion of peaceful efforts to avoid war. Assertive speech acts are used to assert that war is the last option to save America and the world. Move 3 is dominantly prevailed by assertive and

confirmative speech acts to confirm and assert the legitimacy of the international community to act against any threat. In Move 4, assertive and confirmative acts are frequently performed to assert and confirm the right intentions of the taken military action. Predictive illocutionary acts are frequently used in Move 5 to depict the threatening hypothetical present and future that might exist if the United States failed to act. Move 6 is characterised by the use of informative speech acts to inform audiences of the challenges that America had already overcome to keep order and peace in the world. Promise speech acts are also used to reveal the US ability to stand up for future commitments. Acknowledgement speech acts are frequently used in Move 7 as a form of praising that epideictic speakers frequently employ. Presidents also employ requestive speech acts in this move to request for unity among Americans especially in crisis times.

The study suggests that the types of the illocutionary speech acts employed by American presidents in their war narrative are not only consistent with the rhetorical moves, but also with Aristotle's types of rhetoric and even the lexico-grammatical features used to build and generate the moves. It is found that the rhetorical moves constituting the generic structure of this specific genre are laced with a preponderance of informative speech acts to give every single detail of why the United States is going to war against enemies. These reflected the rhetorical moves of the newly happening events, the enemy's act of offence, the negative image of the enemy, the diplomatic efforts exerted to avoid war, the legitimacy of going into war and challenges that the United States encounters - thereby justifying the ongoing conflict. Similarly, the assertive goal is one of the characteristics that presidents intentionally assume in the rhetorical moves to move the nation to accept the same beliefs as those of the presidents. These beliefs involve the right of self-defence against acts of aggression, the real intentions of the military actions, the challenges and commitment that America promises to perform, the courage that characterises American troops and the sacrifice they do for the sake of peace and democracy. The harmony and consistency between the presidents' selection of speech acts and the communicative functions of the rhetorical moves in which they appear are also evident. This consistency is embodied in the use of promise speech acts which are mostly aimed to commit presidents to achieve victory and the real objectives of the military actions. Subsequently, promise

speech acts are also aimed to defeat terrorism, to keep American troops safe and to keep Americans away from the negative memories of secret and undeclared wars as Vietnam's. The same also applies to confirmatives, predictives, requestives and other categories of illocutionary speech acts which accomplish their communicative intentions in the rhetorical moves.

RQ4. What are the salient lexico-grammatical features used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs?

As for the fourth research question, the selected war addresses reveal certain syntactic structures and lexical properties with their roles to realise the communicative functions of the rhetorical moves of the address. The analysis of the syntactic structures results in syntactic patterns involving the use of past tense in Strategy 1 of Move 1 to narrate what aggression and offence the enemy did to the world system. This specific move is conducted by presidents to gain the audiences' support for justifying war. Present and future tenses also characterise Strategy 2 of Move 1 as a way of asserting the right of the United States to go to war as a self-defence strategy against present and future threats posited by enemies. The present perfect tense is also a salient syntactic pattern that is mostly employed in Strategy 3 of Move 1 and Move 6. Present perfect tense is characterised by having the potential to introduce topics of discourse as new and not known to audiences. This function is clearly articulated in the rhetorical moves to portray the act of aggression as new and to describe the responsibility of the United States to confront the challenges that start in the past and continue into the present. Present continuous tense is a characteristic syntactic structure of Move 6 to express the present challenges that America is facing to defeat terrorism and restore peace. 'To infinitive' is another syntactic characteristic that significantly serves Strategy 2 of Move 1 and Move 4 in achieving their communicative functions. Since the function of this specific structure is to indicate the purpose of an action, it is clearly articulated in the moves mentioned above. Hence, 'to infinitive' is employed to indicate that the purpose of the American military response is to rebuff the enemy's acts of aggression as part of the self-defence right and to indicate the objectives of the military actions undertaken.

Another set of syntactic patterns is frequently used across the rhetorical moves of the generic structure of the APWAs. One of these involves the use of modality ‘will’ and ‘would’ in Move 5 to project the nation to the fearful future that may be brought to the world if the world fails to respond to the present and future threats. ‘Will’, ‘must’ and ‘could’ are also frequently used by presidents in Move 6 to realise the presidents’ adherence to achieve future commitments. Move 2 is established to communicate the discourse of the war as a last option to the United States and the international community to repulse the enemy after it aborts all the diplomatic solutions to settle the crisis. Consequently, complex and compound sentences are mostly used in this move to upload these complex ideas. The same is also true for Move 5 in which the use of conditional sentences is characteristic and functions to phrase the idea that the future of America and the world would be disastrous if no military action is taken. Finally, Move 7 is concerned with arousing the spirits and patriotic feelings of American warriors in particular. As a result, presidents prefer the use of restrictive relative clauses as one of the grammatical features used for opening more space for detailed descriptions in praising the American soldiers in the military conflict.

As for the lexical analysis conducted in chapter four, the findings demonstrate, as argued by Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993), that the rhetorical moves and strategies are characterised by the use of distinct lexical features. In other words, these generic structures offer semantically driven clues on how these moves are identified concerning their communicative functions. Thus, the analysis of the lexical realisation of each move proves that lexicon plays a role in defining and realising its communicative function.

5.3 Filling the Research Gap of the Study

The previous section has surveyed how two key components of the problem statement, the problem itself and the method used to find a solution to the problem, have been clearly examined. To briefly repeat, the problem statement of the study centred on how American presidents rhetorically employ presidential war discourse to help justify the military actions especially when possible robust opposition arises.

Tackling this problem has been done through applying the adopted tools of analysis and providing answers to the research questions that constitute the problem statement. In this section, the study moves to address the third key component of the problem statement - filling the research gap of the study. Thus, extending genre analysis from academic and professional settings into investigating the PWAs as a new setting is a significant contribution that fills a problematic gap in the existing literature and thereby advances the science in the field of genre analysis. Presidential discourse in general and presidential war discourse, in particular, have been well researched drawing on tools of critical discourse analysis and rhetoric (Chouliaraki, 2005; Bacharach, 2006; Maggio, 2007; Dunmire, 2007; Aghagolzadeh & Bahrami-Khorshid, 2009; Cap, 2010; Oddo, 2011; Sahlane, 2012; Sarfo & Krampa, 2012; Klymenko, 2015; Mirhosseini, 2017; Beshara, 2018; Bartolucci, 2019). Yet, a few studies have been carried out, so far, to conduct a genre-based analysis of presidential war discourse to uncover what structures exist in the language of war discourse and how they are employed to justify wars. As a result, this study is carried out to fill this gap and to contribute to the literature. Further, the findings of analysing Aristotle's types of rhetoric and illocutionary speech acts in this genre lend the study the characteristic of filling a problematic gap in the literature of these two fields. These two rhetorical structures have been widely researched in the texts as a whole in terms of the communicative purpose of the speaker. However, a little work, so far, has been undertaken to explore the use and the functions of these structures in terms of their appearance in the rhetorical moves of the texts.

The current study is rendered one of the first attempts in the research literature that analyse the performance of types of rhetoric and illocutionary speech acts in realising the local communicative purposes of the rhetorical moves. This new analysis of these structures presents new understanding and insight into the production of these and other structures. It also argues for a revised perspective on the performance of these structures informed by an understanding of differing exigencies of events and needs of audiences that are all reflected in the rhetorical moves of the text. Admittedly, looking at this new understanding and considering genre as a fusion of different structures to achieve the intended communicative purpose (Campbell & Jamieson,

1990), open the door before scholars to apply this method into investigating these and other structures in different familiar and unfamiliar genres.

5.4 Identifying the American Presidential War Rhetoric as a Genre

After answering the research questions and meeting the specific research objectives of the study, this section is dedicated to highlight the main aim of the study which centres on identifying the American presidential war discourse as a specific genre. In brief, a deep look at the obligatory rhetorical moves that are typical of the APWAs, their sequence of occurrence, the rhetorical function of each move reveal that writers of this type of discourse are expert members of a given discourse community. This discourse community can be called as the discourse community of American presidents who share a set of communicative purposes in their production of presidential discourse. These purposes establish the rationale for the genre and shape the generic structure of this type of discourse and constrain choices of content and style.

Another look at the regularity of the rhetorical and linguistic structures employed to realise the communicative function of each rhetorical move proves that PWR is a complex discourse in itself. Writers cautiously and purposefully structure this type of discourse through manipulating its rhetorical moves and their rhetorical and linguistic structures. As such, the recurrence of the rhetorical and linguistic structures and the consistency between these structures with their rhetorical moves demonstrate that PWR is a genre in itself. This genre has a specific communicative purpose which is to justify American military actions in the light of the principles and ethics of the JWT. Justifying American wars as the communicative purpose and taking into account the particulars of the narrated events and the needs of audiences are all factors crucial in shaping the obligatory rhetorical moves of this type of discourse. Thus, these structural strengths identify the APWR as a genre that is highly structured and conventionalised with limited rules on allowable choices 'in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value' (Bhatia, 1993, p. 49).

5.5 Contributions of the Study

After achieving the research objectives, the current study presents the following contributions:

1. Most studies of genre analysis have almost been confined to analysing academic and professional texts. However, quite a few studies have attempted, systematically, to conduct a genre-based analysis of PWAs in particular. More specifically, genre analysis has been tested, extended and applied to a new setting (i.e., PWR) (Klenke, 2016). The present study indicates that Bhatia's approach of genre analysis can not only be applied to the analysis of academic and professional genre, but also to other genres such as presidential discourse in general. Thus, the study observes that Bhatia's (1993) approach of genre analysis is also insightful in investigating the organisational structure, rhetorical structures and linguistic features employed in presidential war discourse in its socio-political context.
2. The analytical framework used in the present study to investigate cognitive, rhetorical and linguistic structures of the APWAs is a significant contribution to the area of discourse analysis in general and move analysis in particular. The selectivity of the theoretical perspectives of the analytical framework is an important step done in the study to aim all the above-used theoretical perspectives to uncover the overall structural organisation of the APWAs as a presidential genre. Thus, the multidisciplinary approach advocated in the current data analysis can be successfully and effectively adopted to a variety of other different genres, familiar and unfamiliar. By using both micro-level and macro-level rhetorical analysis, this research could provide a useful step forward in the development of a genre-based analysis. It does not only provide understandings that can be gained through using genre analysis theory. The theoretical structures can also be manipulated in discourse analysis to generate both broad-scale and precise understandings of the text properties.

5.6 Pedagogical Implications

A genre-based analysis is pedagogically an effective instrument for ESP teachers and considered of great importance for students and learners. Indeed, acquiring or learning knowledge of the generic structure of any type of genre helps in knowing how the genre works to achieve its communicative purpose. Understanding the genre-based characteristics of the APWAs by inquiring their rhetorical moves and other rhetorical and linguistic structures adopted to serve the communicative purpose helps students and learners to understand the specific culture of that genre. This understanding also helps teachers to be able to teach these genres more effectively. The move analysis of PWR as a genre can be used for pedagogical purposes since the data are based on authentic materials. According to Tickoo (1986), unfamiliarity with the subject disciplinary rules as well as with the specific linguistic conventions that are attached with them impose quandaries in understanding such texts. Consequently, designing a model of PWR and encouraging students and learners to use it as a framework in writing and reading this genre can be performed in a class of students learning about English for Academic Purposes or political purposes.

5.7 Suggestions for Future Research

In terms of the multidisciplinary approach of analysis and the findings of the current study, three suggestions for future research can be carried out to throw more light on the rhetorical structures and linguistic features of other types of genres. These suggestions can be summarised as follows:

1. Genre studies which examine rhetorical moves and linguistic features of presidential discourse in general and war discourse in particular, are still scant compared with those investigating generic structures of academic and professional genres. Consequently, it would be beneficial and attractive for genre researchers to investigate other presidential genres to fill in the gap. Such future generic analyses may include the study of the State of the Union address or presidential Victory address.

2. The religious sermon is described as simultaneously manifesting epideictic, deliberative and forensic types of rhetoric. In Smith's terms (Quoted in Hubanks, 2009, p. 211), 'a sermon can be epideictic, praising or blaming good and evil; forensic, judging men guilty of sin; and/or deliberative, advising what course leads to salvation'. Thus, the analytical framework adopted in the current study can be applied to find out how the generic, rhetorical and linguistic structures are organised to achieve the communicative purpose of religious sermons.
3. Because genre represents a fusion of different structures to achieve the intended communicative purpose (Campbell and Jamieson, 1990), this opens the door to investigate other different types of structures within moves and how they are used to realise their communicative functions. Of these structures, researchers can investigate the types of transitivity processes used in the moves and how they contribute to realising their rhetorical functions.

5.8 Summary

This study was implemented to identify the APWAs as a genre. Thus, the study implemented an analysis to find out if a similar generic structure has been used in all the addresses under examination. The study inquired how the rhetorical moves of this generic structure operated to achieve the communicative purpose of the genre. The study also examined what conventional rhetorical and linguistic structures are performed within the rhetorical moves of the generic structure to realise their rhetorical functions. In addition, the study has also contributed to new knowledge of genre analysis and shed the light on an issue that has been rarely addressed before. An analysis of the rhetorical move and its micro-level structures is rendered to be one of the best tools to address this new area for two reasons. First, it facilitates the rich description of language in use. Second, it focuses on the socio-cultural as well as cognitive aspects of text construction and production that are constituent in creating this genre and mapping its communicative purpose.

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Appendix A Confirmation Letter from the External Auditor (Inter-Rater)

To whom it may concern

Subject: External Auditor Report (Inter-Rater)

This is to confirm that the qualitative study entitled (**A Multidisciplinary Approach to Genre-Based Analysis of American Presidential War Addresses**) prepared by the PhD student (Ali Salman Hummadi) whose Matric No. is (**JB PLA173002**) was thoroughly reviewed by me.

