

Charles University in Prague

Faculty of Education

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Diploma Thesis

**Some Features of Persuasive Language in Selected
Presidential Campaign Speeches of Two Candidates**

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Study programme: Secondary School Teacher Education

Branch of study: N AJ-ZSV

2015

I hereby declare that I worked on this diploma thesis independently and that the information I used has been fully acknowledged in the text and included in the reference list. I agree that the diploma thesis will be stored in the library of the Faculty of Education at Charles University and used for other academic purposes.

Prague 17th July 2015

Pavína Šlesingrová

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Doc. PhDr. Renata Pípalová, CSc. for her valuable advice, immense patience and substantial help and support. My thanks also go to my family for supporting me spiritually throughout writing this thesis and my life in general.

Abstract

The diploma thesis “Some Features of Persuasive Language in Selected Presidential Campaign Speeches of Two Candidates” aims to investigate how the rhetorical device of conceptual metaphor is employed in the election campaign speeches of Barack Obama and Mitt Romney addressed mainly to the Hispanic voters to develop the myth of the American Dream. The political speeches were analyzed under the theoretical framework of the critical metaphor analysis and critical discourse analysis. Besides the analysis of the metaphorical concepts that support the myth creation, other rhetorical devices were examined in the selected corpus of the both speeches for their persuasive function.

Key words: political discourse analysis, metaphor, Mitt Romney, Barack Obama, political speeches, persuasion, rhetoric, presidential election campaign

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce “Některé prvky přesvědčivého jazyka ve vybraných projevech volební kampaně u dvou prezidentských kandidátů” se snaží zkoumat, jak je řečnická figura konceptuální metafory uplatňována ve volebních projevech Baracka Obamy a Mitta Romneyho, které byly adresovány především hispánským voličům za účelem vytvoření narativu mýtu Amerického snu. Tyto volební projevy byly analyzovány s využitím teoretického rámce kritické analýzy metafor a kritické analýzy diskurzu. Kromě analýzy konceptuálních metafor, které hrají důležitou roli v interpretaci tohoto mýtu, i další řečnické figury byly podrobeny analýze z důvodu jejich přesvědčivosti.

Klíčová slova: analýza politického diskurzu, metafora, Mitt Romney, Barack Obama, politické projevy, přesvědčivost, rétorika, prezidentská volební kampaň

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Introduction

The myth of the American Dream is one of the well-known narratives that has been commonly used in the American politics for the purpose of persuasion. What is behind the popularity of the myth among American political actors is the flexibility of the narrative's interpretation. Since the story of the American Dream lacks a clear-cut definition, listeners are able to bring their own meaning to a text (Black 38). Hence, the objective of this thesis is to conduct an analysis of the political discourse and discern how the myth of the American Dream is developed in the general election campaign speeches of the two presidential candidates, Barack Obama and Mitt Romney. We assume that the interpretations of the American Dream myth differ in the speeches of each candidate due to their different political views based on the ideological background of each candidate.

The political discourse is going to be analyzed in the context of the 2012 presidential election campaign in the United States of America. According to the election poll results, Barack Obama won his second presidential term thanks to the immense support of the Hispanic voters in the battleground states. Thus, the corpus which is going to be analysed consists of two campaign speeches addressed to the Hispanic audience. The speeches were delivered during the NALEO conference where both politicians had an opportunity to present their policies dealing with the immigration issues and appeal to the Hispanic voters.

How the both politicians refer to the story of the American Dream is going to be investigated under the theoretical underpinnings of the critical metaphor analysis and critical discourse analysis. The analysis of metaphors presents the principal part of the analysis since they function as the main contributors to the development of the political myth and carries the main persuasive development of arguments. The critical insight into the metaphors is accompanied by an identification and further quantitative analysis of other rhetorical devices as the interaction between metaphors and other figures significantly contributes to the persuasive force of the speeches and enhances the overall rhetoric of the presidential candidates.

1 Theoretical Part

1.1 Language and Politics

In this chapter on Language and Politics, we consider how important role language plays in the political interaction. Since the primary objective of this thesis is to investigate political speeches, we shall focus on the role of spoken language in the political discourse.

We assume that the language, whether it is spoken or written, is a system of signs without which communication would be almost impossible. Hence, the language is crucial to any human interaction, including politics. The spoken language has played a particularly great role in politics and leadership. Black affirms that “within all types of political system leaders have relied on the spoken word to contrast the benefits that arise from their leadership with the dangers that will arise from that of their opponents” (1). Hence, the spoken language is seen here as a tool that a politician needs to reflect and compare his own political opinions with the opinions of their political competitors. However, it is not only the politicians that deem the spoken language beneficial for their public action. Even the governed have preferred to be “ruled by the spoken word than by the whip, the chain or the gun” (Black 1). As a result of that, Black in his preface of *Politicians and Rhetoric* suggests that we should be pleased with the fact that power is based – to a certain degree – upon language as we are free to decide whether we will accept or reject our leaders’ argument when they are striving to persuade us (xiv).

Consequently, if a politician wants to be a good leader, it is necessary that he speak well in public since “making speeches is a vital part of the politician’s role in announcing policy and persuading people to agree with it” (Beard 35). So, when delivering a speech to an audience, the aim of the politician is to employ language that effectively conveys their ideas in the most effortless and persuasive way possible.

1.1.1 Persuasion vs. Rhetoric

Having discussed the importance of the spoken language and its persuasive force in the political discourse, it is vital to shed more light on what persuasive language is. The concept of “persuasion” has been widely studied by a range of theoreticians and, according to one of them, the linguist Black, “persuasion” could be described as a use of language by one party that encourages another to accept a certain point of view (13). The linguist also adds that “persuasion refers to the intention, act and effect of changing an audience’s thinking. So persuasion should be considered a *speech act*; this means that it is a type of language that *changes* cognition, rather than simply describes it” (Black 13). If we consider the author’s perspective on the concept, the speaker intends to persuade in order to alter the listener’s view. Hence, “persuasion” heavily depends on the context of the communicative situation as the speaker needs to consider why s/he intends to persuade, how s/he intends to persuade and how s/he expects the audience to respond.

At this point, it is important to distinguish between “persuasion” and “rhetoric”. Even though these two concepts might seem the same, they are not interchangeable. As discussed in the previous paragraph, “persuasion” is the type of language through which the speaker *changes* the audience’s opinion while the term “rhetoric” explains how persuasion is accomplished (Black 13). In other words, “rhetoric refers specifically to the *methods* that the speaker uses to persuade, rather than to the whole gestalt of intention, action and effect” (Black 13). So, what we infer from Black’s definition is that rhetoric does not refer to the persuasive purpose of language, but to the means that make language persuasive.

Considering other perspectives on rhetoric, the authors Cockcroft and Cockcroft following Aristotle observe it as “the art of persuasive discourse” where the word discourse marks both spoken and written communication (qtd. in Beard 35). The authors Partington and Taylor further expand on this observation of rhetoric as they note “the art of persuasive discourse is the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or induce actions in other human agents” (13). Based on this, rhetoric could be also described as the manner we use language in our daily interaction with other people (Partington and Taylor 13). Therefore, this picture of rhetoric does

not confine it only to the political discourse. On the contrary, it presents rhetoric as language used in all kinds of human communication.

The view that the art of rhetoric has power to lead listeners to change their attitudes or perform certain actions is supported by the following citation by Cook: “rhetoric implies the activation of the *directive* function of language that seeks to affect the behaviour of the addressee” (qtd. in Partington and Taylor 13). Therefore, in the political interaction, persuasion would not be possible without this *directive* function of language. Then it is necessary for the politician to employ rhetorical skills so that s/he could influence the audience’s thinking and behaviour respectively.

What Cook theorizes as the *directive* function of language, another approach to language study, i.e. speech act theory¹, understands as the “*perlocutionary* force of utterance” (Partington and Taylor 13). In compliance with the speech act theory, understanding rhetoric means “studying the *perlocutionary* force of utterances, i.e. the effect the speaker intends to have on their audience” (Partington and Taylor 13). In other words, to study the speaker’s rhetoric means to study what is behind their intention to influence the attitude of their listeners.

However, if the speaker intends to influence the audience’s behaviour through rhetoric, there is always a risk that the speaker might not express sincere and honest views. For example, Longman dictionary defines *rhetoric* as “language that is used to persuade or influence people, especially language that sounds impressive but is not actually sincere or useful” (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*). This definition implies a rather negative association with rhetoric and informs that rhetorical skills are used mainly for the purpose of manipulation. If we took this definition for granted, it would mean every speaker who intends to draw the audience’s attention is a manipulator. Nevertheless, it is necessary to think critically and consider that rhetorical skills need to be employed even in speeches where sincere and honest intentions are communicated (Beard 36).

¹ A theoretical concept in pragmatics dealing with the manners how language can be used to perform an action. The theory was first presented by philosopher J. L. Austin and further developed by J. R. Searle (Nordquist).

1.1.2 Ethical Dilemma of Rhetoric

As mentioned above, the means of persuasive language are used by the speaker however honest or corrupt their intentions are. In this chapter, we are going to further discuss other perspectives on rhetoric. According to the classical Greek philosopher Plato, there are some cases where “the skills of rhetoric are placed above the value of honesty” (qtd. in Beard 36). Plato expressed his negative view of rhetoric as he considered the rhetorician a “speech-rigger” and rhetoric as “manipulative”. He also claimed that “there is a deficit between complex-sounding rhetorician’s argument and the truth” (qtd. in Partington and Taylor 13). In other words, for Plato rhetorical skills cannot be used as an effective means to express a true and honest point since the nature of rhetoric itself does not simply allow it. So, every attempt to communicate the truth is a failure in advance because the complicated structure of argument prevents the information from sounding true and honest. Whereas Plato advocated there are cases where the use of rhetoric is immoral and deceitful, Aristotle claimed that in other cases “the skills of rhetoric reinforce our good intentions” (qtd. in Partington and Taylor 13). To contrast the views of these ancient philosophers, Beard states that, as far as politics is concerned, the audience can never be confident about the true intentions of the speaker:

“No doubt the politicians themselves would argue that they wish to put forward policies that they genuinely believe in. More cynical listeners, though, might argue that the real purpose, at least for those politicians whom they see as untrustworthy, is to manipulate the audience into agreeing with the policies which actually serve only the desire of the politician to gain or keep power”(Beard 36).

Surely, there are some politicians who are good and trustworthy rhetoricians. Yet, there are also politicians who are good rhetoricians, but use rhetoric for the purpose of manipulation and a personal gain. Hence, this remains an issue of rhetoric as the members of the audience can never clearly discern who is a trustworthy speaker and who is not. As Beard affirms, there is really not a simple answer to this dilemma since concepts like honesty and sincerity cannot be measured against any absolute standard” (36).

1.2 The Art of Speechmaking

Having discussed the ethical issue of rhetoric, we are going to comment on the history of speechmaking and look into what it means to be a good rhetorician. Concerning the historical traits of rhetoric, the origins of public speechmaking as an art are closely related to the origins of democracy. Nash states, the first mentions of rhetoric date back to Ancient Greece, where “the definition of rhetoric was *ars bene dicendi*, i.e. the art of speaking well in public (qtd. in Black 7). Drawing on Nash, to be a rhetorician means to be a good public speaker. However, how do we recognize a speaker is better than another? Sauer offers an explanation as he claims that “this requires a *comparative* judgement” (qtd. in Black 7). In other words, “the most rhetorically successful speech performance is the most persuasive one as measured by audience responses” (qtd. in Black 7). That is, the more positive responses of the audience, the more successful the speaker is. So, if the responses of the audience communicate disagreement, it is a sign that the speaker’s rhetorical skills have completely failed (qtd. in Black 7).