To do this, I have reviewed the various aspects of the research process in terms of their accuracy and credibility beginning from the purpose of the study, data collection and sampling, data analysis till the resulting findings and their interpretation. Coding the data, labelling them, and interpreting them thematically with reference to the objectives of the study have also been reviewed and judged. As a result, I confirm the accuracy and validity of the analysis process including the construction of the analytical framework, data analysis, and discussion and interpretation of the results in the light of the aim of the study and its research questions. Extending Bhatia's (1993) theory of genre analysis into Presidential War Discourse is rendered to be a seminal step and infrequently performed in the field of genre analysis. This study had differentiated itself from other previous studies in conducting an analysis of the rhetorical structures in terms of their appearance and functions in each generic structure. Admittedly, I see that the researcher was successful in realising the major aim of the study, and the analyses of speeches were convincing, and they appeared systematic.

Sincerely,
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The External Auditor's (Inter-rater) Biodata

Dr. Bahaa-eddin Hassan

Bahaa-eddin Abulhassan Hassan is a linguist in the field of pragmatics. He received his PhD in pragmatics and translation in 2008 from South Valley University, Egypt. He is currently an Assistant Professor at Sohag University, Egypt, where he has acted as the coordinator of the Translation Program. He was a part-time scholar at South Valley University and Al-Azhar University in Egypt between 2008 and 2012. He is currently seconded to work as an Assistant Professor in Buraimi University College in Oman. Bahaa-eddin's research interests include pragmatics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, ideology, and identity and translation studies. He has authored three books, six chapters and 17 articles which concentrate on various different linguistic issues. Among his publications are *Literary Translation: Aspects of Pragmatic Meaning* (2011) and *Between English and Arabic: A Practical Course in Translation* (2014). He also wrote a chapter in the *Routledge Handbook of Literary Translation*.

Appendix B Confirmation Letter from the External Auditor (Inter-Rater)

To whom it may concern

Subject: External Auditor Report (Inter-Rater)

I have critically examined and assessed a PhD research work entitled “**A Multidisciplinary Approach to Genre-Based Analysis of American Presidential War Addresses**”, and undertaken by the PhD candidate (**Ali Salman Hummadi**) whose Matric No. is (**JB PLA173002**). This research aims to fulfil the following objectives:

1. To identify the obligatory rhetorical moves used to achieve the communicative purpose of the APWAs as a genre.
2. To identify Aristotle’s types of rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative or forensic) and how they are employed to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs.
3. To identify the illocutionary speech acts and how they are performed to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs.
4. To identify the salient lexico-grammatical features that are used to realise the communicative function of each obligatory rhetorical move of the APWAs.

This study adopted a genre-based analysis based on Bhatia’s (1993) theory of genre analysis to analyse the genre of American presidential war. The analytical framework involves a move-structure analysis (obligatory moves and strategies) used to realise the communicative purpose of this genre: justifying American military actions and other rhetorical and linguistic structures employed to realise these moves and strategies. To achieve these objectives, the study also drew on Aristotle’s types of rhetoric (Kennedy, 2007) and speech act theory (Bach and Harnish, 1979).

The topic of the thesis is, of course, an extremely serious and important one. It is also a very good idea, in my view, to think of more other structures to be analysed based on their locations in the rhetorical moves and their roles to realise the communicative functions of these moves.

Overall, I am entirely satisfied, as an external auditor and inter-rater of the sample I have examined and looked at for the strengths that it displays. Firstly, there is a well-structured and clear account of the methodological framework of the research. Secondly, the analysis has been undertaken in a comprehensive, systematic and rigorous way both at the descriptive level (identifying the cognitive move-structures) and analytical levels (examining the lower-level structures of the moves). Thirdly, there is originality in the candidate's contribution in his attempt to analyze a diverse range of linguistic elements, lexico-grammatical features, speech acts, and types of rhetoric employed to realise the communicative purpose of the genre of American presidential war. These strengths have clearly helped the candidate to demonstrate his creative abilities in his research.

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The External Auditor's (Inter-rater) Biodata

Dr. Juma'a Qadir Hussein

Assist. Prof. Dr. Juma'a Qadir Hussein Al-Duleimi is a university teacher at the University of Anbar / College of Education for Humanities, Dept. of English, where he pursued his B.A. degree (English Language and Literature) in 1993. He subsequently pursued his Masters of Arts in English language and linguistics at Al-Mustansiriya University in 2005. Then, he had worked as a university teacher at the university of Anbar for 8 years before he gained a PhD scholarship to Malaysia in 2013 where he has been awarded his PhD at UKM in 2018, (FSSK, English Language Studies) in cognitive semantics and pragmatics. His career and academic pathways have helped him to develop multiple facets to his academic and professional competencies. His area of expertise and interest includes: Semantics and Pragmatics, Discourse Analysis, Genre Analysis, CDA, and Applied linguistics.

Appendix C Presidential War Address - Donald Trump, April 13, 2018

No. of S.	Sentence
1	My fellow Americans, a short time ago, I ordered the United States Armed Forces to launch precision strikes on targets associated with the chemical weapons capabilities of Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad.
2	A combined operation with the armed forces of France and the United Kingdom is now underway.
3	We thank them both.
4	Tonight, I want to speak with you about why we have taken this action.
5	One year ago, Assad launched a savage chemical weapons attack against his own innocent people.
6	The United States responded with 58 missile strikes that destroyed 20 percent of the Syrian Air Force.
7	Last Saturday, the Assad regime again deployed chemical weapons to slaughter innocent civilians — this time, in the town of Douma, near the Syrian capital of Damascus.
8	This massacre was a significant escalation in a pattern of chemical weapons use by that very terrible regime.
9	The evil and the despicable attack left mothers and fathers, infants and children, thrashing in pain and gasping for air.
10	These are not the actions of a man; they are crimes of a monster instead.
11	Following the horrors of World War I a century ago, civilized nations joined together to ban chemical warfare.
12	Chemical weapons are uniquely dangerous not only because they inflict gruesome suffering, but because even small amounts can unleash widespread devastation.
13	The purpose of our actions tonight is to establish a strong deterrent against the production, spread and use of chemical weapons.
14	Establishing this deterrent is a vital national security interest of the United States.
15	The combined American, British, and French response to these atrocities will integrate all instruments of our national power — military, economic and diplomatic.
16	We are prepared to sustain this response until the Syrian regime stops its use of prohibited chemical agents.
17	I also have a message tonight for the two governments most responsible for supporting, equipping and financing the criminal Assad regime.
18	To Iran and to Russia, I ask: What kind of a nation wants to be associated with the mass murder of innocent men, women, and children?
19	The nations of the world can be judged by the friends they keep. No nation can succeed in the long run by promoting rogue states, brutal tyrants and murderous dictators.
20	In 2013, President Putin and his government promised the world that they would guarantee the elimination of Syria's chemical weapons.
21	Assad's recent attack — and today's response — are the direct result of Russia's failure to keep that promise.
22	Russia must decide if it will continue down this dark path, or if it will join with civilized nations as a force for stability and peace.
23	Hopefully, someday we'll get along with Russia, and maybe even Iran — but maybe not.
24	I will say this: The United States has a lot to offer, with the greatest and most powerful economy in the history of the world.
25	In Syria, the United States — with but a small force being used to eliminate what is left of ISIS — is doing what is necessary to protect the American people.
26	Over the last year, nearly 100 percent of the territory once controlled by the so-called ISIS caliphate in Syria and Iraq has been liberated and eliminated.
27	The United States has also rebuilt our friendships across the Middle East.
28	We have asked our partners to take greater responsibility for securing their home region, including contributing large amounts of money for the resources, equipment and all of the anti-ISIS efforts.
29	Increased engagement from our friends, including Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Egypt and others can ensure that Iran does not profit from the eradication of ISIS.

30	America does not seek an indefinite presence in Syria under no circumstances.
31	As other nations step up their contributions, we look forward to the day when we can bring our warriors home.
32	And great warriors they are.
33	Looking around our very troubled world, Americans have no illusions.
34	We cannot purge the world of evil or act everywhere there is tyranny.
35	No amount of American blood or treasure can produce lasting peace and security in the Middle East.
36	It's a troubled place.
37	We will try to make it better,
38	but it is a troubled place.
39	The United States will be a partner and a friend, but the fate of the region lies in the hands of its own people.
40	In the last century, we looked straight into the darkest places of the human soul.
41	We saw the anguish that can be unleashed and the evil that can take hold.
42	By the end of World War I, more than one million people had been killed or injured by chemical weapons.
43	We never want to see that ghastly specter return.
44	So today, the nations of Britain, France and the United States of America have marshaled their righteous power against barbarism and brutality.
45	Tonight, I ask all Americans to say a prayer for our noble warriors and our allies as they carry out their missions.
46	We pray that God will bring comfort to those suffering in Syria.
47	We pray that God will guide the whole region toward a future of dignity and of peace.
48	And we pray that God will continue to watch over and bless the United States of America.
49	Thank you, and goodnight.
50	Thank you.

Appendix D Presidential War Address - Donald Trump, August 21, 2017

No. of S.	Sentence
1	Thank you very much.
2	Thank you.
3	Please be seated.
4	Vice President Pence, Secretary of State Tillerson, members of the cabinet, General Dunford, Deputy Secretary Shanahan and Colonel Duggan.
5	Most especially, thank you to the men and women of Fort Myer and every member of the United States military at home and abroad.
6	We send our thoughts and prayers to the families of our brave sailors who were injured and lost after a tragic collision at sea as well as to those conducting the search and recovery efforts.
7	I am here tonight to lay out our path forward in Afghanistan and South Asia.
8	But before I provide the details of our new strategy, I want to say a few words to the service members here with us tonight, to those watching from their posts, and to all Americans listening at home.
9	Since the founding of our republic, our country has produced a special class of heroes whose selflessness, courage, and resolve is unmatched in human history.
10	American patriots from every generation have given their last breath on the battlefield - for our nation and for our freedom.
11	Through their lives, and though their lives were cut short, in their deeds they achieved total immortality.
12	By following the heroic example of those who fought to preserve our republic, we can find the inspiration our country needs to unify, to heal and to remain one nation under God.
13	The men and women of our military operate as one team, with one shared mission and one shared sense of purpose.
14	They transcend every line of race, ethnicity, creed and color to serve together and sacrifice together in absolutely perfect cohesion.
15	That is because all service members are brothers and sisters.
16	They are all part of the same family.
17	It's called the American family.
18	They take the same oath, fight for the same flag and live according to the same law.
19	They are bound together by common purpose, mutual trust and selfless devotion to our nation and to each other.
20	The soldier understands what we as a nation too often forget, that a wound inflicted upon on a single member of our community is a wound inflicted upon us all.
21	When one part of America hurts, we all hurt.
22	And when one citizen suffers an injustice, we all suffer together.
23	Loyalty to our nation demands loyalty to one another.
24	Love for America requires love for all of its people.
25	When we open our hearts to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice, no place for bigotry and no tolerance for hate.
26	The young men and women we send to fight our wars abroad deserve to return to a country that is not at war with itself at home.
27	We cannot remain a force for peace in the world if we are not at peace with each other
28	As we send our bravest to defeat our enemies overseas,
29	and we will always win,
30	let us find the courage to heal our divisions within.
31	Let us make a simple promise to the men and women we ask to fight in our name.
32	that when they return home from battle, they will find a country that has renewed the sacred bonds of love and loyalty that unite us together as one.
33	Thanks to the vigilance and skill of the American military, and of our many allies throughout the world.
34	horrors on the scale of September 11, and nobody can ever forget that, have not been repeated on our shores.
35	But we must acknowledge the reality I am here to talk about tonight.

36	that nearly 16 years after September 11 attacks, after the extraordinary sacrifice of blood and treasure, the American people are weary of war without victory.
37	Nowhere is this more evident than with the war in Afghanistan, the longest war in American history - 17 years.
38	I share the American people's frustration.
39	I also share their frustration over a foreign policy that has spent too much time, energy, money, and most importantly, lives trying to rebuild countries in our own image instead of pursuing our security interests above all other considerations.
40	That is why shortly after my inauguration, I directed Secretary of Defense Mattis and my national security team to undertake a comprehensive review of all strategic options in Afghanistan and South Asia.
41	My original instinct was to pull out, and historically I like following my instincts.
42	But all my life, I have heard that decisions are much different when you sit behind the desk in the Oval Office.
43	In other words, when you are president of the United States.
44	So I studied Afghanistan in great detail and from every conceivable angle.
45	After many meetings over many months, we held our final meeting last Friday at Camp David with my cabinet and generals to complete our strategy.
46	I arrived at three fundamental conclusion about America's core interests in Afghanistan.
47	First, our nation must seek an honorable and enduring outcome worthy of the tremendous sacrifices that have been made, especially the sacrifices of lives.
48	The men and women who serve our nation in combat deserve a plan for victory.
49	They deserve the tools they need and the trust they have earned to fight and to win.
50	Second, the consequences of a rapid exit are both predictable and unacceptable.
51	9/11, the worst terrorist attack in our history, was planned and directed from Afghanistan.
52	because that country was ruled by a government that gave comfort and shelter to terrorists.
53	A hasty withdrawal would create a vacuum that terrorists, including ISIS and al Qaeda, would instantly fill,
54	just as happened before September 11.
55	And as we know, in 2011, America hastily and mistakenly withdrew from Iraq.
56	As a result, our hard-won gains slipped back into the hands of terrorist enemies.
57	Our soldiers watched as cities they had fought for and bled to liberate and won were occupied by a terrorist group called ISIS.
58	The vacuum we created by leaving too soon gave safe haven for ISIS to spread, to grow, recruit and launch attacks.
59	We cannot repeat in Afghanistan the mistake our leaders made in Iraq.
60	Third and finally, I concluded that the security threats we face in Afghanistan and the broader region are immense.
61	Today, 20 U.S.-designated foreign terrorist organizations are active in Afghanistan and Pakistan.
62	The highest concentration in any region anywhere in the world.
63	For its part, Pakistan often gives safe haven to agents of chaos, violence and terror.
64	The threat is worse because Pakistan and India are two nuclear-armed states, whose tense relations threaten to spiral into conflict, and that could happen.
65	No one denies that we have inherited a challenging and troubling situation in Afghanistan and South Asia
66	but we do not have the luxury of going back in time and making different or better decisions
67	When I became president, I was given a bad and very complex hand, but I fully knew what I was getting into. Big and intricate problems. But one way or another, these problems will be solved. I am a problem solver. And in the end, we will win.
68	And in the end, we will win.
69	We must address the reality of the world as it exists right now, the threats we face, and the confronting of all of the problems of today, an extremely predictable consequences of a hasty withdrawal.
70	We need look no further than last week's vile, vicious attack in Barcelona to understand that terror groups will stop at nothing to commit the mass murder of innocent men, women and children.
71	You saw it for yourself.
72	Horrible.

73	As I outlined in my speech in Saudi Arabia, three months ago, America and our partners are committed to stripping terrorists of their territory, cutting off their funding and exposing the false allure of their evil ideology.
74	Terrorists who slaughter innocent people will find no glory in this life or the next.
75	They are nothing but thugs and criminals and predators, and, that's right, losers.
76	Working alongside our allies, we will break their will, dry up their recruitment, keep them from crossing our borders,
77	and yes, we will defeat them,
78	and we will defeat them handily.
79	In Afghanistan and Pakistan, America's interests are clear.
80	We must stop the resurgence of safe havens that enable terrorists to threaten America
81	And we must prevent nuclear weapons and materials from coming into the hands of terrorists and being used against us or anywhere in the world, for that matter.
82	But to prosecute this war, we will learn from history.
83	As a result of our comprehensive review, American strategy in Afghanistan and South Asia will change dramatically in the following ways: A core pillar of our new strategy is a shift from a time-based approach to one based on conditions.
84	I've said it many times, how counterproductive it is for the United States to announce in advance the dates we intend to begin or end military options.
85	We will not talk about numbers of troops or our plans for further military activities.
86	Conditions on the ground, not arbitrary timetables, will guide our strategy from now on.
87	America's enemies must never know our plans or believe they can wait us out. I will not say when we are going to attack, but attack we will.
88	Another fundamental pillar of our new strategy is the integration of all instruments of American power: diplomatic, economic, and military, toward a successful outcome.
89	Someday, after an effective military effort, perhaps it will be possible to have a political settlement that includes elements of the Taliban and Afghanistan, but nobody knows if or when that will ever happen.
90	America will continue its support for the Afghan government and the Afghan military as they confront the Taliban in the field.
91	Ultimately, it is up to the people of Afghanistan to take ownership of their future, to govern their society, and to achieve an everlasting peace.
92	We are a partner and a friend,
93	but we will not dictate to the Afghan people how to live or how to govern their own complex society
94	We are not nation building again.
95	We are killing terrorists.
96	The next pillar of our new strategy is to change the approach in how to deal with Pakistan.
97	We can no longer be silent about Pakistan's safe havens for terrorist organizations, the Taliban, and other groups that pose a threat to the region and beyond.
98	Pakistan has much to gain from partnering with our effort in Afghanistan.
99	It has much to lose by continuing to harbor criminals and terrorists.
100	In the past, Pakistan has been a valued partner.
101	Our militaries have worked together against common enemies.
102	The Pakistani people have suffered greatly from terrorism and extremism.
103	We recognise those contributions and those sacrifices,
104	but Pakistan has also sheltered the same organizations that try every single day to kill our people.
105	We have been paying Pakistan billions and billions of dollars, at the same time they are housing the very terrorists that we are fighting.
106	But that will have to change.
107	And that will change immediately.
108	No partnership can survive a country's harboring of militants and terrorists who target U.S. service members and officials.
109	It is time for Pakistan to demonstrate its commitment to civilization, order and to peace.
110	Another critical part of the South Asia strategy for America is to further develop its strategic partnership with India, the world's largest democracy and a key security and economic partner of the United States.

11	We appreciate India's important contributions to stability in Afghanistan,
112	but India makes billions of dollars in trade with the United States, and we want them to help us more with Afghanistan, especially in the area of economic assistance and development.
113	We are committed to pursuing our shared objectives for peace and security in South Asia and the broader Indo-Pacific region.
114	Finally, my administration will ensure that you, the brave defenders of the American people, will have the necessary tools and rules of engagement to make this strategy work and work effectively and work quickly.
115	I have already lifted restrictions the previous administration placed on our war fighters that prevented the secretary of defense and our commanders in the field from fully and swiftly waging battle against the enemy.
116	Micromanagement from Washington, D.C. does not win battles.
117	They are won in the field drawing upon the judgment and expertise of wartime commanders and frontline soldiers, acting in real time with real authority and with a clear mission to defeat the enemy.
118	That's why we will also expand authority for American armed forces to target the terrorist and criminal networks that sow violence and chaos throughout Afghanistan.
119	These killers need to know they have nowhere to hide, that no place is beyond the reach of American might and American arms.
120	Retribution will be fast and powerful.
121	As we lift restrictions and expand authorities in the field, we are already seeing dramatic results in the campaign to defeat ISIS, including the liberation of Mosul in Iraq.
122	Since my inauguration, we have achieved record-breaking success in that regard.
123	We will also maximize sanctions and other financial and law enforcement actions against these networks to eliminate their ability to export terror.
124	When America commits its warriors to battle, we must ensure they have every weapon to apply swift, decisive and overwhelming force.
125	Our troops will fight to win.
126	We will fight to win.
127	From now on, victory will have a clear definition — attacking our enemies, obliterating ISIS, crushing al-Qaida, preventing the Taliban from taking over Afghanistan and stopping mass terror attacks against America before they emerge
128	We will ask our NATO allies and global partners to support our new strategy, with additional troop and funding increases in line with our own.
129	We are confident they will
130	Since taking office, I have made clear that our allies and partners must contribute much more money to our collective defense, and they have done so.
131	In this struggle, the heaviest burden will continue to be borne by the good people of Afghanistan and their courageous armed forces.
132	As the prime minister of Afghanistan has promised, we are going to participate in economic development to help defray the cost of this war to us.
133	Afghanistan is fighting to defend and secure their country against the same enemies who threaten us.
134	The stronger the Afghan security forces become, the less we will have to do.
135	Afghans will secure and build their own nation and define their own future.
136	We want them to succeed.
137	But we will no longer use American military might to construct democracies in faraway lands or try to rebuild other countries in our own image.
138	Those days are now over.
139	Instead, we will work with allies and partners to protect our shared interests.
140	We are not asking others to change their way of life but to pursue common goals that allow our children to live better and safer lives.
141	This principled realism will guide our decisions moving forward.
142	Military power alone will not bring peace to Afghanistan or stop the terrorist threat arising in that country.
143	But strategically-applied force aims to create the conditions for a political process to achieve a lasting peace.

144	America will work with the Afghan government as long as we see determination and progress.
145	However, our commitment is not unlimited,
146	and our support is not a blank check.
147	The government of Afghanistan must carry their share of the military, political and economic burden.
148	The American people expect to see real reforms, real progress and real results.
149	Our patience is not unlimited.
150	We will keep our eyes wide open.
151	In abiding by the oath I took on January 20, I will remain steadfast in protecting American lives and American interests.
152	In this effort, we will make common cause with any nation that chooses to stand and fight alongside us against this global threat.
153	Terrorists, take heed.
154	America will never let up until you are dealt a lasting defeat.
155	Under my administration, many billions of dollars more is being spent on our military. And this includes vast amounts being spent on our nuclear arsenal and missile defense.
156	In every generation, we have faced down evil, and we have always prevailed.
157	We prevailed because we know who we are and what we are fighting for.
158	Not far from where we are gathered tonight, hundreds of thousands of America's greatest patriots lay in eternal rest at Arlington national cemetery.
159	There is more courage, sacrifice and love in those hallowed grounds than in any other spot on the face of the Earth.
160	Many of those who have fought and died in Afghanistan enlisted in the months after September 11, 2001.
161	They volunteered for a simple reason:
162	they loved America and they were determined to protect her.
163	Now we must secure the cause for which they gave their lives.
164	We must unite to defend America from its enemies abroad.
165	We must restore the bonds of loyalty among our citizens at home,
166	and we must achieve an honorable and enduring outcome worthy of the enormous price that so many have paid.
167	Our actions and in months to come, all of them will honor the sacrifice of every fallen hero, every family who lost a loved one and every wounded warrior who shed their blood in defense of our great nation.
168	With our resolve, we will ensure that your service and that your family's will bring about the defeat of our enemies and the arrival of peace.
169	We will push onward to victory with power in our hearts, courage in our souls and everlasting pride in each and every one of you.
170	Thank you.
171	May God bless our military,
172	and may God bless the United States of America.
173	Thank you very much.
174	Thank you.

Appendix E Presidential War Address – Obama, August 7, 2014

No. of S.	Sentence
1	Good evening.
2	Today I authorized two operations in Iraq --
3	Today I authorized two operations in Iraq -- targeted airstrikes to protect our American personnel, and a humanitarian effort to help save thousands of Iraqi civilians who are trapped on a mountain without food and water and facing almost certain death.
4	Let me explain the actions we're taking and why.
5	First, I said in June -- as the terrorist group ISIL began an advance across Iraq -- that the United States would be prepared to take targeted military action in Iraq if and when we determined that the situation required it.
6	In recent days, these terrorists have continued to move across Iraq,
7	and have neared the city of Erbil,
8	where American diplomats and civilians serve at our consulate and American military personnel advise Iraqi forces.
9	To stop the advance on Erbil, I've directed our military to take targeted strikes against ISIL terrorist convoys should they move toward the city.
10	We intend to stay vigilant, and take action if these terrorist forces threaten our personnel or facilities anywhere in Iraq, including our consulate in Erbil and our embassy in Baghdad.
11	We're also providing urgent assistance to Iraqi government and Kurdish forces
12	so they can more effectively wage the fight against ISIL.
13	Second, at the request of the Iraqi government -- we've begun operations to help save Iraqi civilians stranded on the mountain.
14	As ISIL has marched across Iraq, it has waged a ruthless campaign against innocent Iraqis.
15	And these terrorists have been especially barbaric towards religious minorities, including Christian and Yezidis, a small and ancient religious sect.
16	Countless Iraqis have been displaced.
17	And chilling reports describe ISIL militants rounding up families, conducting mass executions, and enslaving Yezidi women.
18	In recent days, Yezidi women, men and children from the area of Sinjar have fled for their lives.
19	And thousands -- perhaps tens of thousands -- are now hiding high up on the mountain, with little but the clothes on their backs.
20	They're without food, they're without water.
21	People are starving.
22	And children are dying of thirst.
23	Meanwhile, ISIL forces below have called for the systematic destruction of the entire Yezidi people, which would constitute genocide.
24	So these innocent families are faced with a horrible choice:
25	descend the mountain and be slaughtered, or stay and slowly die of thirst and hunger.
26	I've said before, the United States cannot and should not intervene every time there's a crisis in the world.
27	So let me be clear about why we must act, and act now.
28	When we face a situation like we do on that mountain -- with innocent people facing the prospect of violence on a horrific scale,
29	when we have a mandate to help -- in this case, a request from the Iraqi government --
30	and when we have the unique capabilities to help avert a massacre,
31	then I believe the United States of America cannot turn a blind eye.
32	We can act, carefully and responsibly, to prevent a potential act of genocide.
33	That's what we're doing on that mountain.
34	I've, therefore, authorized targeted airstrikes, if necessary, to help forces in Iraq as they fight to break the siege of Mount Sinjar and protect the civilians trapped there.
35	Already, American aircraft have begun conducting humanitarian airdrops of food and water to help these desperate men, women and children survive.
36	Earlier this week, one Iraqi in the area cried to the world, "There is no one coming to help."