1.2.1 The Three Means of Persuasion

Regarding the subject of persuasion, many theoreticians still refer to Aristotle and his book *The Rhetoric*. Some authors even claim that *The Rhetoric* is “the most important single work on persuasion ever written” (Golden et al. 67). The reason why this book is considered so significant in the matter of persuasive language is going to be discussed below.

The Rhetoric presents Aristotle’s perspective on rhetoric which was “based on the three artistic proofs of *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*” (qtd. in Black 7). These three means of persuasion define the essential elements a rhetorician needs to consider if s/he intends to persuade the audience effectively. First, *ethos*, also described by Cockcroft and Cockcroft as “persuasion through personality and stance” (qtd. in Beard 37) refers to the orator’s “moral credibility” (Black 7). That is, the orator’s persuasion depends on their ethics and socially acceptable stance. There are three conditions that need to be met for the speaker to appear a trustworthy person to the audience. The speaker seems credible only if “he displays in his language (a) practical intelligence, (b) a virtuous character, and (c) goodwill” (Rapp 5a). Aristotle stresses that the

orator achieves to appear credible by what s/he says, not by who s/he really is. So whether s/he is also “virtuous” in their real life is not significant for the concept of persuasion (Rapp 5a).

Second, *pathos* is marked as “persuasion through the arousal of emotions” (Beard 37). This second means of persuasion refers to the orator’s appeal to the audience’s emotions since “emotions have the power to modify our judgments (Rapp 5b). This is, we judge according to how we feel. As a result of that, when we celebrate and mourn we do not make the same decisions (Rapp 5b). So, besides appearing as a virtuous person, it is important for the speaker to engage such language which has an emotional effect on the listeners.

Finally, *logos* is the third means of persuasion. It stands for “persuasion through reasoning” (Beard 37). It is generally assumed that if the speaker intends to persuade, the argumentation is necessary. The argument is a powerful tool and due to its logical structure, “the speaker should be able to persuade by the argument itself” (Rapp 5c). Aristotle exemplifies two types of arguments: inductions and deductions. Induction is characterized as “the proceeding from particulars up to a universal” (Rapp 5c), while a deduction is “the process of using the knowledge or information one has in order to understand something or form an opinion, or the opinion that you form” (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*).

Consequently, if a speaker wants to persuade, first, “he needs to gain trust by establishing his ethical integrity” (Black 14). As Black notes, the speaker can accomplish this by showing s/he has the audience’s interests “at heart” (Black 15). Next, the speaker should “sound right”, that is, s/he should appeal to the audience’s emotions through “empathy, humour or the arousal of feelings” (Black 15). And finally, the speaker needs to “think right” (Black 14). That is, s/he has to be able to formulate logical arguments. So, the balanced use of *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* is necessary for the delivery of a persuasive speech.

Having discussed the three means of persuasion and their significance for the concept of persuasion, we are going to examine the following quotation where Aristotle illustrates the image of the rhetorician:

“Aristotle defines the rhetorician as someone who is always able to see what is persuasive. Correspondingly, rhetoric is defined as the ability to see what is possibly persuasive in every given case. This is not to say that the rhetorician will be able to

convince under all circumstances. Rather he is in a situation similar to that of the physician: the latter has a complete grasp of his art only if he neglects nothing that might heal his patient, though he is not able to heal every patient. Similarly, the rhetorician has a complete grasp of his method, if he discovers the available means of persuasion, though he is not able to convince everybody” (Rapp 4.1).

In the quotation above, Aristotle states that a good rhetorician is not the one who is able to persuade everyone, but the rhetorical skills of the rhetorician lie in their ability to find possible means of persuasion for any audience in any speech situation. Therefore, the means of persuasion the rhetorician employs to persuade the audience change in every speech, they are never the same. Each audience have different needs and expectations about reality so the speaker needs to consider the stance of the audience in order to persuade them. The analogy of the rhetorician with the physician illustrates the similarity between these two professions. For the physician it is important to be perceptive towards their patient in order to cure the patient’s illness. Like for the rhetorician, it is important to be perceptive towards their audience in order to convince them.

Nevertheless, it is significant to say that the ability to persuade the audience does not only depend on the speaker’s rhetorical skills, but also on “non-verbal aspects of persuasion, such as eye-contact, body language, gestures, mimics or stance” (Assmundson 8). However, since this thesis focuses on the analysis of selected features of persuasive language, the non-linguistic aspects of persuasion are not going to be scrutinized.

1.3 Features of Political Speech

Since persuasive language is going to be scrutinized in political speeches, it is vital to discuss some characteristics of a political speech. Political speeches could be described as “prepared monologic discourse delivered orally by a politician in front of an audience, the purpose of which is persuasion, rather than information or entertainment” (Dontcheva-Navratilova 136). Similarly, Black defines a political speech as “a coherent stream of spoken language that is usually prepared for delivery by a speaker to an audience for a purpose on a political occasion” (*Analyzing Political Speeches* xiii). As we can notice, both definitions inform

us that the political speech is not spontaneous, but always prepared in advance. Hence, the politician always knows to whom and on which occasion the speech will be delivered. Dontcheva-Navratilova adds even though all political speeches differ in their topic, they all share the same communicative function: “to persuade the audience to accept the speaker’s understanding of reality and to support his/her ideologically biased views and policy” (136).

Concerning the issue of authorship, political speeches are rarely prepared by the politician him/herself. They are usually written for the speakers by the team of speech writers whose role is to “utilize a full range of rhetorical resources to contribute to the politician’s image” (Black 6). In other words, “modern political speeches are regarded as multi-authored texts” that aim to shed positive light on the speaker (Black 6). The issue of multiple authorship also concerns the issue of responsibility for what is said during the speech. Black comments on this matter as he asserts that despite the fact the speech is created by multiple authors, the politician who delivers it is fully “accountable” for it (6).

Finally, as was mentioned above, most speeches are carefully prepared. Therefore, the political speech is usually a well-structured text with “a sequence of moves which are associated with different persuasion strategies” (Dontcheva-Navratilova 136). The goal of these persuasion strategies is to persuade the audience to take action or discourage them from doing so (Dontcheva-Navratilova 136).

1.3.1 The Rhetorical Structure of Political Speeches

Drawing on Dontcheva-Navratilova and her perspective on political speeches, a political speech usually contains a structure of several stages that can significantly contribute to the persuasiveness of the speech. That is, it helps the politician “to build a coherent discourse” and “present himself as a reliable and credible political actor” who speaks in such a manner that is able to support their view and create a positive relationship with the audience (138). As for the structure itself, the stages are following: (1) an introduction or “opening”, (2) “the body”, and (3) “the ending”, which is usually termed “closure” (Dontcheva-Navratilova 137). The individual stages and their functions are going to be discussed below.

As for the introduction, it is the speech part where the orator intends to “establish contact with the listeners by addressing them directly and by asserting his/her personal involvement with the audience, the occasion and the issue at hand” (Dontcheva-Navratilova 137). That is, the speaker attempts to appeal to the listeners and create a relationship with them. In this speech part, the politician usually employs a range of persuasion strategies. Some of them, such as “flattery and appeal to goodwill”, are targeted at the audience; others, such as “confession or inadequacy”, are rather orientated towards the speaker (Black 8). Also, the use of first person plural pronoun “we” is common in this part of speech as it appeals to the sharing of interests between the speaker and the audience” (Black 8). Other persuasion strategies are commonly used, e.g. “direct appeal, self-disclosure, joke, or narrative of belonging and establishing common ground” (Dontcheva-Navratilova 137).

The introduction is followed by the body which consists of moves that build the argumentative part of the speech. Dontcheva-Navratilova notes that the sequence of these moves may vary “according to the type of rhetoric, occasion and intended audience” (137). To identify the type of rhetoric, the author relies on the Aristotelian mapping which classifies rhetoric into *deliberative* or to *epideictic*, depending on whether the speaker’s aim is to encourage the audience “to undertake or restrain from undertaking a certain future action, or to praise or to criticize people, acts and events occurring in the present or in the past” (Dontcheva-Navratilova 137).

Since this paper analyses election speeches which fall under the deliberative rhetoric as they strive to convince the audience to vote for the presidential candidates, the focus will be only on the body structure of the deliberative speech. The sequence of moves in the body of the deliberative speech contains seven basic moves: “asserting the centrality of the issue, introducing the situation, evaluating the situation, describing prospects and indicating problems, suggesting solutions to problems, outlining a course of action, evaluation of expected outcomes” (Dontcheva-Navratilova 137).

In the body of the speech, a politician employs various persuasion strategies, e.g. “a narrative of achievement, casting the present as a natural extension of the past, unification of in-group as opposed to out-group perceived as victim or threat/enemy, appeal to authority, appeal

to logic, reference to statistics, appeal to emotions and humour” (Dontcheva-Navratilova 137). These persuasion strategies support the argumentation by creating a logical discourse that all participants of the speech situation can share. In addition, the strategies help the speaker react on positive or negative feedback of the audience (Dontcheva-Navratilova 136-137).

Lastly, the closure marks the end of the speech. The persuasion strategies that can be found in this final section are, e.g. thanking the audience for their attention and expressing wishes for the well-being of the audience who share the same ideological point of view with the politician. It is also a common practice to use routine phrases in this part of the speech (Dontcheva-Navratilova 138).

As we can understand from the discussion of the rhetorical structure of political speeches above, the persuasiveness of rhetoric can be significantly enhanced by the individual moves (Dontcheva-Navratilova 138). While the opening part of the speech aims to persuade the audience they can trust the speaker, the following moves of the body evaluate the context of situation and encourage the audience to perform an action which is in accordance with the political views and ideology of the speaker. Finally, in the closure, the speaker presents the relation s/he established with the audience and informs about the action s/he suggests that the audience take in the future (Dontcheva-Navratilova 138).

1.4 Discourse

Prior to conducting the analysis of the discourse of political speeches, it is essential to clarify what discourse actually is and how it is understood within this thesis. Discourse is a broad term with many different definitions integrating various meanings “ranging from linguistics, through sociology, philosophy to other disciplines” (Horvath 1). However, from the linguistic perspective on discourse, it has been characterized “as anything beyond the sentence” (Schiffrin 1). Brown and Yule offer another definition as they state that discourse is considered as “a complex of linguistic forms larger than the single sentence (a ‘text’) or as language-in-use” (qtd. in Blommaert 2). In other words, discourse is language which is real and actually used by people. Consequently, this understanding of discourse later led to “the development of

linguistic pragmatics”² (Blommaert 2). This development, therefore, had a significant influence on the approach to discourse and many theories seek “more dynamic, flexible and activity-centered” concepts and viewpoints (Blommaert 2). For example, Brown and Yule argue that the study of discourse should not be confined to the analysis of linguistic forms regardless of “the purpose or functions which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs” (1). Therefore, these authors refused to study the discourse without considering its real objective in communication. In support of the pragmatic approach to discourse, Blommaert advocates that if discourse is language-in-action, the analysis of discourse needs “attention to both language and action” (2).