37	Well today, America is coming to help.
38	We're also consulting with other countries -- and the United Nations -- who have called for action to address this humanitarian crisis.
39	I know that many of you are rightly concerned about any American military action in Iraq, even limited strikes like these.
40	I understand that.
	I ran for this office in part to end our war in Iraq and welcome our troops home,
41	and that's what we've done.
42	As Commander-in-Chief, I will not allow the United States to be dragged into fighting another war in Iraq.
43	And so even as we support Iraqis as they take the fight to these terrorists,
45	American combat troops will not be returning to fight in Iraq, because there's no American military solution to the larger crisis in Iraq.
46	The only lasting solution is reconciliation among Iraqi communities and stronger Iraqi security forces.
47	However, we can and should support moderate forces who can bring stability to Iraq.
48	So even as we carry out these two missions, we will continue to pursue a broader strategy that empowers Iraqis to confront this crisis.
49	Iraqi leaders need to come together and forge a new government that represents the legitimate interests of all Iraqis,
50	and that can fight back against the threats like ISIL.
51	Iraqis have named a new President, a new Speaker of Parliament, and are seeking consensus on a new Prime Minister.
52	This is the progress that needs to continue in order to reverse the momentum of the terrorists who prey on Iraq's divisions.
53	Once Iraq has a new government,
54	the United States will work with it and other countries in the region to provide increased support to deal with this humanitarian crisis and counterterrorism challenge.
55	None of Iraq's neighbors have an interest in this terrible suffering or instability.
56	And so we'll continue to work with our friends and allies to help refugees get the shelter and food and water they so desperately need,
57	and to help Iraqis push back against ISIL.
58	The several hundred American advisors that I ordered to Iraq will continue to assess what more we can do to help train, advise and support Iraqi forces going forward.
59	And just as I consulted Congress on the decisions I made today, we will continue to do so going forward.
60	My fellow Americans, the world is confronted by many challenges.
61	And while America has never been able to right every wrong, America has made the world a more secure and prosperous place.
62	And our leadership is necessary to underwrite the global security and prosperity that our children and our grandchildren will depend upon.
63	We do so by adhering to a set of core principles.
64	We do whatever is necessary to protect our people.
65	We support our allies when they're in danger.
66	We lead coalitions of countries to uphold international norms.
67	And we strive to stay true to the fundamental values -- the desire to live with basic freedom and dignity -- that is common to human beings wherever they are.
68	That's why people all over the world look to the United States of America to lead.
69	And that's why we do it.
70	So let me close by assuring you that there is no decision that I take more seriously than the use of military force.
71	Over the last several years, we have brought the vast majority of our troops home from Iraq and Afghanistan.
72	And I've been careful to resist calls to turn time and again to our military, because America has other tools in our arsenal than our military.
73	We can also lead with the power of our diplomacy, our economy, and our ideals.
74	But when the lives of American citizens are at risk, we will take action.
75	That's my responsibility as Commander-in-Chief.

76	And when many thousands of innocent civilians are faced with the danger of being wiped out, and we have the capacity to do something about it, we will take action.
77	That is our responsibility as Americans.
78	That's a hallmark of American leadership.
79	That's who we are.
80	So tonight, we give thanks to our men and women in uniform —
81	especially our brave pilots and crews over Iraq who are protecting our fellow Americans and saving the lives of so many men, women and children that they will never meet.
82	They represent American leadership at its best.
83	As a nation, we should be proud of them, and of our country's enduring commitment to uphold our own security and the dignity of our fellow human beings.
84	God bless our Armed Forces,
85	and God bless the United States of America.

Appendix F Presidential War Address – Obama, September 10, 2013

No. of S.	Sentence
1	My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about Syria --
2	why it matters,
3	and where we go from here.
4	Over the past two years, what began as a series of peaceful protests against the repressive regime of Bashar al-Assad has turned into a brutal civil war.
5	Over 100,000 people have been killed.
6	Millions have fled the country.
7	In that time, America has worked with allies to provide humanitarian support, to help the moderate opposition, and to shape a political settlement.
8	But I have resisted calls for military action,
9	because we cannot resolve someone else’s civil war through force, particularly after a decade of war in Iraq and Afghanistan.
10	The situation profoundly changed,
11	though, on August 21st, when Assad’s government gassed to death over a thousand people, including hundreds of children.
12	The images from this massacre are sickening: Men, women, children lying in rows, killed by poison gas.
13	Others foaming at the mouth, gasping for breath.
14	A father clutching his dead children, imploring them to get up and walk.
15	On that terrible night, the world saw in gruesome detail the terrible nature of chemical weapons,
16	and why the overwhelming majority of humanity has declared them off-limits -- a crime against humanity, and a violation of the laws of war.
17	This was not always the case. In World War I, American GIs were among the many thousands killed by deadly gas in the trenches of Europe.
18	In World War II, the Nazis used gas to inflict the horror of the Holocaust.
19	Because these weapons can kill on a mass scale, with no distinction between soldier and infant, the civilized world has spent a century working to ban them.
20	And in 1997, the United States Senate overwhelmingly approved an international agreement prohibiting the use of chemical weapons,
21	now joined by 189 governments that represent 98 percent of humanity.
22	On August 21st, these basic rules were violated, along with our sense of common humanity.
23	No one disputes that chemical weapons were used in Syria.
24	The world saw thousands of videos, cell phone pictures, and social media accounts from the attack, and humanitarian organizations told stories of hospitals packed with people who had symptoms of poison gas.
25	Moreover, we know the Assad regime was responsible.
26	In the days leading up to August 21st, we know that Assad’s chemical weapons personnel prepared for an attack near an area where they mix sarin gas.
27	They distributed gasmasks to their troops.
28	Then they fired rockets from a regime-controlled area into 11 neighborhoods that the regime has been trying to wipe clear of opposition forces Informative
29	Shortly after those rockets landed, the gas spread,
30	and hospitals filled with the dying and the wounded.
31	We know senior figures in Assad’s military machine reviewed the results of the attack,
32	and the regime increased their shelling of the same neighborhoods in the days that followed.
33	We’ve also studied samples of blood and hair from people at the site that tested positive for sarin.
34	When dictators commit atrocities, they depend upon the world to look the other way until those horrifying pictures fade from memory.
35	But these things happened.
63	The facts cannot be denied.

37	The question now is what the United States of America, and the international community, is prepared to do about it.
38	Because what happened to those people -- to those children -- is not only a violation of international law,
39	it's also a danger to our security.
40	Let me explain why.
41	If we fail to act, the Assad regime will see no reason to stop using chemical weapons.
42	As the ban against these weapons erodes, other tyrants will have no reason to think twice about acquiring poison gas, and using them.
43	Over time, our troops would again face the prospect of chemical warfare on the battlefield.
45	And it could be easier for terrorist organizations to obtain these weapons, and to use them to attack civilians.
46	If fighting spills beyond Syria's borders, these weapons could threaten allies like Turkey, Jordan, and Israel.
47	And a failure to stand against the use of chemical weapons would weaken prohibitions against other weapons of mass destruction, and embolden Assad's ally, Iran --
48	which must decide whether to ignore international law by building a nuclear weapon, or to take a more peaceful path.
49	This is not a world we should accept.
50	This is what's at stake.
51	And that is why, after careful deliberation, I determined that it is in the national security interests of the United States to respond to the Assad regime's use of chemical weapons through a targeted military strike.
52	The purpose of this strike would be to deter Assad from using chemical weapons, to degrade his regime's ability to use them, and to make clear to the world that we will not tolerate their use.
53	That's my judgment as Commander-in-Chief.
54	But I'm also the President of the world's oldest constitutional democracy.
55	So even though I possess the authority to order military strikes,
65	I believed it was right, in the absence of a direct or imminent threat to our security, to take this debate to Congress.
57	I believe our democracy is stronger when the President acts with the support of Congress.
58	And I believe that America acts more effectively abroad when we stand together.
59	This is especially true after a decade that put more and more war-making power in the hands of the President, and more and more burdens on the shoulders of our troops, while sidelining the people's representatives from the critical decisions about when we use force.
60	Now, I know that after the terrible toll of Iraq and Afghanistan, the idea of any military action, no matter how limited, is not going to be popular.
61	After all, I've spent four and a half years working to end wars, not to start them.
62	Our troops are out of Iraq.
63	Our troops are coming home from Afghanistan. And I know Americans want all of us in Washington -- especially me -- to concentrate on the task of building our nation here at home: putting people back to work, educating our kids, growing our middle class.
64	It's no wonder, then, that you're asking hard questions.
65	So let me answer some of the most important questions that I've heard from members of Congress, and that I've read in letters that you've sent to me.
66	First, many of you have asked, won't this put us on a slippery slope to another war?
67	One man wrote to me that we are "still recovering from our involvement in Iraq." A veteran put it more bluntly: "This nation is sick and tired of war."
68	My answer is simple:
69	I will not put American boots on the ground in Syria.
70	I will not pursue an open-ended action like Iraq or Afghanistan.
71	I will not pursue a prolonged air campaign like Libya or Kosovo.
72	This would be a targeted strike to achieve a clear objective: deterring the use of chemical weapons, and degrading Assad's capabilities.
73	Others have asked whether it's worth acting if we don't take out Assad.
74	As some members of Congress have said, there's no point in simply doing a "pinprick" strike in Syria.

75	Let me make something clear: The United States military doesn't do pinpricks.
76	Even a limited strike will send a message to Assad that no other nation can deliver.
77	I don't think we should remove another dictator with force --
78	we learned from Iraq that doing so makes us responsible for all that comes next.
79	But a targeted strike can make Assad, or any other dictator, think twice before using chemical weapons.
80	Other questions involve the dangers of retaliation. We don't dismiss any threats,
81	but the Assad regime does not have the ability to seriously threaten our military.
82	Any other retaliation they might seek is in line with threats that we face every day.
83	Neither Assad nor his allies have any interest in escalation that would lead to his demise.
84	And our ally, Israel, can defend itself with overwhelming force, as well as the unshakeable support of the United States of America.
85	Many of you have asked a broader question: Why should we get involved at all in a place that's so complicated, and where -- as one person wrote to me -- "those who come after Assad may be enemies of human rights?"
86	It's true that some of Assad's opponents are extremists.
87	But al Qaeda will only draw strength in a more chaotic Syria if people there see the world doing nothing to prevent innocent civilians from being gassed to death.
88	The majority of the Syrian people -- and the Syrian opposition we work with -- just want to live in peace, with dignity and freedom.
89	And the day after any military action, we would redouble our efforts to achieve a political solution that strengthens those who reject the forces of tyranny and extremism.
90	Finally, many of you have asked: Why not leave this to other countries, or seek solutions short of force?
91	As several people wrote to me, "We should not be the world's policeman."
92	I agree, and I have a deeply held preference for peaceful solutions.
93	Over the last two years, my administration has tried diplomacy and sanctions, warning and negotiations --
94	but chemical weapons were still used by the Assad regime.
95	However, over the last few days, we've seen some encouraging signs.
96	In part because of the credible threat of U.S. military action, as well as constructive talks that I had with President Putin, the Russian government has indicated a willingness to join with the international community in pushing Assad to give up his chemical weapons.
97	The Assad regime has now admitted that it has these weapons, and even said they'd join the Chemical Weapons Convention, which prohibits their use.
98	It's too early to tell whether this offer will succeed, and any agreement must verify that the Assad regime keeps its commitments.
99	But this initiative has the potential to remove the threat of chemical weapons without the use of force, particularly because Russia is one of Assad's strongest allies.
100	I have, therefore, asked the leaders of Congress to postpone a vote to authorize the use of force while we pursue this diplomatic path.
101	I'm sending Secretary of State John Kerry to meet his Russian counterpart on Thursday,
102	and I will continue my own discussions with President Putin.
103	I've spoken to the leaders of two of our closest allies, France and the United Kingdom,
104	and we will work together in consultation with Russia and China to put forward a resolution at the U.N. Security Council requiring Assad to give up his chemical weapons, and to ultimately destroy them under international control.
105	We'll also give U.N. inspectors the opportunity to report their findings about what happened on August 21 st .
106	And we will continue to rally support from allies from Europe to the Americas -- from Asia to the Middle East -- who agree on the need for action.
107	Meanwhile, I've ordered our military to maintain their current posture to keep the pressure on Assad, and to be in a position to respond if diplomacy fails.
108	And tonight, I give thanks again to our military and their families for their incredible strength and sacrifices.
109	My fellow Americans, for nearly seven decades, the United States has been the anchor of global security.

110	This has meant doing more than forging international agreements -- it has meant enforcing them.
111	The burdens of leadership are often heavy,
112	but the world is a better place because we have borne them.
113	And so, to my friends on the right, I ask you to reconcile your commitment to America's military might with a failure to act when a cause is so plainly just.
114	To my friends on the left, I ask you to reconcile your belief in freedom and dignity for all people with those images of children writhing in pain, and going still on a cold hospital floor.
115	For sometimes resolutions and statements of condemnation are simply not enough.
116	Indeed, I'd ask every member of Congress, and those of you watching at home tonight, to view those videos of the attack,
117	and then ask: What kind of world will we live in if the United States of America sees a dictator brazenly violate international law with poison gas, and we choose to look the other way?.
118	Franklin Roosevelt once said, "Our national determination to keep free of foreign wars and foreign entanglements cannot prevent us from feeling deep concern when ideals and principles that we have cherished are challenged.".
119	Our ideals and principles, as well as our national security, are at stake in Syria, along with our leadership of a world
120	where we seek to ensure that the worst weapons will never be used.
121	America is not the world's policeman.
122	Terrible things happen across the globe, and it is beyond our means to right every wrong.
123	But when, with modest effort and risk, we can stop children from being gassed to death, and thereby make our own children safer over the long run,
124	I believe we should act.
125	That's what makes America different. That's what makes us exceptional.
126	With humility, but with resolve, let us never lose sight of that essential truth.
127	Thank you.
128	God bless you.
129	And God bless the United States of America.