In this thesis, we are going to follow this pragmatic view on discourse and look closely into its social nature. That is, it changes the human activities into “socially and culturally meaningful ones” (Blommaert 4). However, it is important to stress that the meanings are not constructed in isolation, but “under rather strict conditions that are both linguistic and sociocultural” (Blommaert 4). Hence it is necessary to look at discourse as “complex signs of contextualised activities rather than as objects” (Blommaert 3). So, when analyzing discourse, we should consider not only the factors that are linguistic in their nature, but also those that could be fully non-linguistic.

1.4.1 Political Discourse Analysis

After a general discussion on discourse and its socially based analysis, we are going to narrow down the subject matter and focus on the underpinnings of political discourse analysis. Like other fields of discourse analysis, the study of political discourse includes a broad range of subject matter types and applies a wide range of analytical methods (*The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* 398). However, for the purpose of this thesis, it is sufficient to delimit the subject matter of political discourse as encompassing “all types of verbal interaction concerned with political

² Pragmatics studies the use of language in social context and how people create and understand meaning through language (Nordquist).

contexts” (Dontcheva-Navratilova 129) and “political actors, such as politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments to achieve political goals” (*The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* 398). Therefore, one of the basic aims of political discourse analysis is to seek what role language plays when a political message is constructed and conveyed (*The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* 411). In other words, it is the investigation of the language used for the political purposes. This perspective on the analysis, therefore, implies that the interpretation of political discourse is heavily dependent on various contextual aspects (Dontcheva-Navratilova 130).

According to Bakhtin, the analysis of the political discourse does not focus only, despite their importance, on the “linguistic options” that represent the reality, but also on “the issues of action and textual production” (qtd. in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* 404). Hence, it is necessary to consider both the text and under what circumstances the text has been communicated. In this sense, it is important to note that “utterances within the context of political output are rarely isolated grammatical cases; they operate within historical frameworks and are frequently associated with other related utterances or texts” (Bakhtin in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* 404). With respect to this, the resulting interpretations of the political discourse might differ due to the broad contextual factors that “establish complex intertextual, interdiscursive, social and (inter-) cultural connections” (Dontcheva-Navratilova 130).

There is no doubt that analyzing political discourse is a demanding task for a researcher as the scrutiny should analyze “not only the linguistic but also the socio-cultural, psychological and ideological factors” that influence how political actors communicate “social meaning and make rhetorical and linguistic choices” to convince the audience to accept their ideological views (Dontcheva- Navratilova 130). Consequently, the researcher should consider both text and context of the political output analyzed as only an approach based on critical evaluation can assure meaningful and objective results.

1.4.2 Role of Ideology and Myth in the Political Discourse

As has been mentioned above, when analyzing language of the political discourse and its effect on the audience, it is necessary to consider not only its linguistic choices, but also the ideological aspects since they affect the way the political actors express their political views. Therefore, in this chapter, we are going to discuss how ideology and myth are exploited in the political discourse for the purpose of persuasion.

In the political discourse, when a politician presents their political views, these views are usually based on the ideas and beliefs that s/he considers to be generally accepted because they are shared by a group of people. These shared beliefs fall under the term 'ideology'. Ideology is described as “a coherent set of ideas and beliefs adhered to by a group of people that provides an organised and systematic representation of the world about which they can agree” (Black 22). In other words, ideology is a socially accepted picture of reality. In addition, it is “a social phenomenon” and refers rather to ideas than to those who believe the ideas (Black 22).

As for the role of ideology in the political discourse, communication of ideology in politics is significant since it is a “set of ideas by which men posit, explain and justify ends and means of organized social action, and specifically political action” (Seliger qtd. in Black 22). That is, when a politician strives to persuade the audience to perform an action in the future, s/he heavily relies on the established ideas of reality as s/he knows that these ideas assure the legitimacy of such action (Black 22). Furthermore, ideology is exploited in the political context because the ideas are supposed to have right intentions for the society. So, in the political discourse, there is also a need for a politician to communicate the “right intentions” of the suggested action through an explanation – “the right story” – that is based on collectively accepted ideological beliefs (Black 22). The common way of expressing the right story in the political discourse is the use of myth.

Myth, likewise ideology, is used in the political discourse due to its persuasive purpose. However, it functions on different basis than ideology since its origins are not in language but in emotions (Black 22). Myth is described as a “type of story that provides an explanation of all the things for which explanations are felt to be necessary” (22). This gives the concept of myth its mysterious aspect as it is used to provide an explanation for issues such as the “origins of the

universe or the causes of good and evil” (Black 22). However, what distinguishes myth from ideology is the possibility of its transformation into language. Unlike ideology, myth is hardly “text-bound”, that is, it does not originate in language but in emotions (Black 23). Therefore, it is more difficult to translate this emotional aspect of myth into language.

In politics, we can encounter myths that are “ideologically marked” and offer an explanation for a “set of past, present, or predicted political events and which are accepted as valid in their essentials by a social group” (Flood qtd. in Black 24). Hence, it is a socially accepted story that deals with political issues. It is also important to mention that even though the story of a political myth is not usually provable, it has its persuasive effect due to its popularity among members of the public. (Black 24). Nevertheless, myths are also popular among politicians for their rhetoric purposes since they can effectively “articulate ideology and relate abstract notions” to what we really experience (Black 23). Therefore, myth communicates these abstract ideas in a simplified way, which makes them more accessible and easily comprehensible by the audience.

To conclude, ideology and myth contribute to “social cognition”, that is “the system of mental representations and processes of group members” (van Dijk qtd. in Black 24). In other words, ideology and myth help the politician to present the picture of reality shared by group members, which supports the persuasive effect of the politician’s speech.

1.4.3 Metaphor in the Political Discourse

As mentioned above, since myth does not usually originate in text, it is more difficult to translate it into language. In this chapter, we are going to discuss how metaphors are used in the political discourse to convey the emotional association that contributes to the creation of myth (Black 23).

Prior to the discussion on how a metaphor is used in the political discourse for its rhetorical purposes, we will first clarify what it is. Metaphor is a figure of speech that is generally defined as “a way of describing something by referring to it as something different and suggesting that it has similar qualities to that thing” (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary*

English). In other words, a word referring to something or someone is used to describe something else in order to communicate the similarity between the two objects. The etymology of the word comes from “the Greek word *metapherein*, which means ‘to transfer’. So, “the central notion of metaphor is one in which meanings are transferred” (Black 31).

When analyzing a metaphor, we assume that a word has its “literal meaning”, also marked as the “source domain” (Black 31). The literal meaning of a word is the meaning that is commonly assigned to this word. Usually, this common meaning is the one that is found in a dictionary (Black 31). On the contrary, the metaphorical meaning, also known as the “target domain” of a word, is the new meaning assigned to the word. That is, this metaphorical meaning “undergoes a certain change of use from a common sense to another sense that is contrary to the common use” (Black 31). It is vital to add that the use of metaphors depends on one’s experience of language, therefore, every individual can have different opinion of the common meanings of words since everyone experiences language in a unique way. So, what one recognizes as a common meaning of word, another might consider as metaphorical (Black 31–32).

In the political discourse, metaphors are employed for their persuasive purpose. Since metaphors communicate ideology, they influence the way we understand political issues. This is realized by the power of metaphor to create “scenarios to frame arguments in a way that is favourable to the case being proposed by the speaker” (Black 36). So, metaphor can enhance the speaker’s right intentions and increase their credibility (*ethos*). In addition to its power to construct the positive representation of the speaker, metaphor is used to create a negative image of the speaker’s opponents and thus delegitimize them and their political activities. Metaphor creates “positive or negative representations” of political affairs and political actors who exploit them to praise themselves (or their supporters) or to delegitimize their opponents (Black 33).

To illustrate this, in the following case Margaret Thatcher uses metaphor to praise the in-group members (supporters) and delegitimize the out-groups (opponents). Thatcher employs metaphors from the source domain of ‘war’ as she uses words such as ‘battle’ and ‘fight’ to evoke “emotions that are associated with physical combat such as pride, anger and resentment” (Black 23). Therefore, Thatcher employs the ‘war’ metaphor to arouse feelings of loyalty and affection towards a ‘hero’ figure they identify with and feeling of hostility towards an “implied

or named” ‘enemy’ (Black 21). Metaphor helps Thatcher develop an argument and create a favourable image of those who identify with Thatcher’s policy. Those who do not identify with the same values Thatcher condemns as she creates their negative representation.

The ‘war’ metaphor supports Thatcher’s persuasiveness as it enables her to effectively communicate her political views based on “a certain mental representation that reflects a shared system of belief as to what the world is and culture-specific beliefs about mankind’s place in it” (Black 44). In such manner, the politician is able both to tell the right story and offer a new way of looking at the political issues (Black 44).

Thatcher’s use of metaphoric expressions shows how powerful associations metaphor can evoke. Black states that due to “metaphor’s culturally rooted role, it is important in influencing emotional responses” (44). That is, the metaphorical meaning of words provokes associations that can be either positive or negative. Whether the associations that metaphor provokes are based on positive or negative experiences depends on the value system that is culturally conditioned (Black 44). So, a metaphor producing positive associations in one culture, might be understood negatively in another.

This unconscious associative process that metaphor triggers is, hence, abundantly exploited in the political discourse since it enhances the persuasive force of a politician’s speech. Black notes that due to this “inherently persuasive power of metaphor, it is necessary to consider how far metaphors conceal a speaker’s intentions” (44). In other words, to prevent possible manipulation from the speaker’s side, the implications of metaphors should be clearly recognizable and “comply with a politician’s best interests” (Black 44). Hence, when analyzing metaphors, the critical aspect of the analysis should not be underestimated.

1.4.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

The method of the critical metaphor analysis applied in the thesis is combined with the method of the critical discourse analysis. The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) does not follow any “unitary theoretical framework nor is it a specific direction of research” (*Handbook of Discourse Analysis* 352). On the contrary, there exist various perspectives on how the CDA

can be applied to different fields of research. To illustrate, it has been of a great help in multiple areas of study, such as discourse of economics, ideology, advertisements and promotional culture, media language, gender, racism, education, and, most significantly for this paper, political discourse (*Handbook of Discourse Analysis* 352).

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is described as “the type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (*Handbook of Discourse Analysis*: 352). Drawing on this definition of CDA, it is assumed that discourse is “an instrument of power” which produces social dominance and abuse of certain social groups in the society. (Wodak in Blommaert 25). Due to the specific political and social context of the speeches’ delivery, we apply the method of the CDA in the analysis to investigate how the two politicians use the language of metaphors to reproduce relationships of social inequality. Hence, combining the CDA with the findings of the critical metaphor analysis will provide even a deeper insight into how “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control are manifested in the language” of the presidential election campaign speeches targeted at the U.S. Latino community (Wodak in Blommaert 24–25).