Appendix G Presidential War Address – George W. Bush, January 11, 2007

No. of S.	Sentence
1	Good evening.
2	Tonight in Iraq, the Armed Forces of the United States are engaged in a struggle that will determine the direction of the global war on terror -- and our safety here at home.
3	The new strategy I outline tonight will change America's course in Iraq, and help us succeed in the fight against terror.
4	When I addressed you just over a year ago, nearly 12 million Iraqis had cast their ballots for a unified and democratic nation.
5	The elections of 2005 were a stunning achievement.
6	We thought that these elections would bring the Iraqis together,
7	and that as we trained Iraqi security forces we could accomplish our mission with fewer American troops.
8	But in 2006, the opposite happened.
9	The violence in Iraq -- particularly in Baghdad -- overwhelmed the political gains the Iraqis had made.
10	Al Qaeda terrorists and Sunni insurgents recognised the mortal danger that Iraq's elections posed for their cause,
11	and they responded with outrageous acts of murder aimed at innocent Iraqis.
12	They blew up one of the holiest shrines in Shia Islam -- the Golden Mosque of Samarra -- in a calculated effort to provoke Iraq's Shia population to retaliate.
13	Their strategy worked.
14	Radical Shia elements, some supported by Iran, formed death squads.
15	And the result was a vicious cycle of sectarian violence that continues today.
16	The situation in Iraq is unacceptable to the American people -- and it is unacceptable to me.
17	Our troops in Iraq have fought bravely.
18	They have done everything we have asked them to do. Where mistakes have been made, the responsibility rests with me.
19	It is clear that we need to change our strategy in Iraq.
20	So my national security team, military commanders, and diplomats conducted a comprehensive review.
21	We consulted members of Congress from both parties, our allies abroad, and distinguished outside experts.
22	We benefitted from the thoughtful recommendations of the Iraq Study Group, a bipartisan panel led by former Secretary of State James Baker and former Congressman Lee Hamilton.
23	In our discussions, we all agreed that there is no magic formula for success in Iraq.
24	And one message came through loud and clear: Failure in Iraq would be a disaster for the United States.
25	The consequences of failure are clear:
26	Radical Islamic extremists would grow in strength and gain new recruits.
27	They would be in a better position to topple moderate governments, create chaos in the region, and use oil revenues to fund their ambitions.
28	Iran would be emboldened in its pursuit of nuclear weapons.
29	Our enemies would have a safe haven from which to plan and launch attacks on the American people.
30	On September the 11th, 2001, we saw what a refuge for extremists on the other side of the world could bring to the streets of our own cities.
31	For the safety of our people, America must succeed in Iraq.
32	The most urgent priority for success in Iraq is security, especially in Baghdad.
33	Eighty percent of Iraq's sectarian violence occurs within 30 miles of the capital.
34	This violence is splitting Baghdad into sectarian enclaves, and shaking the confidence of all Iraqis.
35	Only Iraqis can end the sectarian violence and secure their people.
36	And their government has put forward an aggressive plan to do it.
37	Our past efforts to secure Baghdad failed for two principal reasons:

38	There were not enough Iraqi and American troops to secure neighborhoods that had been cleared of terrorists and insurgents.
39	And there were too many restrictions on the troops we did have.
40	Our military commanders reviewed the new Iraqi plan to ensure that it addressed these mistakes.
41	They report that it does.
42	They also report that this plan can work.
43	Now let me explain the main elements of this effort:
44	The Iraqi government will appoint a military commander and two deputy commanders for their capital.
45	The Iraqi government will deploy Iraqi Army and National Police brigades across Baghdad's nine districts.
46	When these forces are fully deployed, there will be 18 Iraqi Army and National Police brigades committed to this effort, along with local police.
47	These Iraqi forces will operate from local police stations -- conducting patrols and setting up checkpoints, and going door-to-door to gain the trust of Baghdad residents.
48	This is a strong commitment.
49	But for it to succeed, our commanders say the Iraqis will need our help.
50	So America will change our strategy to help the Iraqis carry out their campaign to put down sectarian violence and bring security to the people of Baghdad.
51	This will require increasing American force levels.
52	So I've committed more than 20,000 additional American troops to Iraq.
53	The vast majority of them -- five brigades -- will be deployed to Baghdad.
54	These troops will work alongside Iraqi units and be embedded in their formations Predictive
55	Our troops will have a well-defined mission: to help Iraqis clear and secure neighborhoods, to help them protect the local population, and to help ensure that the Iraqi forces left behind are capable of providing the security that Baghdad needs
56	Many listening tonight will ask why this effort will succeed when previous operations to secure Baghdad did not.
57	Well, here are the differences:
85	In earlier operations, Iraqi and American forces cleared many neighborhoods of terrorists and insurgents, but when our forces moved on to other targets, the killers returned.
59	This time, we'll have the force levels we need to hold the areas that have been cleared.
60	In earlier operations, political and sectarian interference prevented Iraqi and American forces from going into neighborhoods that are home to those fueling the sectarian violence.
61	This time, Iraqi and American forces will have a green light to enter those neighborhoods --
62	and Prime Minister Maliki has pledged that political or sectarian interference will not be tolerated.
63	I've made it clear to the Prime Minister and Iraq's other leaders that America's commitment is not open-ended.
64	If the Iraqi government does not follow through on its promises, it will lose the support of the American people -- and it will lose the support of the Iraqi people.
65	Now is the time to act.
66	The Prime Minister understands this.
67	Here is what he told his people just last week: "The Baghdad security plan will not provide a safe haven for any outlaws, regardless of [their] sectarian or political affiliation."
68	This new strategy will not yield an immediate end to suicide bombings, assassinations, or IED attacks.
69	Our enemies in Iraq will make every effort to ensure that our television screens are filled with images of death and suffering.
70	Yet over time, we can expect to see Iraqi troops chasing down murderers, fewer brazen acts of terror, and growing trust and cooperation from Baghdad's residents.
71	When this happens, daily life will improve, Iraqis will gain confidence in their leaders, and the government will have the breathing space it needs to make progress in other critical areas.
72	Most of Iraq's Sunni and Shia want to live together in peace --
73	and reducing the violence in Baghdad will help make reconciliation possible.
74	A successful strategy for Iraq goes beyond military operations.

75	Ordinary Iraqi citizens must see that military operations are accompanied by visible improvements in their neighborhoods and communities.
76	So America will hold the Iraqi government to the benchmarks it has announced.
77	To establish its authority, the Iraqi government plans to take responsibility for security in all of Iraq's provinces by November.
78	To give every Iraqi citizen a stake in the country's economy, Iraq will pass legislation to share oil revenues among all Iraqis.
79	To show that it is committed to delivering a better life, the Iraqi government will spend \$10 billion of its own money on reconstruction and infrastructure projects that will create new jobs.
80	To empower local leaders, Iraqis plan to hold provincial elections later this year.
81	And to allow more Iraqis to re-enter their nation's political life, the government will reform de-Baathification laws, and establish a fair process for considering amendments to Iraq's constitution.
82	America will change our approach to help the Iraqi government as it works to meet these benchmarks.
83	In keeping with the recommendations of the Iraq Study Group, we will increase the embedding of American advisers in Iraqi Army units, and partner a coalition brigade with every Iraqi Army division.
84	We will help the Iraqis build a larger and better-equipped army,
85	and we will accelerate the training of Iraqi forces, which remains the essential U.S. security mission in Iraq.
86	We will give our commanders and civilians greater flexibility to spend funds for economic assistance.
87	We will double the number of provincial reconstruction teams.
88	These teams bring together military and civilian experts to help local Iraqi communities pursue reconciliation, strengthen the moderates, and speed the transition to Iraqi self-reliance.
89	And Secretary Rice will soon appoint a reconstruction coordinator in Baghdad to ensure better results for economic assistance being spent in Iraq.
90	As we make these changes, we will continue to pursue al Qaeda and foreign fighters.
91	Al Qaeda is still active in Iraq.
92	Its home base is Anbar Province.
93	Al Qaeda has helped make Anbar the most violent area of Iraq outside the capital.
94	A captured al Qaeda document describes the terrorists' plan to infiltrate and seize control of the province.
95	This would bring al Qaeda closer to its goals of taking down Iraq's democracy, building a radical Islamic empire, and launching new attacks on the United States at home and abroad.
96	Our military forces in Anbar are killing and capturing al Qaeda leaders,
97	and they are protecting the local population. Recently, local tribal leaders have begun to show their willingness to take on al Qaeda.
98	And as a result, our commanders believe we have an opportunity to deal a serious blow to the terrorists.
99	So I have given orders to increase American forces in Anbar Province by 4,000 troops.
100	These troops will work with Iraqi and tribal forces to keep up the pressure on the terrorists.
101	America's men and women in uniform took away al Qaeda's safe haven in Afghanistan --
102	and we will not allow them to re-establish it in Iraq.
103	Succeeding in Iraq also requires defending its territorial integrity and stabilizing the region in the face of extremist challenges.
104	This begins with addressing Iran and Syria.
105	These two regimes are allowing terrorists and insurgents to use their territory to move in and out of Iraq. Iran is providing material support for attacks on American troops.
106	We will disrupt the attacks on our forces.
107	We'll interrupt the flow of support from Iran and Syria.
108	And we will seek out and destroy the networks providing advanced weaponry and training to our enemies in Iraq.
109	We're also taking other steps to bolster the security of Iraq and protect American interests in the Middle East.
110	I recently ordered the deployment of an additional carrier strike group to the region.

111	We will expand intelligence-sharing and deploy Patriot air defense systems to reassure our friends and allies.
112	We will work with the governments of Turkey and Iraq to help them resolve problems along their border.
113	And we will work with others to prevent Iran from gaining nuclear weapons and dominating the region.
114	We will use America's full diplomatic resources to rally support for Iraq from nations throughout the Middle East.
115	Countries like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, and the Gulf States need to understand that an American defeat in Iraq would create a new sanctuary for extremists and a strategic threat to their survival.
116	These nations have a stake in a successful Iraq that is at peace with its neighbors,
117	and they must step up their support for Iraq's unity government.
118	We endorse the Iraqi government's call to finalize an International Compact that will bring new economic assistance in exchange for greater economic reform.
119	And on Friday, Secretary Rice will leave for the region, to build support for Iraq and continue the urgent diplomacy required to help bring peace to the Middle East.
120	The challenge playing out across the broader Middle East is more than a military conflict.
121	It is the decisive ideological struggle of our time.
122	On one side are those who believe in freedom and moderation.
123	On the other side are extremists who kill the innocent, and have declared their intention to destroy our way of life.
124	In the long run, the most realistic way to protect the American people is to provide a hopeful alternative to the hateful ideology of the enemy, by advancing liberty across a troubled region.
125	It is in the interests of the United States to stand with the brave men and women who are risking their lives to claim their freedom, and to help them as they work to raise up just and hopeful societies across the Middle East.
126	From Afghanistan to Lebanon to the Palestinian Territories, millions of ordinary people are sick of the violence, and want a future of peace and opportunity for their children.
127	And they are looking at Iraq.
128	They want to know: Will America withdraw and yield the future of that country to the extremists, or will we stand with the Iraqis who have made the choice for freedom?.
129	The changes I have outlined tonight are aimed at ensuring the survival of a young democracy that is fighting for its life in a part of the world of enormous importance to American security.
130	Let me be clear:
131	The terrorists and insurgents in Iraq are without conscience,
132	and they will make the year ahead bloody and violent.
133	Even if our new strategy works exactly as planned, deadly acts of violence will continue --
134	and we must expect more Iraqi and American casualties.
135	The question is whether our new strategy will bring us closer to success. I believe that it will.
136	Victory will not look like the ones our fathers and grandfathers achieved.
137	There will be no surrender ceremony on the deck of a battleship.
138	But victory in Iraq will bring something new in the Arab world --
139	a functioning democracy that polices its territory, upholds the rule of law, respects fundamental human liberties, and answers to its people.
140	A democratic Iraq will not be perfect.
141	But it will be a country that fights terrorists instead of harboring them (Promise)--
142	and it will help bring a future of peace and security for our children and our grandchildren Promise
143	This new approach comes after consultations with Congress about the different courses we could take in Iraq.
144	Many are concerned that the Iraqis are becoming too dependent on the United States, and therefore, our policy should focus on protecting Iraq's borders and hunting down al Qaeda.
145	Their solution is to scale back America's efforts in Baghdad -- or announce the phased withdrawal of our combat forces.
146	We carefully considered these proposals.
147	And we concluded that to step back now would force a collapse of the Iraqi government, tear the country apart, and result in mass killings on an unimaginable scale.

148	Such a scenario would result in our troops being forced to stay in Iraq even longer, and confront an enemy that is even more lethal.
149	If we increase our support at this crucial moment, and help the Iraqis break the current cycle of violence, we can hasten the day our troops begin coming home.
150	In the days ahead, my national security team will fully brief Congress on our new strategy.
151	If members have improvements that can be made, we will make them.
152	If circumstances change, we will adjust.
153	Honorable people have different views, and they will voice their criticisms.
154	It is fair to hold our views up to scrutiny.
155	And all involved have a responsibility to explain how the path they propose would be more likely to succeed.
156	Acting on the good advice of Senator Joe Lieberman and other key members of Congress,
157	we will form a new, bipartisan working group that will help us come together across party lines to win the war on terror.
158	This group will meet regularly with me and my administration;
159	it will help strengthen our relationship with Congress.
160	We can begin by working together to increase the size of the active Army and Marine Corps, so that America has the Armed Forces we need for the 21st century.
161	We also need to examine ways to mobilize talented American civilians to deploy overseas, where they can help build democratic institutions in communities and nations recovering from war and tyranny.
162	In these dangerous times, the United States is blessed to have extraordinary and selfless men and women willing to step forward and defend us.
163	These young Americans understand that our cause in Iraq is noble and necessary --
164	and that the advance of freedom is the calling of our time.
165	They serve far from their families, who make the quiet sacrifices of lonely holidays and empty chairs at the dinner table.
166	They have watched their comrades give their lives to ensure our liberty.
167	We mourn the loss of every fallen American --
168	and we owe it to them to build a future worthy of their sacrifice.
169	Fellow citizens: The year ahead will demand more patience, sacrifice, and resolve.
170	It can be tempting to think that America can put aside the burdens of freedom.
171	Yet times of testing reveal the character of a nation.
172	And throughout our history, Americans have always defied the pessimists and seen our faith in freedom redeemed.
173	Now America is engaged in a new struggle that will set the course for a new century.
174	We can,
175	and we will, prevail.
176	We go forward with trust that the Author of Liberty will guide us through these trying hours.
177	Thank you and good night.