1.5 Presidential Election in the U.S.

The history of the first presidential election dates back to 1789. The election process was based on the British monarchical tradition and established by the Founding Fathers, the statesmen responsible for the foundations of the United States of America (Presidential Elections). This privilege anchored in the Declaration of Independence gave the American citizens full responsibility to choose their president. However, since the first presidential election, the right of suffrage has undergone certain adjustments. While in 1789 only white man with property had the right to vote, today every American citizen over 18 is entitled to elect in the general election (Presidential Elections).

There is no doubt that the election process of the American president has remained a great political event with many “fiercely fought, and sometimes controversial contests” between the presidential candidates (Presidential Elections). Whereas some of the contests end in

“landslide victories, others are decided by the narrowest of margins” (Presidential Elections). Therefore, taking place every four years, the election campaigns and the general election process itself gain a nation-wide media attention.

1.5.1 The General Election Campaign

The general election campaign follows the first stage of the presidential election process called the primary season in which candidates from the two major political parties – the Democrats and Republicans “compete against members from their own party for the party’s nomination” (General Election Campaign). Once both the parties have chosen their nominees, the general election campaign begins and the two candidates address the voters. This campaign period during which the candidates travel across the United States and deliver their speeches “lasts from the end of the primary season in June until the general vote in November” when the president gets elected (General Election Campaign).

The general election campaign gains wide popularity among the members of the public as the political debates increase and many “citizens get involved in the election advertising and mobilization” (Polsby et al. 147). Concerning the voters, since most of the American citizens are already convinced about whom they will vote far ahead the election day, the candidates address mainly the voters who are not part of the base³, that is, those who are affiliated with no major party. Such voters are called “swing voters”⁴ and their votes are especially valuable as they can determine the outcome of the general election (Polsby et al. 149).

As for the strategy of the campaigns, it is always dependent on the political context (Polsby et al. 147). Due to the complexity of the political and social reality, “the candidates must simplify their pictures of the political world” (Polsby et al. 147) and employ an effective strategy that helps them convince as many voters as they can. There are several strategic questions the candidates and their teams need to answer before the campaign itself. These questions deal with

³ Voters who are faithful to their political party and always vote for the candidate of their party.

the issues such as the campaign organization, campaign location, targeted groups of voters, opposition and their delegitimizing or specificity of the proposed policy (Polsby et al. 148). To answer these questions is not always easy as the organization of the campaign depends on many contextual factors: “candidate’s party affiliation, their personal attributes, whether they are in or out of office”, and finally, on the political and social situation during the campaign itself (Polsby et al. 148).

1.5.2 Battleground States

As has been mentioned above, there is a strategy behind where the candidates direct their campaigns. The candidates realize that while some voters are certain about whom they will elect, others are more hesitant. Hence, there is no motivation for the candidates to campaign in such states where the outcome of the election is assured (Polsby et al. 149). Based on that, the candidates focus their campaigns on the so-called “swing states” or “battleground states” which are the states where both candidates have high chances to win (Polsby et al. 149). Therefore, the battleground states become the major campaign centres as the candidates understand how decisive the votes might be for the overall result.

2 Analytical Part

2.1 Background of the 2012 Presidential Election

The 2012 United States presidential election took place on 6th November 2012 and was the 57th presidential election in the U.S. history. The presidential candidates who entered the election race included the Democratic nominee, incumbent President Barack Obama, and the

Republican nominee Mitt Romney. By winning more than 270 votes⁵ in the electoral college, Obama defeated the Republican nominee Mitt Romney and secured himself another term as president of the United States of America. Despite the hard-fought challenge by Romney, Obama once again managed to gain wide political support across the U.S. and convince the American citizens to make him their state leader.

2.1.1 The Election Campaign of Barack Obama

The President of the United States, Barack Obama, formally announced his re-election campaign for 2012 on 4th April 2011. Traditionally, American presidents announce their decision to run for re-election from the White House; however, things are different in the digital age, and Obama launched his re-election campaign online. The campaign carried the slogan *Forward*. Obama's campaign released a promotional video⁶ which outlines the challenges⁷ America had to deal with when President Obama took office. In the video Obama mentions the progress that has been made reclaiming the security of the middle class and building a sustainable economy. Among the major issues Obama's general election campaign deals with are comprehensive immigration reform, economic opportunity, climate change, expanding equality, gun violence prevention, health care and economic security for women (Issues).

As for the ideological basis of the candidate, Obama, as a Democrat, strives to promote the middle-class interests (Fahrenthold) and policies that would assure the social and economic equality. The Democratic candidates are considerably popular among the specific social groups such as "wage earners, union members, Catholics, African Americans and Latinos" (Polsby et

⁵ Each state of America is allocated "a number of electoral votes in rough proportion to its population. The candidate who wins 270 electoral votes - by prevailing in the mostly winner-takes-all state contests - becomes president" (Mardellnorth).

⁶ Video available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1WbQe-wVK9E#t=330>.

⁷ At the start of 2008 the American economy saw the biggest drop since the Great Depression in 1929. Consequently, millions of people lost their jobs. However, Obama's reforms managed to save these jobs (mainly in the construction and car industry) and even build millions of new ones (Forward).

al. 11). Based on that, we assume that the policies proposed in Barack Obama's general election campaign also focus on the interest promotion of the social groups mentioned.

2.1.2 The Election Campaign of Mitt Romney

Mitt Romney, the former Governor of Massachusetts, announced his candidacy for the president of the United States on 2nd June 2011 and his official campaign's slogan read *Believe in America*. In the campaign video⁸ which was published on Romney's YouTube account, he pinpoints the issues that Romney would be ready to deal with if he was elected the president. Since Romney was a Republican candidate, his presidential campaign mirrors the party's platform which orientates, among other things, on promoting free market economy and opposing regulation and labour unions (Jacobson 254). Hence, in the video he focuses mainly on the economic issues and stresses the high percentage of unemployment in the U.S., for which he blames directly President Obama's policies that "have failed as well as the people around him" (Mitt Romney: "Believe in America"). Romney also tries to build his campaign around his business experience in private sector and aims, as he says, to "put America back on a course of greatness, with a growing economy, good jobs and fiscal discipline in Washington" (Mitt Romney: "Believe in America").

As for the voters, Republicans have traditionally been supported by people who are "more prosperous and occupy managerial or professional positions or run small businesses" (Polsby et al. 11). Therefore, Romney's campaign can be considered to be targeted rather at voters who are socio-politically more successful than Democratic supporters.

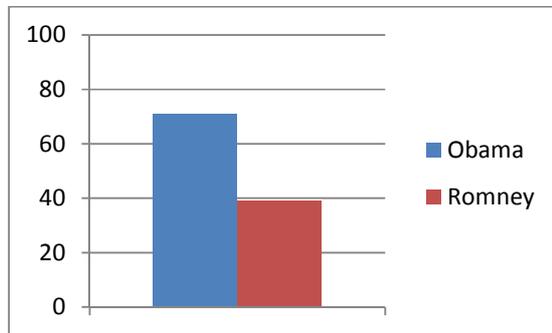
⁸ Video available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tAcxwfkAdDY>

2.1.3 Battleground States and the Latino Vote

Considering the election results, it can be inferred that what is actually behind Obama's victory in the presidential re-election is the huge support from the Latino voters in the key battleground states. As we have mentioned above, the battleground states, or also called swing states, are "states where no candidate has the assured support of the majority, and where opinion swings from one side to the other" (Portrait of a Swing state). Therefore, in these states it is, until the last moment, never certain which candidate will win the majority of the votes.

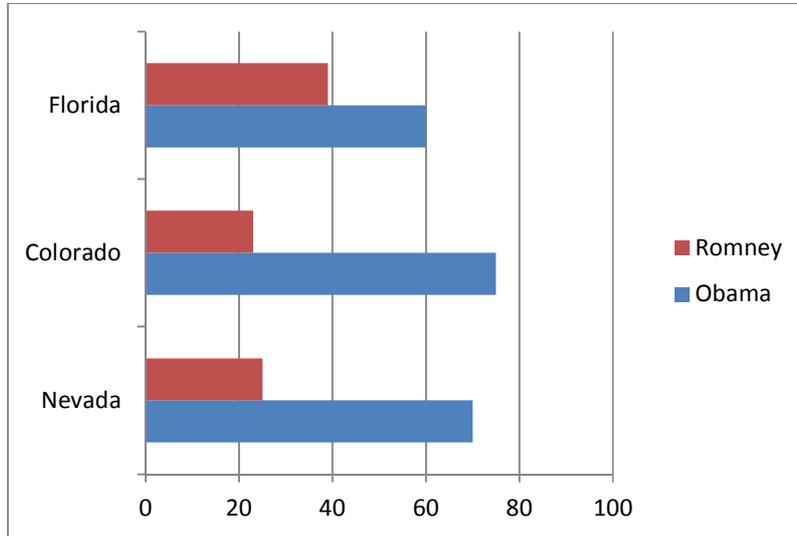
During the 2012 presidential election, the key battleground states with the biggest share of Hispanic voters were Florida, Nevada and Colorado. According to an analysis of exit polls by the Pew Hispanic Center, a Project of the Pew Research Center, the Latino electorate in these battleground states proved to be decisive as President Barack Obama gained support from 71% of Latino voters while Republican Mitt Romney received only 27% of the Hispanic vote (see in fig. 1).

Figure 1: National Hispanic Vote



According to the Pew statistics, in the state of Florida, Obama carried the Latino vote by a wide margin – 60% to 39%. In Colorado, Obama won the Hispanic vote 75% to 23%. Finally, in Nevada, 70% of the Hispanic voters supported Obama while only 25% of them voted for Romney (see in fig. 2).

Figure 2: Percentage of Hispanic Vote by Battleground State, 2012



Source: Lopez, Mark H., and Paul Taylor. "Latino Voters in the 2012 Election." *Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends Project RSS*. Pew Research Center, 7 Nov. 2012. Web. 9 July 2015.

Based on these election poll results, the Hispanic vote in the 2012 general election turned out to be pivotal for Obama's victory. Therefore, in the analytical part, we are going to scrutinize the two speeches of the presidential candidates the delivery of which might have contributed to the election results as they were targeted primarily at the members of the Latino community in the United States.

2.2 Corpus under Investigation

Remarks by the Presidential Candidates to the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO)

The two speeches to be analyzed were delivered by the presidential candidates at the 29th annual conference of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) which took place in the city of Orlando in Florida between 20th and 23rd June 2012. NALEO is a non-profit organization that helps members of Latinos community participate in the American political process and integrate them fully into the American political society. The organization established in 1981 also “provides professional development opportunities and technical assistance to its 6,000 Latino elected and appointed officials” (About NALEO), and supports the discussion of issues vital for the Latino community and their political participation.

The annual NALEO conference presents an opportunity for Latino policymakers to meet with their colleagues to discuss the challenges and opportunities facing the Latino communities and the American nation (About NALEO). Nevertheless, the conference was also a major opportunity for the president Barack Obama and presidential candidate Mitt Romney to address the nation’s Latino leadership. The Latino electorate became one of the central issues of the 2012 presidential campaign debate due to the fact that the Latino vote had been increasingly more decisive in the presidential elections in the previous years (Wolgin). Hence, the event was a unique occasion on which both candidates had a chance to present their views on the Hispanic community’s future prospects and concerns in such a persuasive manner so that the speeches would increase the candidates’ popularity and positively influence not only the minds of the Latino appointed officials present at the event, but mainly the minds of millions of the Latino community members in the battleground states and the rest of the United States.

2.3 Barack Obama's Campaign Speech to the Latino Community

“Remarks by the President at the Annual Conference of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) in Orlando, Florida”, 22nd June, 2012

The President Barack Obama delivered his speech at the NALEO conference just one day after Mitt Romney had appeared there and addressed the same audience. For Barack Obama this fact was an advantage as he could have adjusted his speech accordingly to exploit Romney's words and accommodate them into his own speech for his positive self-representation and the negative representation of Mitt Romney. However, even though Obama surely had a chance to make more straightforward delegitimizing personal references to his opponent, he rather focused on the different policies the Democrats and Republicans had advocated towards the Hispanic community. These policies concerned education, tax reduction, health insurance, job creation and a long-term immigration solution in form of a comprehensive immigration reform.

Barack Obama's speeches typically imply a strong sense of community and identification with his listeners. The same applies to the NALEO speech addressed to the Latino audience. In his speech Obama shows his deep concern with the life of Latino immigrants in the United States and sounds to be determined to fight for an improvement of their living conditions in America. He stresses the main achievements, but also the future goals he is ready to promote if re-elected.

As for education, he highlights the investments he made by giving scholarships to 150,000 Latino children so that they would have a chance to go to college. In addition, he calls for the reduction of university tuition to make education more affordable for young people. What also Obama claims to make more affordable for the Latinos is health care and health insurance as the Latino community displays to have the highest number of the uninsured of all the communities in the U.S. The job creation is another Obama's concern that he is ready to tackle if re-elected. He stresses that only new investments into innovation and restructuring of infrastructure can bring new construction jobs and thus lower the high rate of unemployment among the Hispanic community members. The reason why these policies could not have been

realized is, as Obama states, the conflict between the Republicans running Congress and him, the Democratic President.

Moreover, the comprehensive immigration reform, which, among others, would provide illegal immigrants with a chance to get citizenship, presents another issue President Obama tackled in the second half of his speech at the NALEO conference. Censuring the anti-immigration views of the Republican Party, Obama communicates the need for America to pass the reform and offer the illegal Latino immigrants a chance to become fully-fledged American citizens. The evidence of his determination to fight for the Latino community is supported by the passing of the DREAM Act during Obama's second-term of presidency that stopped the deportation of young people who were brought to America as children. Obama stresses that the reform should have been passed a long time ago, however, the opposite views of the Republicans on this issue didn't allow it. Nevertheless, he does not stop appealing to the Congress and their need to find a long-term immigration solution.

2.3.1 Rhetorical Strategies in Barack Obama's Speech

Obama portrays himself as someone who shares common interests with the Latino community and identifies himself with their immigration fate in America. In the introductory part of the speech, when establishing the contact with the audience, he uses different persuasive strategies to appeal to the emotions of the audience. To illustrate, he expresses his closeness towards the Hispanic community by speaking in Spanish while greeting them: "*Qué placer estar aquí con tantos amigos.*"⁹ Obama's appeal to the audience is also enhanced by his praising and thanking the NALEO officials for their dedication to support and help the members of the Latino community. In addition, he employs humour at the beginning of his speech when joking of his two daughters: "*It is nice to be at Disney World. This is now the second time I've come to Disney World without my daughters. They are not happy with me.*" Humour appeals to the audience's emotions in the prologue of the speech. He also creates a positive image by sounding

⁹ It is a pleasure to be here with so many friends

right as he does not take the help of his campaign team for granted and expresses personal acknowledgement to his supporters praising them and thanking them for their good job and commitment: *“I want to thank Secretary Solis for the introduction and for her hard work....I want to thank Sylvia and Arturo for their outstanding leadership.”*

The body of Obama’s speech consists of a range of strategies enhancing its coherence and persuasiveness. One such strategy is the narrative of the American Dream myth. The myth of the American Dream is pervasive in Obama’s speech. Also the appeal to logic, justice and authority is widely employed. Towards the end of the speech Obama strengthens the idea of the unity with his followers by referring to the opposition as a threat to the Latino community.

Obama uses the closure for even stronger appeal to the well-being of the in-group as implying he has their interests at heart. The closure of the speech consists of sections where Obama stresses the natural bond between America and the community of immigrants and again employs the features of the American Dream myth narrative. He also warns the Latinos that the ideal state of affairs is not going to be easily achieved due to the views of opposition. However, he subsequently assures them that as long as he is the President, he will always be on their side.

2.3.2 The American Dream in Obama’s Speech

After conducting a brief scrutiny of the topics and persuasive strategies included in the Obama’s NALEO speech, we need to narrow our point of interest in analyzing the speech. Even though it would be interesting to look at Obama’s wide palette of rhetoric features, it is necessary to delimit our analysis to such speech content in which Obama expresses his views on the immigration issues in order to appeal to the Hispanic community.

As mentioned in the theoretical part of the thesis, political myths are commonly employed in the political speeches for their persuasive effect. Obama in his speech pervasively employs the myth of the American Dream in order to tell the audience the “right story” and thus enhance the persuasive force of his message. The American Dream myth, which has a high cultural and social importance in the USA, has appealed to generations of immigrants escaping to America due to “intolerance, religious, political and economic persecution” they had to face

in their country (Black 281). It represents an idea that life can be better than it was before and that any ambitious and motivated individual can reach any social position regardless of their personal, ethnic or social background (Black 281).

Latinos present the community of immigrants that left Latin America with a vision of better future in the United States and their immigration past helps them identify with the narrative of the American Dream. Obama expands on the myth of the American Dream in his speech extensively as he realizes the myth's relevance for the historical, political and social context of the campaign speech delivery. However, the narrative of the American Dream is not the only feature that adds to Obama's rhetoric. It is also the effective integration of a range of tropes and schemes from classical rhetoric that enhance the persuasiveness of the politician's speech.

In the following part, we are going to look into how metaphor is employed for the creation of the American Dream myth in the speech targeted at the members of the U.S. Hispanic community. The conceptual metaphors are going to be identified, explained and then interpreted under the method of critical metaphor analysis and critical discourse analysis. In addition, the analysis of metaphors is followed by the analysis of selected rhetorical devices which accompany the metaphors and efficiently enhance the persuasive effect of Obama's speech.

2.3.3 Analysis of Metaphors and other Rhetorical Devices in Barack Obama's Speech

For the first time in the NALEO speech Obama draws on the myth (bold) of the American Dream in the speech opening as he explains the nature of the forthcoming presidential election:

[1] Yesterday, your featured speaker [Romney] came here and said that the election in November isn't about two people. *It's not about being a Republican or a Democrat or an independent. It is about (1) **the future of America**.* And while we've got a lot of differences, he and I, on this point I could not agree more. This is about **America's future**. The defining issue of our time is whether we **carry forward the promise that has drawn generations of immigrants to our shores, from every corner of the globe, sometimes at great risk** – men and women **drawn by the promise that no matter who you are, no matter what you look like, no matter where you come from, no matter what your last name, this is a place where you can make it if you try. This is a place where you can make it if you try (2).**

Obama's concept of the myth of the American Dream can be defined as an idea of a successful and prosperous future life in America for those who are motivated, ambitious and resilient enough, regardless of their ethnicity, faith, and cultural or social background. So, the conceptual metaphor AMERICAN DREAM IS A VISION can thus be identified. The 'vision' metaphor contributes to the myth image of something transcendental, holy or sacred which is actually unattainable. Obama refers to this vision as he stresses the importance of the election for America's future. The American future is understood here as fully dependent on the 'promise'. The word 'promise' refers to hope or desire to preserve ('carry forward') the American Dream myth alive by passing it on as a legacy to the future generations. The value of the American Dream is also stressed as Obama identifies it as the reason why many immigrants from all around the world gave up their original home and chose to live in America even though they were sometimes risking their lives: "*The defining issue of our time is whether we can carry forward the promise that has drawn generations of immigrants to our shores, from every corner of the globe, sometimes at great risk [...]*". Therefore, it creates a metaphoric concept the

AMERICAN DREAM IS STRUGGLE as the life in America is perceived as something which demands efforts to be made by the one who wishes to experience it.

Obama employs a range of rhetoric schemes that add to his appeal of sounding right. He uses antithesis (in italics)¹⁰ that is realized through parallel structures¹¹ (underlined and numbered) in order to emphasize contradiction: “*It’s not about being a Republican or a Democrat or an independent. It is about the future of America.*” Romney and Obama are political rivals and represent different political views and ideologies. However, despite their political differences, Obama focuses on what candidates have in common, which is the agreement on what the election is really about. Even though Obama expands on the American Dream later on, this antithesis prepares the ground for Obama’s myth narrative as he stresses that whatever their political affiliation, they both care about the well-being of America and its people. Obama raises his ethics as he prefers agreeing with his opponent to contradicting him. The persuasive effect in this excerpt is also achieved by a range of rhetorical schemes such as anaphora¹² (underlined) “*...no matter..., no matter, no matter., no matter...*” and parallelism “*This is a place where you can make it if you try*”. The parallelism of the structures puts even more emphasis on the story of the American Dream and promotes its memorization. Reiteration also gives the speech a particular rhythm that makes it aesthetically pleasant and increases its emotional appeal.

¹⁰ Rhetorical device that posits two opposite ideas together to create a contrasting effect (Antithesis).

¹¹ Using sentence structures that are grammatically identical or similar in their construction, sound meaning or meter (Parallelism).

¹² Repetition of a word or words at the beginning of two or more successive verses, clauses, or sentences (Anaphora).

Obama continues with the narrative of the American Dream (bold) as he deals with the immigrant background of the United States:

[2] And whether our ancestors arrived on the *Mayflower* or were brought here on *slave ships*, whether they signed in at *Ellis Island* or (1) they crossed the *Rio Grande*, their **diversity has not only enriched this country**, it helped **build the greatest economic engine the world has ever known**.

Hungry people, striving people, dreamers, risk-takers. People don't come here looking for handouts. We are a nation of **strivers** and **climbers and entrepreneurs** – *the hardest-working people* on Earth. And nobody personifies these American values, these American traits (2), more than the Latino community. That's **the essence** of who you are.

In the first paragraph Obama expands on his interpretation of the American Dream myth by incorporating the metaphors IMMIGRANTS ARE POWER and IMMIGRANTS ARE ENRICHMENT. The 'power' metaphor is employed as Obama claims that "[immigrants] helped build the greatest economic engine the world has ever known". The metaphor portrays immigrants as a symbol of the national economic power. The word 'engine' is associated with energy, power and tireless driving force that immigrants personified. The second metaphor represents immigrants as the national 'richness' and 'fortune' since 'diversity' the immigrants personify helped make America what it represents today, the country of great wealth and power. Therefore, immigrants are perceived as people with exceptional skills and abilities. Furthermore, Obama depicts the phenomenon of immigration as a national/social enrichment rather than the enrichment of each individual in America. This attitude, hence, emphasizes the sense of collectiveness in the myth narrative.

In the second paragraph Obama employs metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE HEROES to arouse emotions of the audience. The source domain of this metaphor is 'battle', 'war' or 'fight' and immigrants are referred to as 'hungry people', 'striving people', 'dreamers', 'risk-takers'. These characteristics imply that they are subjects to be admired for their courage and determination to overcome the hard times and struggling they experienced when oppressed before they entered America. In addition, the words 'strivers', 'climbers and entrepreneurs', 'the hardest-working people' depict Americans as the nation of great ambitions and unique working abilities.