Appendix H Presidential War Address – George W. Bush, March 20, 2003

No. of S.	Sentence
1	My fellow citizens, at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger.
2	On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war.
3	These are opening stages of what will be a broad and concerted campaign.
4	More than 35 countries are giving crucial support -- from the use of naval and air bases, to help with intelligence and logistics, to the deployment of combat units.
5	Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense.
6	To all the men and women of the United States Armed Forces now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled world and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you.
7	That trust is well placed.
8	The enemies you confront will come to know your skill and bravery.
9	The people you liberate will witness the honorable and decent spirit of the American military.
10	In this conflict, America faces an enemy who has no regard for conventions of war or rules of morality.
11	Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas, attempting to use innocent men, women and children as shields for his own military -- a final atrocity against his people.
12	I want Americans and all the world to know that coalition forces will make every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm.
13	A campaign on the harsh terrain of a nation as large as California could be longer and more difficult than some predict.
14	And helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable and free country will require our sustained commitment.
15	We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization and for the religious faiths they practice.
16	We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people.
17	I know that the families of our military are praying that all those who serve will return safely and soon.
18	Millions of Americans are praying with you for the safety of your loved ones and for the protection of the innocent.
19	For your sacrifice, you have the gratitude and respect of the American people.
20	And you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done.
21	Our nation enters this conflict reluctantly --
22	yet, our purpose is sure.
23	The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder.
24	We will meet that threat now, with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines,
25	so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities.
26	Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force.
27	And I assure you, this will not be a campaign of half measures,
28	and we will accept no outcome but victory.
29	My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome.
30	We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace.
31	We will defend our freedom.
32	We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail.
33	May God bless our country and all who defend her.

Appendix I Presidential War Address – George W. Bush, March 17, 2003

No. of S.	Sentence
1	My fellow citizens, events in Iraq have now reached the final days of decision.
2	For more than a decade, the United States and other nations have pursued patient and honorable efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime without war
3	That regime pledged to reveal and destroy all its weapons of mass destruction as a condition for ending the Persian Gulf War in 1991.
4	Since then, the world has engaged in 12 years of diplomacy.
5	We have passed more than a dozen resolutions in the United Nations Security Council.
6	We have sent hundreds of weapons inspectors to oversee the disarmament of Iraq.
7	Our good faith has not been returned.
8	The Iraqi regime has used diplomacy as a ploy to gain time and advantage.
9	It has uniformly defied Security Council resolutions demanding full disarmament.
10	Over the years, U.N. weapon inspectors have been threatened by Iraqi officials, electronically bugged, and systematically deceived.
11	Peaceful efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime have failed again and again--
12	because we are not dealing with peaceful men.
13	Intelligence gathered by this and other governments leaves no doubt that the Iraq regime continues to possess and conceal some of the most lethal weapons ever devised.
14	This regime has already used weapons of mass destruction against Iraq's neighbors and against Iraq's people.
15	The regime has a history of reckless aggression in the Middle East.
16	It has a deep hatred of America and our friends.
17	And it has aided, trained and harbored terrorists, including operatives of al Qaeda.
18	The danger is clear:
19	using chemical, biological or, one day, nuclear weapons, obtained with the help of Iraq, the terrorists could fulfill their stated ambitions and kill thousands or hundreds of thousands of innocent people in our country, or any other.
20	The United States and other nations did nothing to deserve or invite this threat.
21	But we will do everything to defeat it.
22	Instead of drifting along toward tragedy, we will set a course toward safety.
23	Before the day of horror can come, before it is too late to act, this danger will be removed.
24	The United States of America has the sovereign authority to use force in assuring its own national security.
25	That duty falls to me, as Commander-in-Chief, by the oath I have sworn, by the oath I will keep.
26	Recognizing the threat to our country, the United States Congress voted overwhelmingly last year to support the use of force against Iraq. America tried to work with the United Nations to address this threat because we wanted to resolve the issue peacefully.
27	We believe in the mission of the United Nations.
28	One reason the U.N. was founded after the second world war was to confront aggressive dictators, actively and early, before they can attack the innocent and destroy the peace.
29	In the case of Iraq, the Security Council did act, in the early 1990s.
30	Under Resolutions 678 and 687 -- both still in effect -- the United States and our allies are authorized to use force in ridding Iraq of weapons of mass destruction.
31	This is not a question of authority, it is a question of will.
32	Last September, I went to the U.N. General Assembly and urged the nations of the world to unite and bring an end to this danger.
33	On November 8th, the Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1441, finding Iraq in material breach of its obligations, and vowing serious consequences if Iraq did not fully and immediately disarm.
34	Today, no nation can possibly claim that Iraq has disarmed.
35	And it will not disarm so long as Saddam Hussein holds power.
36	For the last four-and-a-half months, the United States and our allies have worked within the Security Council to enforce that Council's long-standing demands.

37	Yet, some permanent members of the Security Council have publicly announced they will veto any resolution that compels the disarmament of Iraq.
38	These governments share our assessment of the danger, but not our resolve to meet it.
39	Many nations, however, do have the resolve and fortitude to act against this threat to peace,
40	and a broad coalition is now gathering to enforce the just demands of the world.
41	The United Nations Security Council has not lived up to its responsibilities, so we will rise to ours.
42	In recent days, some governments in the Middle East have been doing their part.
43	They have delivered public and private messages urging the dictator to leave Iraq, so that disarmament can proceed peacefully.
44	He has thus far refused.
45	All the decades of deceit and cruelty have now reached an end.
46	Saddam Hussein and his sons must leave Iraq within 48 hours.
47	Their refusal to do so will result in military conflict, commenced at a time of our choosing.
48	For their own safety, all foreign nationals -- including journalists and inspectors -- should leave Iraq immediately.
49	Many Iraqis can hear me tonight in a translated radio broadcast,
50	and I have a message for them,
51	If we must begin a military campaign, it will be directed against the lawless men who rule your country and not against you.
52	As our coalition takes away their power, we will deliver the food and medicine you need.
53	We will tear down the apparatus of terror and we will help you to build a new Iraq that is prosperous and free.
54	In a free Iraq, there will be no more wars of aggression against your neighbors, no more poison factories, no more executions of dissidents, no more torture chambers and rape rooms.
55	The tyrant will soon be gone.
56	The day of your liberation is near.
57	It is too late for Saddam Hussein to remain in power.
58	It is not too late for the Iraqi military to act with honor and protect your country by permitting the peaceful entry of coalition forces to eliminate weapons of mass destruction.
59	Our forces will give Iraqi military units clear instructions on actions they can take to avoid being attacked and destroyed.
60	I urge every member of the Iraqi military and intelligence services, if war comes, do not fight for a dying regime that is not worth your own life.
61	And all Iraqi military and civilian personnel should listen carefully to this warning.
62	In any conflict, your fate will depend on your action.
63	Do not destroy oil wells, a source of wealth that belongs to the Iraqi people.
64	Do not obey any command to use weapons of mass destruction against anyone, including the Iraqi people.
65	War crimes will be prosecuted. War criminals will be punished.
66	And it will be no defense to say, "I was just following orders."
67	Should Saddam Hussein choose confrontation, the American people can know that every measure has been taken to avoid war,
68	and every measure will be taken to win it.
69	Americans understand the costs of conflict because we have paid them in the past.
70	War has no certainty, except the certainty of sacrifice.
71	Yet, the only way to reduce the harm and duration of war is to apply the full force and might of our military,
72	and we are prepared to do so.
73	If Saddam Hussein attempts to cling to power, he will remain a deadly foe until the end.
74	In desperation, he and terrorists groups might try to conduct terrorist operations against the American people and our friends.
75	These attacks are not inevitable.
76	They are, however, possible.
77	And this very fact underscores the reason we cannot live under the threat of blackmail.
78	The terrorist threat to America and the world will be diminished the moment that Saddam Hussein is disarmed.

79	Our government is on heightened watch against these dangers.
80	Just as we are preparing to ensure victory in Iraq,
81	we are taking further actions to protect our homeland.
82	In recent days, American authorities have expelled from the country certain individuals with ties to Iraqi intelligence services.
83	Among other measures, I have directed additional security of our airports, and increased Coast Guard patrols of major seaports.
84	The Department of Homeland Security is working closely with the nation's governors to increase armed security at critical facilities across America.
85	Should enemies strike our country, they would be attempting to shift our attention with panic and weaken our morale with fear.
86	In this, they would fail.
87	No act of theirs can alter the course or shake the resolve of this country.
88	We are a peaceful people --
89	yet we're not a fragile people, and we will not be intimidated by thugs and killers.
90	If our enemies dare to strike us, they and all who have aided them, will face fearful consequences.
91	We are now acting because the risks of inaction would be far greater.
92	In one year, or five years, the power of Iraq to inflict harm on all free nations would be multiplied many times over.
93	With these capabilities, Saddam Hussein and his terrorist allies could choose the moment of deadly conflict when they are strongest.
94	We choose to meet that threat now, where it arises, before it can appear suddenly in our skies and cities.
95	The cause of peace requires all free nations to recognise new and undeniable realities.
96	In the 20th century, some chose to appease murderous dictators, whose threats were allowed to grow into genocide and global war.
97	In this century, when evil men plot chemical, biological and nuclear terror, a policy of appeasement could bring destruction of a kind never before seen on this earth Predictive
98	Terrorists and terror states do not reveal these threats with fair notice, in formal declarations --
99	and responding to such enemies only after they have struck first is not self-defense,
100	it is suicide.
101	The security of the world requires disarming Saddam Hussein now.
102	As we enforce the just demands of the world, we will also honor the deepest commitments of our country.
103	Unlike Saddam Hussein, we believe the Iraqi people are deserving and capable of human liberty.
104	And when the dictator has departed, they can set an example to all the Middle East of a vital and peaceful and self-governing nation.
105	The United States, with other countries, will work to advance liberty and peace in that region.
106	Our goal will not be achieved overnight,
107	but it can come over time.
108	The power and appeal of human liberty is felt in every life and every land. And the greatest power of freedom is to overcome hatred and violence, and turn the creative gifts of men and women to the pursuits of peace.
109	That is the future we choose.
110	Free nations have a duty to defend our people by uniting against the violent.
111	And tonight, as we have done before, America and our allies accept that responsibility.
112	Good night, and may God continue to bless America.

Appendix J Presidential War Address - George W. Bush, October 7, 2001

No. of S.	Sentence
1	On my orders, the United States military has begun strikes against Al Qaeda terrorist training camps and military installations of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.
2	These carefully targeted actions are designed to disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations and to attack the military capability of the Taliban regime.
3	We are joined in this operation by our staunch friend, Great Britain. Other close friends, including Canada, Australia, Germany and France, have pledged forces as the operation unfolds.
4	More than 40 countries in the Middle East, Africa, Europe and across Asia have granted air transit or landing rights.
5	Many more have shared intelligence.
6	We are supported by the collective will of the world.
7	More than two weeks ago, I gave Taliban leaders a series of clear and specific demands:
8	Close terrorist training camps.
9	Hand over leaders of the Al Qaeda network, and return all foreign nationals, including American citizens unjustly detained in our country.
10	None of these demands were met.
11	And now, the Taliban will pay a price.
12	By destroying camps and disrupting communications, we will make it more difficult for the terror network to train new recruits and coordinate their evil plans.
13	Initially the terrorists may burrow deeper into caves and other entrenched hiding places.
14	Our military action is also designed to clear the way for sustained, comprehensive and relentless operations to drive them out and bring them to justice.
15	At the same time, the oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies.
16	As we strike military targets, we will also drop food, medicine and supplies to the starving and suffering men and women and children of Afghanistan.
17	The United States of America is a friend to the Afghan people,
18	and we are the friends of almost a billion worldwide who practice the Islamic faith.
19	The United States of America is an enemy of those who aid terrorists and of the barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder in its name.
20	This military action is a part of our campaign against terrorism,
21	another front in a war that has already been joined through diplomacy, intelligence, the freezing of financial assets and the arrests of known terrorists by law enforcement agents in 38 countries.
22	Given the nature and reach of our enemies, we will win this conflict by the patient accumulation of successes, by meeting a series of challenges with determination and will and purpose.
23	Today we focus on Afghanistan, but the battle is broader.
24	Every nation has a choice to make.
25	In this conflict, there is no neutral ground. If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocence, they have become outlaws and murderers themselves.
26	And they will take that lonely path at their own peril.
27	I'm speaking to you today from the Treaty Room of the White House, a place where American presidents have worked for peace.
28	We're a peaceful nation.
29	Yet, as we have learned, so suddenly and so tragically, there can be no peace in a world of sudden terror.
30	In the face of today's new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it.
31	We did not ask for this mission,
32	but we will fulfill it.
33	The name of today's military operation is Enduring Freedom.
34	We defend not only our precious freedoms,
35	but also the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear.

36	I know many Americans feel fear today.
37	And our government is taking strong precautions.
38	All law enforcement and intelligence agencies are working aggressively around America, around the world and around the clock.
39	At my request, many governors have activated the National Guard to strengthen airport security.
40	We have called up reserves to reinforce our military capability and strengthen the protection of our homeland.
41	In the months ahead, our patience will be one of our strengths --
42	patience with the long waits that will result from tighter security, patience and understanding that it will take time to achieve our goals,
43	patience in all the sacrifices that may come.
44	Today, those sacrifices are being made by members of our armed forces who now defend us so far from home, and by their proud and worried families.
45	A commander in chief sends America's sons and daughters into battle in a foreign land only after the greatest care and a lot of prayer.
46	We ask a lot of those who wear our uniform.
47	We ask them to leave their loved ones, to travel great distances, to risk injury, even to be prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice of their lives.
48	They are dedicated.
49	They are honorable.
50	They represent the best of our country,
51	and we are grateful.
52	To all the men and women in our military, every sailor, every soldier, every airman, every Coast Guardsman, every Marine, I say this: Your mission is defined.
53	The objectives are clear.
54	Your goal is just.
55	You have my full confidence,
56	and you will have every tool you need to carry out your duty.
57	I recently received a touching letter that says a lot about the state of America in these difficult times, a letter from a fourth grade girl with a father in the military. "As much as I don't want my dad to fight," she wrote, "I'm willing to give him to you."
58	This is a precious gift.
59	The greatest she could give
60	This young girl knows what America is all about
61	Since September 11, an entire generation of young Americans has gained new understanding of the value of freedom and its cost and duty and its sacrifice.
62	The battle is now joined on many fronts.
63	We will not waiver,
64	we will not tire,
65	we will not falter,
66	and we will not fail.
67	Peace and freedom will prevail.
68	Thank you.
69	May God continue to bless America.