The metaphors LATINOS ARE HEROES and the LATINOS AS THE SYMBOL OF THE AMERICAN DREAM have been mutually used in Obama's argument. Obama gives Latinos a special position as they are marked directly as 'personification' and 'essence' of the 'American values and traits'. The American values and traits allude to the national myth. They are displayed as a community of heroes, the people with exceptional ambitions and working abilities, which enhances the emotionality of his delivery and the overall persuasive force of his speech.

Obama also uses a range of other rhetorical devices such as hyperbole¹³ when depicting the nation as '*the hardest-working people on Earth*', thereby emphasizing their unique working abilities and implying that America is an exceptional country. In combination with hyperbole, Obama also employs metonymy¹⁴ *Mayflower*, *Ellis Island*, *slave ships* and *the Rio Grande*. Each metonymy represents a different story of American immigration. *Mayflower* stands for the iconic arrival of the Pilgrims in the 17th century that were fleeing religious persecution in England. *Slave ships* represent the African-American immigration when Africans were transported to America by the European colonists to work as slaves between the 18th and 19th centuries. *Ellis Island* is associated with the busy immigrant period at the end of the 19th century when immigration was institutionally controlled and millions of people were firstly examined before they entered the country. Finally, *the Rio Grande* stands for the Hispanic immigrants crossing the Mexican-United States border that the river forms. Each metonymy carries with itself also different historical traits and cultural values on which each immigration group is based.

Obama also employs parallel structures (underlined and numbered). The reiteration of the conjunction structure "*whether...or...*" stresses the significance of different immigrant histories for the American culture and economy. The rhythmical tendency of the same parallel structures adds to the overall persuasive effect of sounding right (pathos). Finally, parallelism of the phrases in "*And nobody personifies these American values, these American traits, more*

¹³ An instance of intentional exaggeration (Hyperbole).

¹⁴ A figure of speech in which a word or phrase is substituted for another with which it is closely associated (Metonymy).

than the Latino community.” emphasizes the belief that the Hispanic community is a perfect example of the American Dream myth.

In the speech, Obama also expands on the myth of the American Dream (bold) as he argues for the implementation of the immigration reform:

[3] And what’s also needed is immigration reform that finally **lives up to our heritage** as a **nation of laws** and as a **nation of immigrants** (1), and continues the **American story of renewal and energy and dynamism** (4) that’s made us who we are.

I mean, think about it. You and I both know one of America’s greatest strengths has always been our ability to attract talented, hardworking people who believe in this country, who want to help make it stronger (3). That’s what **keeps us young**. That’s what **keeps us dynamic and energized**. That’s what **makes us who we are** (2).

The metaphors AMERICA AS A NATION OF LAWS and AMERICA AS A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS can be identified in the above speech section. The ‘law’ metaphor drawing on the source domain of ‘justice’ accounts for America as a land with the tradition of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. The ‘immigrant’ metaphor conceives of America as a land that is proud of its immigrant history, a land which has been built on immigration.

Obama implies the following two metaphors in order to support his argument in which he urges for passing the new immigration reform. The IMMIGRATION REFORM IS LIFE indicates the new immigrant laws are understood as the essential political measure which can contribute to keep America ‘alive’ through the preservation of its American legacy – the American Dream myth: “*And what’s also needed is **immigration reform** that finally **lives up to our heritage** as a nation of laws and as a nation of immigrants.*” This metaphor increases the importance of the immigration as it is perceived as something indispensable and essential to America.

The American Dream myth is portrayed here as “*the American story of renewal and energy and dynamism*”. The words ‘renewal’, ‘energy’ and ‘dynamism’ create associations with vigour and power. Based on that, the metaphorical concept the AMERICAN DREAM IS POWER is implied. The metaphor portrays the myth as the national idea which is able to control

people and events. Hence, the American Dream myth is represented as a tool of the national political power.

Besides metaphors, the persuasiveness of the message is stressed by the frequent use of parallelism (underlined and numbered). Firstly, the parallel structures “*a nation of laws and as a nation of immigrants*” emphasize the metaphors analyzed above. Secondly, the other parallel structures “*...that’s made us who we are...that’s what makes us who we are.*” give even stronger persuasive force to express the salience of the American Dream myth to the forming of the nation. Thirdly, the parallelism of relative clauses “*...who believe in this country, who want to help make it stronger*” stresses the great abilities and aspiration of people that came to America. For even stronger persuasive effect of the argument and the arousal of emotions, tricolon¹⁵ is included at the end of the paragraph: “*That’s what keep us young. That’s what keeps us dynamic and energized. That’s what makes us who we are.*” The three-part rhetoric figure enhances the Obama’s rhetoric ability which significantly adds to *pathos* of the speech.

In the following paragraph Obama uses metaphor (bold) in order to argue for the benefits of the DREAM Act, the law his administration helped to approve shortly before his NALEO conference speech. The DREAM Act ceased the deportation of undocumented Latino students who grew up in America:

[4] I’ve met these young people all across the country. *They’re studying* in our schools. *They’re playing* (3) with **our children, pledging allegiance to our flag, hoping to serve our country** (4). *They are* Americans **in their hearts, in their mind.** *They are* (1) Americans **through and through** (2) – in every single way but **on paper**. And all they want is to go to college and **give back to the country they love.** So **lifting the shadow of deportation** and **giving them a reason to hope** – that was the right thing to do. It was the right thing to do.

In this paragraph the President creates a positive mental representation of the young immigrants who would have been forced to leave the country if the DREAM Act had not been

¹⁵ A series of three parallel words, phrases, or clauses (Nordquist).

passed. The young immigrants are portrayed as educated, purposeful and loyal people who are determined to sacrifice their lives for the American nation. In the following sentence, Obama intends to communicate that the Latino young immigrants feel and consider themselves American citizens, yet the current immigrant American system does not allow them to get the official American citizenship: “*They are Americans through and through – in every single way but on paper.*”

To legitimize the passing of DREAM Act, Obama implies it was desirable to pass the law as it would remove the risk of deportation of the young immigrants. To emphasize the persuasive force of Obama’s argument, the *light* metaphor is employed (‘lifting the shadow of deportation’). The metaphor DEPORTATION IS SHADOW is associated with the feared action of the unwilling departure of young immigrants from the country and it draws on the association of negativity with *darkness* and positivity with *light*. By eliminating this *shadow* – deportation, the DREAM Act might be understood as *light* that entails the chance of hope for the young immigrants’ future in America. Obama broadens the frame of the American Dream myth as he implies that not only the documented American citizens have the opportunity of living their ‘dream’ but also the illegal Latino immigrants have their right to a prosperous and successful life in America.

To enhance his ability of thinking right – *ethos* and sounding right – *pathos*, besides a metaphor, Obama employs another dense combination of rhetorical devices. The most pervasive ones prove to be a repetition of words and phrases (numbered). The rhetorical scheme anaphora (1) can be identified in four sentences starting “*They’re.../they are...*”. This anaphoric structure stresses the contribution and the process of integration of these young Hispanic immigrants into the American society. The reiteration of the word *through* (2) is also in the sentence “*They are Americans through and through – in every single way but on paper.*” strives to enhance the immigrants’ patriotism. We can also identify a reiteration of several grammatical structures of equal lengths such as “*They’re studying..., They’re playing...*” (3), “*..., pledging allegiance to our flag, hoping to serve our country*” (4); “*... lifting...and giving...*” (5). The last parallel format is also emphasized by another case of parallelism of two successive sentences: “*That was the right thing to do.*”(6) which stresses the rightness of passing the law which presents the deportation of the young immigrants.

In the following speech section, we can see how the myth of the American Dream pervades the part of speech where Obama tackles the business policy:

[5] In this country, prosperity has never come from the **top down** – it comes from a **strong and growing middle class**, and **creating ladders of opportunity** for all those who are **striving to get into the middle class**. It comes from (1) successful, thriving small businesses that over time **grow** into medium-size and then large businesses.

We don't need more **top-down** economics. What we need is a better plan for education and training, and energy independence, and innovation, and infrastructure that can rebuild America. What we need is (2) a tax code that encourages companies to create jobs and manufacturing here in the United States, and, yes, asks the wealthiest Americans to help pay down the deficit. That's what's needed.

In the speech excerpt, Obama intends to persuade the audience that the nation can prosper only when the middle and lower-working classes are given an adequate support from the state. On the contrary, he criticizes the top-down economy which supports subsidizing of big businesses and upper income levels with the objective to improve the economic situation of poorer members of the American society. He urges that the national prosperity can be achieved only if the state focuses more on supporting small businesses than huge national corporations. Obama also emphasizes the importance of state's supporting the job creation through small business as a necessary step on the path towards the national story. From the rhetorical point of view, his argument adds to *ethos* of his speech as he demonstrates solidarity with the financially weaker side of the American population.

Obama strives to delegitimize the Republican business policy of top down economics¹⁶ and for his argument again employs a range of rhetoric figures, one of them is metaphor. The metaphor employed in this part of the speech draws on the primary source domains of moving 'up' and 'down' – ('top down', 'growing', 'middle', 'ladder'). While being *up* is a positive aspect, which is associated with achievement and prosperity, being *down* alludes to failure and poverty. The metaphor GROWING MIDDLE CLASS AS THE PATH TO PROSPERITY OF LOWER CLASS implies that the members of middle classes as those that can help the members

¹⁶ Economic system in which money provided to the rich should benefit the middle classes (Conover).

of lower classes to reach higher social status ('creating ladders of opportunity') in order to have a prosperous and successful life. The middle class is depicted here as an essential part of the society which has the ability to balance the social differences between the rich and the poor.

The metaphor is accompanied with other features of classical rhetoric such as antithesis (in italics) "...*prosperity has never come from the top down – it comes from a strong and growing middle class.*" Antithesis can be also identified in the first two sentences of the latter paragraph: '*We don't need more top-down economics. What we need is a better plan for education...*'. The contrast the antithesis makes effectively enhances Obama's message. In addition, there are also parallel structures that gives the speech a pleasing rhythm: "*it comes from...*" (1) and "*what we need is...*" (2). The persuasive effects of parallelism in the latter structure is even enhanced by the conclusive clause "*That's what's needed.*" at the very end of the paragraph.

Obama's metaphors pervade most of his speech, the epilogue is not an exception. In the following paragraph, Obama expands on the American Dream as he stresses the importance of the narrative for the country's strength and unity.

[6] But I ran for this office because I am absolutely convinced that ***what binds us together*** has always proven stronger than ***what drives us apart*** (1). ***We are one people. We (2) need one another. Our patriotism is rooted not in race, not in ethnicity, not in creed (3); it is based on a shared belief in the enduring and permanent promise of America.***

The persuasive force of this paragraph is based on the conceptual metaphors THE NATION AS A UNITY and the AMERICAN DREAM IS A SHARED AND PERMANENT BELIEF. The first metaphor draws on the source domain of 'unity' and represents the American nation as a united and coherent group of people. The second metaphor associates the myth ('promise', 'belief') with consistency, continuity and all-the-time aspect ('enduring and permanent promise') and stresses it is collectively shared notion. The social aspect of the myth is also strongly enhanced. Obama frames the American Dream as the myth with mainly the social purpose rather than the individual one. The collective prosperity and success are therefore more important than the private ones, which complies with Obama's liberal rather left-wing ideology.