Appendix K Presidential War Address - Bill Clinton, December 16, 1998

No. of S.	Sentence
1	Good evening.
2	Earlier today, I ordered America's armed forces to strike military and security targets in Iraq.
3	They are joined by British forces.
4	Their mission is to attack Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programs and its military capacity to threaten its neighbors.
5	Their purpose is to protect the national interest of the United States, and indeed the interests of people throughout the Middle East and around the world.
6	Saddam Hussein must not be allowed to threaten his neighbors or the world with nuclear arms, poison gas or biological weapons.
7	I want to explain why I have decided, with the unanimous recommendation of my national security team, to use force in Iraq; why we have acted now; and what we aim to accomplish.
8	Six weeks ago, Saddam Hussein announced that he would no longer cooperate with the United Nations weapons inspectors called UNSCOM
9	They are highly professional experts from dozens of countries
10	Their job is to oversee the elimination of Iraq's capability to retain, create and use weapons of mass destruction, and to verify that Iraq does not attempt to rebuild that capability.
11	The inspectors undertook this mission first 7.5 years ago at the end of the Gulf War when Iraq agreed to declare and destroy its arsenal as a condition of the ceasefire.
12	The international community had good reason to set this requirement
13	Other countries possess weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles
14	With Saddam, there is one big difference:
15	He has used them. Not once, but repeatedly
16	Unleashing chemical weapons against Iranian troops during a decade-long war.
17	Not only against soldiers, but against civilians, firing Scud missiles at the citizens of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Iran.
18	And not only against a foreign enemy, but even against his own people, gassing Kurdish civilians in Northern Iraq.
19	The international community had little doubt then,
20	and I have no doubt today,
21	that left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will use these terrible weapons again.
22	The United States has patiently worked to preserve UNSCOM as Iraq has sought to avoid its obligation to cooperate with the inspectors.
23	On occasion, we've had to threaten military force, and Saddam has backed down.
24	Faced with Saddam's latest act of defiance in late October, we built intensive diplomatic pressure on Iraq backed by overwhelming military force in the region.
25	The UN Security Council voted 15 to zero to condemn Saddam's actions and to demand that he immediately come into compliance.
26	Eight Arab nations -- Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Oman -- warned that Iraq alone would bear responsibility for the consequences of defying the UN.
27	When Saddam still failed to comply,
28	we prepared to act militarily.
29	It was only then at the last possible moment that Iraq backed down.
30	It pledged to the UN that it had made, and I quote, a clear and unconditional decision to resume cooperation with the weapons inspectors.
31	I decided then to call off the attack with our airplanes already in the air because Saddam had given in to our demands.
32	I concluded then that the right thing to do was to use restraint and give Saddam one last chance to prove his willingness to cooperate.
33	I made it very clear at that time what unconditional cooperation meant, based on existing UN resolutions and Iraq's own commitments.

34	And along with Prime Minister Blair of Great Britain, I made it equally clear that if Saddam failed to cooperate fully, we would be prepared to act without delay, diplomacy or warning.
35	Now over the past three weeks, the UN weapons inspectors have carried out their plan for testing Iraq's cooperation.
36	The testing period ended this weekend, and last night, UNSCOM's chairman, Richard Butler, reported the results to UN Secretary-General Annan.
37	The conclusions are stark, sobering and profoundly disturbing.
38	In four out of the five categories set forth, Iraq has failed to cooperate.
39	Indeed, it actually has placed new restrictions on the inspectors.
40	Here are some of the particulars.
41	Iraq repeatedly blocked UNSCOM from inspecting suspect sites.
42	For example, it shut off access to the headquarters of its ruling party
43	and said it will deny access to the party's other offices, even though UN resolutions make no exception for them and UNSCOM has inspected them in the past.
44	Iraq repeatedly restricted UNSCOM's ability to obtain necessary evidence.
45	For example, Iraq obstructed UNSCOM's effort to photograph bombs related to its chemical weapons program.
46	It tried to stop an UNSCOM biological weapons team from videotaping a site and photocopying documents and prevented Iraqi personnel from answering UNSCOM's questions.
47	Prior to the inspection of another site, Iraq actually emptied out the building, removing not just documents but even the furniture and the equipment.
48	Iraq has failed to turn over virtually all the documents requested by the inspectors.
49	Indeed, we know that Iraq ordered the destruction of weapons-related documents in anticipation of an UNSCOM inspection.
50	So Iraq has abused its final chance.
51	As the UNSCOM reports concludes, and again I quote, "Iraq's conduct ensured that no progress was able to be made in the fields of disarmament. "In light of this experience, and in the absence of full cooperation by Iraq, it must regrettably be recorded again that the commission is not able to conduct the work mandated to it by the Security Council with respect to Iraq's prohibited weapons program."
52	In short, the inspectors are saying that even if they could stay in Iraq, their work would be a sham.
53	Saddam's deception has defeated their effectiveness. Instead of the inspectors disarming Saddam, Saddam has disarmed the inspectors.
54	This situation presents a clear and present danger to the stability of the Persian Gulf and the safety of people everywhere.
55	The international community gave Saddam one last chance to resume cooperation with the weapons inspectors.
56	Saddam has failed to seize the chance.
57	And so we had to act and act now.
58	Let me explain why.
59	First, without a strong inspection system, Iraq would be free to retain and begin to rebuild its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programs in months, not years.
60	Second, if Saddam can crippled the weapons inspection system and get away with it, he would conclude that the international community -- led by the United States -- has simply lost its will.
61	He will surmise that he has free rein to rebuild his arsenal of destruction,
62	and someday -- make no mistake -- he will use it again as he has in the past.
63	Third, in halting our air strikes in November, I gave Saddam a chance, not a license.
64	If we turn our backs on his defiance, the credibility of U.S. power as a check against Saddam will be destroyed.
65	We will not only have allowed Saddam to shatter the inspection system that controls his weapons of mass destruction program;
66	we also will have fatally undercut the fear of force that stops Saddam from acting to gain domination in the region.

67	That is why, on the unanimous recommendation of my national security team -- including the vice president, the secretary of defense, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, the secretary of state and the national security adviser -- I have ordered a strong, sustained series of air strikes against Iraq.
68	They are designed to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors.
69	At the same time, we are delivering a powerful message to Saddam.
70	If you act recklessly, you will pay a heavy price.
71	We acted today.
72	because, in the judgment of my military advisers, a swift response would provide the most surprise and the least opportunity for Saddam to prepare.
73	If we had delayed for even a matter of days from Chairman Butler's report,
74	we would have given Saddam more time to disperse his forces and protect his weapons.
75	Also, the Muslim holy month of Ramadan begins this weekend.
76	For us to initiate military action during Ramadan would be profoundly offensive to the Muslim world and, therefore, would damage our relations with Arab countries and the progress we have made in the Middle East.
77	That is something we wanted very much to avoid without giving Iraq's a month's head start to prepare for potential action against it.
78	Finally, our allies, including Prime Minister Tony Blair of Great Britain, concurred that now is the time to strike.
79	I hope Saddam will come into cooperation with the inspection system now and comply with the relevant UN Security Council resolutions.
80	But we have to be prepared that he will not,
81	and we must deal with the very real danger he poses.
82	So we will pursue a long-term strategy to contain Iraq and its weapons of mass destruction and work toward the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people.
83	First, we must be prepared to use force again if Saddam takes threatening actions, such as trying to reconstitute his weapons of mass destruction or their delivery systems, threatening his neighbors, challenging allied aircraft over Iraq or moving against his own Kurdish citizens.
84	The credible threat to use force, and when necessary, the actual use of force, is the surest way to contain Saddam's weapons of mass destruction program, curtail his aggression and prevent another Gulf War.
85	Second, so long as Iraq remains out of compliance, we will work with the international community to maintain and enforce economic sanctions.
86	Sanctions have cost Saddam more than \$120 billion -- resources that would have been used to rebuild his military.
87	The sanctions system allows Iraq to sell oil for food, for medicine, for other humanitarian supplies for the Iraqi people.
88	We have no quarrel with them.
89	But without the sanctions, we would see the oil-for-food program become oil-for-tanks, resulting in a greater threat to Iraq's neighbors and less food for its people.
90	The hard fact is that so long as Saddam remains in power, he threatens the well-being of his people, the peace of his region, the security of the world.
91	The best way to end that threat once and for all is with a new Iraqi government -- a government ready to live in peace with its neighbors, a government that respects the rights of its people.
92	Bringing change in Baghdad will take time and effort.
93	We will strengthen our engagement with the full range of Iraqi opposition forces and work with them effectively and prudently.
94	The decision to use force is never cost-free.
95	Whenever American forces are placed in harm's way, we risk the loss of life.
96	And while our strikes are focused on Iraq's military capabilities, there will be unintended Iraqi casualties.
97	Indeed, in the past, Saddam has intentionally placed Iraqi civilians in harm's way in a cynical bid to sway international opinion.

98	We must be prepared for these realities.
99	At the same time, Saddam should have absolutely no doubt if he lashes out at his neighbors, we will respond forcefully.
100	Heavy as they are, the costs of action must be weighed against the price of inaction.
101	If Saddam defies the world and we fail to respond,
102	we will face a far greater threat in the future.
103	Saddam will strike again at his neighbors.
104	He will make war on his own people.
105	And mark my words, he will develop weapons of mass destruction.
106	He will deploy them (Predictive),
107	and he will use them (Predictive).
108	Because we're acting today,
109	it is less likely that we will face these dangers in the future.
110	Let me close by addressing one other issue.
111	Saddam Hussein and the other enemies of peace may have thought that the serious debate currently before the House of Representatives would distract Americans or weaken our resolve to face him down.
112	But once more, the United States has proven that although we are never eager to use force,
113	when we must act in America's vital interests, we will do so.
114	In the century we're leaving, America has often made the difference between chaos and community, fear and hope.
115	Now, in the new century, we'll have a remarkable opportunity to shape a future more peaceful than the past, but only if we stand strong against the enemies of peace.
116	Tonight, the United States is doing just that.
117	May God bless and protect the brave men and women who are carrying out this vital mission and their families.
118	And may God bless America.

Appendix L Presidential War Address - George H. W. Bush, January 16, 1991

No. of S.	Sentence
1	Just 2 hours ago, allied air forces began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait.
2	These attacks continue as I speak.
3	Ground forces are not engaged.
4	This conflict started August 2d when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbour.
5	Kuwait—a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations—was crushed;
6	its people, brutalized.
7	Five months ago, Saddam Hussein started this cruel war against Kuwait.
8	Tonight, the battle has been joined.
9	This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions and with the consent of the United States Congress,
10	[This military action] follows months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States, and many, many other countries,
11	Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution, only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait,
12	Others traveled to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice,
13	Our Secretary of State, James Baker, held an historic meeting in Geneva, only to be totally rebuffed,
14	This past weekend, in a last-ditch effort, the Secretary-General of the United Nations went to the Middle East with peace in his heart—his second such mission.
15	And he came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.
16	Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution—have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force.
17	We will not fail
18	As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq.
19	We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential
20	We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities.
21	Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed.
22	Our operations are designed to best protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal
23	Initial reports from General Schwarzkopf are that our operations are proceeding according to plan.
24	Our objectives are clear:
25	Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait.
26	The legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place,
27	and Kuwait will once again be free.
28	Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions,
29	and then, when peace is restored, it is our hope that Iraq will live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.
30	Some may ask: Why act now? Why not wait?
31	The answer is clear:
32	The world could wait no longer.
33	Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective.
34	Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months,
35	and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait.
36	While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own.
37	He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities—and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children.
38	While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses, an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction—a nuclear weapon.