As for the combination of rhetorical devices accompanying metaphors that even more strongly emphasize the idea of social unity of America, we can identify an *antithesis* (in italics). In addition, the rhetorical force of this antithesis is enhanced by its parallel format of equal length (1). Then a set of repeated structures follows (underlined). The successive clauses “*We are one people. We need one another.*” contain anaphora of the inclusive pronoun ‘We’ (2) which again stresses the social collective spirit of the American nation. Next, there is a tricolon “*not in race, not in ethnicity, not in creed*” containing three parallel grammatical structures of equal length and rhythm. This tricolon strengthens the idea that America is not based on the same ethnic traits but on the belief in the American Dream.

The myth (bold) is further broadened in the following epilogue section:

[7] That’s the **promise that** draws so many talented, **driven people** to these shores. **That’s the promise that drew my own father** here. That’s the promise that (1) **drew your parents or grandparents or great grandparents** – generations of people who **dreamed of a place where knowledge and opportunity were available to anybody** who was willing to **work for it**, anybody who was willing to **seize it** (2). **A place where** (3) **there was not limit to how far you could go, how high you could climb** (4).

They took a chance. And **America embraced their drive** and **embraced their courage** (5) –said, “Come, you’re welcome.” This is who we are.

America is depicted as a place where ‘dreamers’ – immigrants – have unlimited possibilities of fulfilling their aspirations and where these dreams are shared. By referring to the audience’s ancestors and President’s ancestors, he draws on the source domain ‘family’ in order to emphasize the collective aspect of America. The ‘family’ metaphor identified in this paragraph displays the conceptual notion NATION IS A FAMILY. Family is traditionally associated with the idea of nurturing, caring, security and love. Therefore, the metaphor is employed to transfer this family function to the state. Furthermore, the *family* metaphor displays the collective bond of the nation through their ancestors and their common purpose of living the American Dream. Hence, the American Dream is understood as the unifying aspect of the *American family* (the nation).

Moreover, America is personified as the human ability of embracing ('embrace their drive', 'embrace their courage') has been attributed to it. The personification broadens the *family* domain since it creates another metaphorical concept the NATION IS A NURTURING PARENT. This metaphor depicts America as a loving and caring mother who always welcomes and appreciates the efforts of her children – the immigrants.

The rhetoric of Obama's speech is also enhanced by the dense reiteration of grammatical structures (underlined) that create a certain rhythmic pattern and reinforce memorization of Obama's message. The first reiterated grammatical structure "*That's the promise that...*" (1) is repeated at the beginning of three successive sentences, hence, it is identified as anaphora. Likewise the rest of the parallel structures (2, 3, 4, 5) anaphora is applied to secure emphasis and make the speech more appealing to the audience. The combination of Obama's rhetoric devices employed in this section significantly enhances the persuasiveness of the speech as it further adds to the rhetoric purpose of sounding right.

Another paragraph in the epilogue of Obama's speech continues to expand the story of the American Dream as he asserts he himself is the symbol of the myth:

[8] Every single day I walk into the Oval Office, every day (1) that I have this extraordinary privilege of being your President, I will always remember that *in no other nation on Earth* could **my story even be possible**. That's something I celebrate. That's (2) what **drives me**, in every decision I make, to try and **widen the circle of opportunity**, to fight for that big and generous and optimistic country we inherited, to carry (3) **that dream forward** for generations to come. Because when I meet **these young people**, all throughout communities, I see myself. Who knows what they might achieve. I see (4) my daughters and my nieces and my nephews. Who knows what they might achieve if we just give them a chance. That's what I'm fighting for. That's what (5) I **stand for** (6).

Obama identifies himself as somebody who is living the American Dream. In other words, he claims he is the embodiment of the myth. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor here is OBAMA IS A SYMBOL OF THE AMERICAN DREAM. Drawing on being the President of the United States, he depicts his political achievements as the evidence when one's aspirations are fulfilled. Therefore, he then uses his own individual story for the shared, collective goals of

the country. The source domain of ‘fight’, ‘battle’ implies his commitment to group interests of the nation – the AMERICAN DREAM IS A FIGHT is implied as Obama strives to pass on the legacy of the myth to future generation, which strongly adds to his moral credit and legitimacy.

When referring to the young community people and young members of his family he juxtaposes his own aspirations with the ones of the young generation’s thereby bringing closer his life as motivation for the future of other Americans. Obama strives to appeal to emotions of the audience by portraying himself as a President who not only cares about the future of the young people but has also high expectations for them as the future community leaders. However, at the end of this paragraph he stresses that the young generation can achieve their aspirations and live their American Dream only if the nation as a socially cohesive unit enables it. The metaphor, the AMERICAN DREAM IS THE COLLECTIVE ENDEAVOUR, therefore, implies that there is a condition under which the myth can continue to live up legitimately, and that is the social exertion.

Alongside the metaphors, other rhetorical devices such as hyperbole, anaphora, epiphora¹⁷ and parallelism are identified in this speech section. The hyperbole (italicized) tends to create a strong impression and feelings as Obama talks about the uniqueness of America and his personal fulfilment of the American Dream, i.e. his achievement of becoming the President in the U.S. The hyperbole is followed by anaphoric structures in the neighbouring sentences “*That’s something...That’s what drives me...*” (2). Similar anaphoric structure is found in the last successive sentences “*That’s what I’m fighting for. That’s what I stand for.*”(5). The rhetoric is even more enhanced here by employing epiphora as the preposition *for* gets repeated at the end of the same successive sentences (6). The rest of the rhetorical devices (1, 3, 4) are cases of parallelism where the same or similar grammatical constructions are repeated (underlined). They are employed to create rhythm, reinforce memorization and appeal to the emotions of the audience.

¹⁷ Repetition of a word or phrase at the end of successive clauses (Nordquist).

The following section can be found towards the very end of Obama's speech where he stresses his determination to support policies promoting the interests of the Latino community.

[9] This **fight** will not always be *easy*. It hasn't always been *easy* (1). It will not happen overnight. Our history has been one where that **march towards justice and freedom and equality** (2) has taken time. There will always be plenty of stubborn opposition in the way that says: "No, you can't." "No, you shouldn't." "Don't even try." (3)

But **America was built by people who said** something different – who said: "Yes, we can." **Who said** (4), **"Sí, se puede"**¹⁸. And as long as I have the privilege of being your President, I will be alongside you, **fighting for the country that we together dream of.**

The metaphor AMERICAN DREAM IS A BATTLE TOWARDS JUSTICE, FREEDOM AND EQUALITY is implied. Obama draws on the images of 'fight' and 'march' to communicate there are the omnipresent obstacles – the opposition – that need to be overcome by the American nation so that it can reach its ideal state. Obama portrays the opposition members as 'state enemies' that discourage people from 'dreaming' and 'hoping'. To further delegitimize the opposition and support his argument, Obama depicts America as a country built by people who were 'dreaming' and 'hoping' and also 'speaking Spanish', which entails the metaphor the LATINOS ARE DREAMERS. At the very end of the paragraph and the speech itself, Obama again implies that the AMERICAN DREAM IS A MUTUAL AMBITION, which portrays the 'dream' as the shared hope of all people of America.

The last analyzed excerpt of Obama's speech also contains a range of rhetorical devices enhancing the persuasive force of the message. The first two sentences are a case of parallelism (underlined) as two sentences of similar structure, rhythm and length get reiterated (1). In addition, there is an epiphora (in italics) employed since the adjective *easy* is repeated at the very end of these two successive clauses. Moreover, tricolon, a rhetorical device realized by a series of three parallel units, is used in this section three times. The first tricolon is a series of three words "...*justice and freedom and equality*..." (2); the second tricolon is realized by a set of three successive clauses "No, you can't." "No, you shouldn't." "Don't even try." (3) The

¹⁸ Yes, we can.

third tricolon is found in the following sentence: “...*America was built by people who said something different – who said: “Yes, we can.” Who said, “Sí, se puede.”*” (4) These tricolons are simple in their structure but very effective and powerful in their persuasive force.

2.3.4 Remarks by Mitt Romney at the Annual Conference of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials in Orlando, Florida, 21st June 2012

Mitt Romney’s address to the Latino Elected and Appointed Official occurred on 21st June in 2012. Since the Hispanic electorate had been proving more and more decisive in the previous presidential elections, Romney understood, as well as Obama, how crucial it was to deliver a speech which would appeal strongly to the Latino community. Hence, in his speech Romney focuses on promoting the policies that would improve not only the situation of the United States, but mainly the situation of Latinos. The main topics Romney discusses in his speech concern the national economic issues and the immigration policy.

In order to appeal to the audience and, at the same time, to delegitimize the incumbent president, Romney communicates his disappointment with Obama’s policy while highlighting his inability to help the U.S. economy to recover from the crisis that struck the country at the time when Obama took over the office. What Romney perceives as a direct consequence of Obama’s bad politics is the high rate of Hispanic unemployment and the overall dire financial situation of the middle classes. In order to further condemn Obama’s first term presidency, Romney compares Barack Obama’s policies with those of Ronald Reagan’s since Reagan also faced an economic crisis in his first term. However, during Reagan’s presidency, unlike during Obama’s term, the economy saw a growth and job creation, which Romney claims to be the real recovery – a Reagan recovery.

As for the business issues, Romney discusses the need to revitalize the free-enterprise economy, and reduce taxes. Furthermore, Romney communicates his determination to repeal

Obamacare¹⁹ in order to support the job creation and boost economy. Romney claims that the law Obama signed is financially unbearable for the U.S. and hinders the job growth.

As for the immigration policy, Romney perceives the effective immigration system as a salient matter which could strengthen the American economy. Furthermore, he, again, negatively represents Obama when claiming that he failed to address the immigration reform during his first term despite having major support in the Senate. According to Romney, Obama's passing of the temporary law – DREAM Act should have come at the beginning of his first term and not after three and half years to secure the Latino vote. After such delegitimizing words, Romney states he is ready to promote his own long-term immigration policy that would replace and supersede Obama's DREAM Act. This immigration policy, as Romney claims, would support and make legal immigration easier, but at the same time, it would secure the borders and deal with the issue of illegal border crossings. In addition, his immigration reform would help immigrant families since, as he states, many of them struggle financially under Obama's policy.

Next, the Republican presidential candidate also communicates the importance of passing new immigration reform as he considers it necessary for the national economy. He claims that the presence of well-educated immigrants are beneficial for the nation as they are not afraid of launching business in the U.S.; Romney perceives such 'risk taking' as desirable for the economy of the country. He also expresses that the introduction of his immigration reform would reward the immigrants who get an advanced degree in the U.S. or join the U.S. military as he considers them as people that can help enrich and protect the United States. Finally, Romney expresses his determination to make the legal immigration not only more accessible for immigrants, but also more attractive than illegal immigration by establishing a verification system that would inform the businesses whether the people they employ are eligible to work legally in the U.S.