39	And while the world waited, while the world talked peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein dug in and moved massive forces into Kuwait.
40	While the world waited, while Saddam stalled,
41	more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the Third World, emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, to the entire world, including to our own economy.
42	The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end.
43	However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations, he could weaken the forces arrayed against him.
44	While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace with open contempt.
45	While the world prayed for peace, Saddam prepared for war.
46	I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took its resolute action, Saddam would realise he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation resolutions.
47	He did not do that.
48	Instead, he remained intransigent, certain that time was on his side.
49	Saddam was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations: Leave Kuwait, or be driven out.
50	Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings.
51	Instead, he tried to make this a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.
52	Well, he failed.
53	Tonight, 28 nations—countries from 5 continents, Europe and Asia, Africa, and the Arab League—have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein.
54	These countries had hoped the use of force could be avoided.
55	Regrettably, we now believe that only force will make him leave.
56	Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed our military commanders to take every necessary step to prevail as quickly as possible, and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and allied service men and women.
57	I've told the American people before that this will not be another Vietnam,
58	and I repeat this here tonight.
59	Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back.
60	I'm hopeful that this fighting will not go on for long and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum.
61	This is an historic moment.
62	We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war.
63	We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order—a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.
64	When we are successful—and we will be—
65	we have a real chance at this new world order,
66	an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.
67	We have no argument with the people of Iraq.
68	Indeed, for the innocents caught in this conflict,
69	I pray for their safety.
70	Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq.
71	It is the liberation of Kuwait.
72	It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.
73	Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls."
74	Those well-known words are so very true today.
75	But even as planes of the multinational forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war.
76	I am convinced not only that we will prevail.
77	but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united,

78	no nation will be permitted to brutally assault its neighbour.
79	No President can easily commit our sons and daughters to war.
80	They are the Nation's finest.
81	Ours is an all-volunteer force, magnificently trained, highly motivated.
82	The troops know why they're there.
83	And listen to what they say, for they've said it better than any President or Prime Minister ever could.
84	Listen to Hollywood Huddleston, Marine lance corporal.
85	He says, "Let's free these people, so we can go home and be free again.".
86	And he's right.
87	The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.
88	Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer.
89	He said: "There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in.".
90	Listen to Master Sergeant J.P. Kendall of the 82d Airborne: "We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next 100 years. It's better to deal with this guy now than 5 years from now.".
91	And finally, we should all sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an Army lieutenant,
92	when she says, "If we let him get away with this, who knows what's going to be next?".
93	I have called upon Hollywood and Walter and J.P. and Jackie and all their courageous comrades-in-arms to do what must be done.
94	Tonight, as our forces fight, they and their families are in our prayers.
95	May God bless each and every one of them, and the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf,
96	and may He continue to bless our nation, the United States of America.

Appendix M Presidential War Address - George H. W. Bush, August 8, 1990

No. of S.	Sentence
1	In the life of a nation, we're called upon to define who we are and what we believe.
2	Sometimes these choices are not easy.
3	But today as President, I ask for your support in a decision I've made to stand up for what's right and condemn what's wrong, all in the cause of peace.
4	At my direction, elements of the 82d Airborne Division as well as key units of the United States Air Force are arriving today to take up defensive positions in Saudi Arabia.
5	I took this action to assist the Saudi Arabian Government in the defense of its homeland.
6	No one commits America's Armed Forces to a dangerous mission lightly,
7	but after perhaps unparalleled international consultation and exhausting every alternative, it became necessary to take this action.
8	Let me tell you why.
9	Less than a week ago, in the early morning hours of August 2d, Iraqi Armed Forces, without provocation or warning, invaded a peaceful Kuwait.
10	Facing negligible resistance from its much smaller neighbor, Iraq's tanks stormed in blitzkrieg fashion through Kuwait in a few short hours.
11	With more than 100,000 troops, along with tanks, artillery, and surface-to-surface missiles, Iraq now occupies Kuwait.
12	This aggression came just hours after Saddam Hussein specifically assured numerous countries in the area that there would be no invasion.
13	There is no justification whatsoever for this outrageous and brutal act of aggression.
14	A puppet regime imposed from the outside is unacceptable. The acquisition of territory by force is unacceptable. No one, friend or foe, should doubt our desire for peace; and no one should underestimate our determination to confront aggression.
15	Four simple principles guide our policy.
16	First, we seek the immediate, unconditional, and complete withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait
17	Second, Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored to replace the puppet regime.
18	And third, my administration, as has been the case with every President from President Roosevelt to President Reagan, is committed to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf.
19	And fourth, I am determined to protect the lives of American citizens abroad
20	Immediately after the Iraqi invasion, I ordered an embargo of all trade with Iraq and, together with many other nations, announced sanctions that both freeze all Iraqi assets in this country and protected Kuwait's assets.
21	The stakes are high.
22	Iraq is already a rich and powerful country that possesses the world's second largest reserves of oil and over a million men under arms.
23	It's the fourth largest military in the world.
24	Our country now imports nearly half the oil it consumes and could face a major threat to its economic independence.
25	Much of the world is even more dependent upon imported oil and is even more vulnerable to Iraqi threats.
26	We succeeded in the struggle for freedom in Europe because we and our allies remain stalwart.
27	Keeping the peace in the Middle East will require no less.
28	We're beginning a new era.
29	This new era can be full of promise, an age of freedom, a time of peace for all peoples
30	But if history teaches us anything,
31	it is that we must resist aggression
32	or it will destroy our freedoms.
33	Appeasement does not work.
34	As was the case in the 1930's,
35	we see in Saddam Hussein an aggressive dictator threatening his neighbors.
36	Only 14 days ago, Saddam Hussein promised his friends he would not invade Kuwait.

37	And 4 days ago, he promised the world he would withdraw. And twice we have seen what his promises mean: His promises mean nothing.
38	In the last few days, I've spoken with political leaders from the Middle East, Europe, Asia, and the Americas;
39	and I've met with Prime Minister Thatcher, Prime Minister Mulroney, and NATO Secretary General Woerner.
40	And all agree that Iraq cannot be allowed to benefit from its invasion of Kuwait.
41	We agree that this is not an American problem or a European problem or a Middle East problem:
42	It is the world's problem.
43	And that's why, soon after the Iraqi invasion, the United Nations Security Council, without dissent, condemned Iraq, calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its troops from Kuwait.
44	The Arab world, through both the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council, courageously announced its opposition to Iraqi aggression.
45	Japan, the United Kingdom, and France, and other governments around the world have imposed severe sanctions.
46	The Soviet Union and China ended all arms sales to Iraq.
47	And this past Monday, the United Nations Security Council approved for the first time in 23 years mandatory sanctions under chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.
48	These sanctions, now enshrined in international law, have the potential to deny Iraq the fruits of aggression while sharply limiting its ability to either import or export anything of value, especially oil.
49	I pledge here today that the United States will do its part to see that these sanctions are effective and to induce Iraq to withdraw without delay from Kuwait.
50	But we must recognise that Iraq may not stop using force to advance its ambitions.
51	Iraq has massed an enormous war machine on the Saudi border capable of initiating hostilities with little or no additional preparation.
52	Given the Iraqi government's history of aggression against its own citizens as well as its neighbors, to assume Iraq will not attack again would be unwise and unrealistic.
53	And therefore, after consulting with King Fahd, I sent Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney to discuss cooperative measures we could take.
54	Following those meetings, the Saudi Government requested our help, and I responded to that request by ordering U.S. air and ground forces to deploy to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
55	Let me be clear:
56	The sovereign independence of Saudi Arabia is of vital interest to the United States.
57	This decision, which I shared with the congressional leadership, grows out of the longstanding friendship and security relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia.
58	U.S. forces will work together with those of Saudi Arabia and other nations to preserve the integrity of Saudi Arabia and to deter further Iraqi aggression.
59	Through their presence, as well as through training and exercises, these multinational forces will enhance the overall capability of Saudi Armed Forces to defend the Kingdom.
60	I want to be clear about what we are doing and why.
61	America does not seek conflict, nor do we seek to chart the destiny of other nations.
62	But America will stand by her friends.
63	The mission of our troops is wholly defensive.
64	Hopefully, they will not be needed long.
65	They will not initiate hostilities,
66	but they will defend themselves, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and other friends in the Persian Gulf.
67	We are working around the clock to deter Iraqi aggression and to enforce U.N. sanctions.
68	I'm continuing my conversations with world leaders.
69	Secretary of Defense Cheney has just returned from valuable consultations with President Mubarak of Egypt and King Hassan of Morocco.
70	Secretary of State Baker has consulted with his counterparts in many nations, including the Soviet Union,
71	and today he heads for Europe to consult with President Ozal of Turkey, a staunch friend of the United States. And he'll then consult with the NATO Foreign Ministers.

72	I will ask oil-producing nations to do what they can to increase production in order to minimize any impact that oil flow reductions will have on the world economy.
73	And I will explore whether we and our allies should draw down our strategic petroleum reserves.
74	Conservation measures can also help;
75	Americans everywhere must do their part.
76	And one more thing: I'm asking the oil companies to do their fair share.
77	They should show restraint and not abuse today's uncertainties to raise prices.
78	Standing up for our principles will not come easy.
79	It may take time and possibly cost a great deal.
80	But we are asking no more of anyone than of the brave young men and women of our Armed Forces and their families.
81	And I ask that in the churches around the country prayers be said for those who are committed to protect and defend America's interests.
82	Standing up for our principle is an American tradition.
83	As it has so many times before,
84	it may take time and tremendous effort,
85	but most of all, it will take unity of purpose.
86	As I've witnessed throughout my life in both war and peace,
87	America has never wavered when her purpose is driven by principle.
88	And in this August day, at home and abroad, I know she will do no less.
	Thank you, and God bless the United States of America.

Appendix N Presidential War Address - Ronald Reagan, April 15, 1986

No. of S.	Sentence
1	My fellow Americans, at 7 o'clock this evening Eastern time, air and naval forces of the United States launched a series of strikes against the headquarters, terrorist facilities and military assets that support Muammar Qaddafi's subversive activities.
2	The attacks were concentrated and carefully targeted to minimize casualties among the Libyan people,
3	with whom we have no quarrel.
4	From initial reports, our forces have succeeded in their mission.
5	Several weeks ago, in New Orleans, I warned Colonel Qaddafi we would hold his regime accountable for any new terrorist attacks launched against American citizens.
6	More recently, I made it clear we would respond as soon as we determined conclusively who was responsible for such attacks.
7	On April 5 in West Berlin a terrorist bomb exploded in a nightclub frequented by American servicemen.
8	Sgt. Kenneth Ford and a young Turkish woman were killed and 230 others were wounded, among them some 50 American military personnel.
9	Evidence Is Now Conclusive.
10	This monstrous brutality is but the latest act in Colonel Qaddafi's reign of terror.
11	The evidence is now conclusive that the terrorist bombing of La Belle discotheque was planned and executed under the direct orders of the Libyan regime.
12	On March 25, more than a week before the attack, orders were sent from Tripoli to the Libyan People's Bureau in East Berlin to conduct a terrorist attack against Americans, to cause maximum and indiscriminate casualties.
13	Libya's agents then planted the bomb.
14	On April 4, the People's Bureau alerted Tripoli that the attack would be carried out the following morning.
15	The next day they reported back to Tripoli on the great success of their mission.
16	Our evidence is direct,
17	it is precise,
18	it is irrefutable.
19	We have solid evidence about other attacks Qaddafi has planned against the United States' installations and diplomats and even American tourists.
20	Other Attacks Prevented.
21	Thanks to close cooperation with our friends,
22	some of these have been prevented.
23	With the help of French authorities, we recently aborted one such attack: a planned massacre using grenades and small arms of civilians waiting in lines for visas at an American Embassy.
24	Colonel Qaddafi is not only an enemy of the United States.
25	His record of subversion and aggression against the neighboring states in Africa is well documented and well known.
26	He has ordered the murder of fellow Libyans in countless countries.
27	He has sanctioned acts of terror in Africa, Europe and the Middle East, as well as the Western Hemisphere.
28	Today we have done what we had to do.
29	If necessary, we shall do it again.
30	It gives me no pleasure to say that,
31	and I wish it were otherwise.
32	Before Qaddafi seized power in 1969, the people of Libya had been friends of the United States,
33	and I'm sure that today most Libyans are ashamed and disgusted that this man has made their country a synonym for barbarism around the world.
34	The Libyan people are a decent people caught in the grip of a tyrant.
35	Actions Can't Be Ignored.

36	To our friends and allies in Europe who cooperated in today's mission, I would only say you have the primary gratitude of the American people.
37	Europeans who remember history understand better than most that there is no security, no safety, in the appeasement of evil.
38	It must be the core of Western policy that there be no sanctuary for terror, and to sustain such a policy,
39	free men and free nations must unite and work together.
40	Sometimes it is said that by imposing sanctions against Colonel Qaddafi or by striking at his terrorist installations, we only magnify the man's importance - that the proper way to deal with him is to ignore him. I do not agree. Long before I came into this office, Colonel Qaddafi had engaged in acts of international terror - acts that put him outside the company of civilized men. For years, however, he suffered no economic, or political or military sanction, and the atrocities mounted in number, as did the innocent dead and wounded.
41	And for us to ignore, by inaction, the slaughter of American civilians and American soldiers, whether in nightclubs or airline terminals, is simply not in the American tradition.
42	When our citizens are abused or attacked anywhere in the world, on the direct orders of a hostile regime, we will respond, so long as I'm in this Oval Office.
43	Self-defence is not only our right,
44	it is our duty.
45	It is the purpose behind the mission undertaken tonight - a mission fully consistent with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.
46	Secure World Is Nearer.
47	We believe that this pre-emptive action against his terrorist installations will not only diminish Colonel Qaddafi's capacity to export terror-
48	-it will provide him with incentives and reasons to alter his criminal behaviour.
49	I have no illusion that tonight's action will bring down the curtain on Qaddafi's reign of terror,
50	but this mission, violent though it was, can bring closer a safer and more secure world for decent men and women.
51	We will persevere.
52	This afternoon we consulted with the leaders of Congress regarding what we were about to do and why.
53	Tonight, I salute the skill and professionalism of the men and women of our armed forces who carried out this mission.
54	It's an honor to be your Commander in Chief.
55	We Americans are slow to anger.
56	We always seek peaceful avenues before resorting to the use of force,
57	and we did.
58	We tried quiet diplomacy, public condemnation, economic sanctions and demonstrations of military force.
59	- none succeeded.
60	Despite our repeated warnings
61	Qaddafi continued his reckless policy of intimidation, his relentless pursuit of terror.
62	He counted on America to be passive. He counted wrong. I warned that there should be no place on earth where terrorists can rest and train and practice their deadly skills.
63	I meant it.
64	I said that we would act with others if possible and alone if necessary to insure that terrorists have no sanctuary anywhere.
65	Tonight we have. Thank you, and God bless you.