¹⁹ Obamacare, or the Affordable Care Act, is a US law aimed at reforming the American health care system (*ObamaCare Facts*).

2.3.5 Some Rhetorical Strategies in Romney's Speech

In the introductory part of Romney's speech, in order to establish the contact with the audience and arouse their emotions, Romney employs several persuasive techniques. The first of them is an appeal to goodwill of the audience as Romney expresses his thanks to them for inviting him to the conference: *"Thank you for inviting me to your annual conference."* Another technique which Romney employs in the prologue of his speech is flattery as he expresses that it's *"an honour for him to be among so many dedicated elected leaders."* Romney adds to *pathos* of his speech by praising and acknowledging the NALEO members for their energy and time they have invested in their work for the Latino community. Furthermore, he uses the technique of self-disclosure combined with the narrative of the American Dream myth when appealing to the sharing interests: *"I come to you today as a candidate for President of the United States of America. I will govern from the principle that while this land is a land of extraordinary diversity, there is much more that unites us than divides us."* Romney enhances his credibility by employing the personal pronoun 'we' ('us') as he expresses the unity with the Hispanic community: *"Though each of us walks a different path in life, we are united by one great, overwhelming passion: We love America. We believe in America."* In addition, the narrative of belonging to the nation that was built on the Christian values is also included: *We are one nation, under God."*

In the argumentative part of the NALEO speech, where Romney pursues to persuade the audience to vote for him, a number of persuasive strategies have been used. One of the most pervasive ones is the narrative of Obama's political failure which reinforces the negative image of the president Obama and delegitimizes his policies. This strategy is accompanied with the common reference to statistics that suggest the dire economic results of Obama's policy. On the contrary, when arguing for the benefits of Romney's policy and promoting his positive image, Romney uses mostly the strategies, such as appeal to logic, justice and emotions.

In the epilogue of the speech, Romney incorporates the narrative of the American Dream myth which he combines with an immigrant story of his family: *"He [Romney's father] was born to American parents living in Mexico. When he was five, they left everything behind, and started over in the United States."* He also appeals to the sharing interests while using the

inclusive pronoun 'we': "*We are truly one America. Everyone here has made this exceptional nation what it is today.*" Furthermore, Romney uses the persuasion strategy of flattery as he thanks the Hispanic leaders for making America a unique country. Finally, Romney incorporates the rhetorical question: "*Is the America of 11% Hispanic unemployment the America of our dreams?*" Romney does not anticipate an answer, but employs the question in order to further increase his political credibility, and criticize Obama's politics towards Latinos. In addition, the statistics of Hispanic unemployment rate in the U.S is used as evidence of Obama's inefficient economic policy.

2.3.6 Analysis of Metaphors and other Rhetorical Devices in Mitt Romney's Speech

Our analysis of how Romney's develops the myth of the American Dream through the implementation of metaphors commences in the introductory part of his NALEO speech, where Romney attempts to build a contact with the audience:

[1] I come to you today as a candidate for President of the United States of America. I will govern from the principle that while this is **a land of extraordinary diversity**, *there is much more that unites us than divides us* (1). Though each of us **walks a different path in life**, we are united by one great, **overwhelming passion: We love America. We believe in America. We are one nation, under God.**

In the paragraph, which is located in the epilogue of the speech, we can identify a metaphor AMERICA IS A LAND OF EXTRAORDINARY DIVERSITY. This metaphor refers to the immigrant history of the country as the word 'diversity' denotes the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of its people who came to America to live. The metaphor alludes to an idea that the immigration is something upon which America has been built, something that is the essence of the country and something that every American should be proud of.

Further in the text, Romney's aims to emphasize the country's diversity could be noticed in the phrase "*...each of us walks a different path in life...*" The evidence that metaphor is employed here is that the literal sense of '*walking a path*' is being transferred and consequently creates the metaphorical concept LIFE IS A PATH/JOURNEY. The path metaphor supports the

idea that there are people in America that have different expectations, beliefs and hopes for living their life. However, Romney implies that despite the country's diversity, it is united by what he calls an "overwhelming passion: *We love America. We believe in America. We are one nation, under God*". Hence, the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS FAITH/GOD is used. The 'passion' metaphor draws on the source domain of 'love' and 'belief' which display to be the unifying aspects of the American nation. It creates an idea that America is a sacred concept of values that is 'worshipped' by its people.

As for other rhetorical devices in the speech section above, we can identify an antithesis (in italics): "*...there is much more that unites us than divides us...*" The antithesis emphasizes the contrasting ideas of America's unity and diversity, which also adds to the persuasive force of the speech. In addition, the antithesis is realized by a parallel structure, (underlined), which stresses the idea that despite its cultural diversity, America is a country where people feel united. Furthermore, towards the end of the section, we identify a tricolon: "*We love America. We believe in America. We are one nation, under God.*" This series of three parallel sentences of similar grammatical structure and length gives the speech a certain rhythmic flow, enhances memorization and adds to the rhetoric purpose of sounding right – *pathos*.

Moreover, Romney incorporates the national story (bold) in an argument where he encourages the audience to reject the policies of Barack Obama and offers an alternative in form of his economy policy of revitalization:

[2] This November, we'll make a choice. We can continue along the path we're on – or we can choose a better way.

Instead of **continuing with the policies of the last three and a half years**, *we can revitalize* our free-enterprise economy. *We can* lead the world in what we invent and build and create (1). And let me make this very clear – *this is the only way we can strengthen the middle class*. And *this is the only way we can create sustained prosperity*. Raising taxes to grow government does not grow the middle class.

Today, I am asking you to join me because, while we may not agree on everything, *we share the same goal, the same vision, and the same belief* (2) **in American greatness** that **draws so many to our shores**. **Liberty's torch can burn just as brightly** for future generations of immigrants as **it has burned** for immigrants past.

Here Romney touches upon the idea of the American Dream while arguing for what's good for the nation's future concerning its economy. Again, the 'path' metaphor is exploited here, however this time the source domain 'path' or 'way' implies the policies that candidates propose to employ if elected. Hence, this creates a metaphorical concept POLICY IS A PATH/WAY. As Romney states, there are two policies or 'paths/way' from which the nation can choose: the path of the last three and half years or the path of economic revitalization. The former indicates the policy of Barack Obama and the latter refers to the policy proposed by Romney, which is referred to as a policy of revitalization. Romney perceives his policy as the only policy which could help financially not only the middle class, but also the nation as such. In this context, the prosperous America is thus seen as a country with a financially secured future. Hence, the economically prosperous country could be interpreted as the ultimate goal of Romney's policy. The metaphor ECONOMIC PROSPERITY IS THE PATH TO THE AMERICAN DREAM could, hence, be identified.

However, in the second paragraph, Romney expands on the story of the American Dream in relation to the immigrant history rather than the national economy. The American Dream alludes to the idea of 'goal', 'vision' or 'belief' in 'American greatness'. The mental image of the 'American greatness' amplifies the country's significance and exceptionality that consequently pulled in so many immigrants to the country. Hence, the metaphor AMERICAN DREAM IS A MUTUAL BELIEF IN AMERICA'S EXCEPTIONALITY is deduced. This mental image of the myth of the American Dream could be seen as a shared objective or idea, which, despite their diversity, American people possess and are proud of. Like Obama, Romney in his speech also portrays the myth as something sacred which has a unifying effect on the American society.

Romney adds to *ethos* of his speech when employing metaphor in the last sentence in the above speech section: "*Liberty's torch can burn just as brightly for future generations of immigrants as it has burned for immigrants past*". In the sentence, we can identify a significant metaphorical concept drawing on the source domain of 'burning', 'fire' and 'light'. Hence, in this context, it denotes the metaphorical concept AMERICA IS A BURNING TORCH. This 'light' or 'fire' metaphor carries a positive entailment since the image of burning torch is a common political symbol associated with hope and freedom. Therefore, it denotes the mental

representation AMERICA IS A SYMBOL OF HOPE AND FREEDOM. Such interpretation portrays America as a country which is proud of its immigrant heritage, and which is ready to embrace its immigrant future as well.

The metaphors in this speech section are accompanied by several parallel structures (underlined) where two of them are tricolons (numbered). The reiteration of the same or similar grammatical constructions establishes a pattern which promotes memorization, gives the rhetoric a pleasing rhythm and adds to the overall persuasiveness. Anaphora (in italics) is another scheme found in the following sentence: ..., *we can revitalize our free-enterprise economy. We can lead the world...*” and also in: *“this is the only way we can strengthen the middle class. And this is the only way we can...”* Moreover, the phrase “*liberty’s torch*” is used here metonymously as it is associated with the burning torch on the Statue of Liberty, the symbol of American freedom. Hence, the metonymy refers to the idea of American liberty as the primary value on which the country was built.

In the following section, which has been extracted from the body of the speech, we look into how the myth of the American Dream is depicted while Romney develops his argument concerning the suggested immigration policy in relation to the American economy:

[3] **Immigration reform is not just a moral imperative**, but an **economic necessity** as well. Immigrants with **advanced degrees start companies, create jobs, and drive innovation at a high rate.** Immigrants **founded or cofounded** nearly half of our **50 top venture-backed companies**. They are nearly 30 percent more likely to start a business. And that kind of **risk taking** is something we need more than ever because new business starts are now at a 30-year low.

I will work with states and employers **to update our temporary worker visa program** so that it **meets our economic needs**.

And if you get and an advanced degree here, we want you to stay here – so we will **staple a green card** to your diploma. We want the best and brightest to enrich the nation through the jobs and technologies they will help create.

Here Romney proposes the introduction of new immigration policy as he perceives it not only as morally correct, but also as necessary for the restoration of the American economy.

He emphasizes the importance of university educated immigrants for the economic development of the country since they are less afraid of making risky economic decisions on the market. To boost the credibility of his argument, Romney exploits statistical data.

His argument is based on the metaphorical concept EDUCATED IMMIGRANTS ARE A BENEFIT FOR THE U.S. ECONOMY/ENRICHMENT FOR AMERICA. The concept of immigration is further developed as Romney appeals to the “*best and brightest*” immigrants. Such immigrants are portrayed to represent the part of immigrants considered to be beneficial for the country. He asserts that well-educated immigrants are more than welcome in America and suggests that they be granted the permanent resident status to their diploma. Furthermore, he also communicates that prosperous and successful immigrants can improve America through the creation of jobs and technologies.

As for the portrayal of the American Dream in relation to the immigration reform, Romney’s proposal denotes that there are certain conditions for immigrants to stay in America to earn their ‘American Dream’. These conditions are education and involvement in the U.S. economic process. So mainly well-educated immigrants should be welcomed and entitled to gain a permanent resident status since their education and qualifications present an enormous potential for economic development due to their market investments, which could help America significantly with its economic recovery. This renders Romney’s immigration proposal as highly utilitarian since it promotes immigration with the emphasis on the profit and state business interests. Romney also foregrounds the elite members of the Latino community and their potential to help America while the lower classes of Hispanics are not taken into consideration here. This interpretation expands on the image of the American Dream myth being accessible only to the educated ones who earn it by engaging in an activity which is profitable for the U.S. economy. The elite immigrants are depicted as the ones who are entitled to the American Dream. The interpretation also entails an emphasis on rather a personal aspect than a collective aspect of the myth. The immigrants who were able to achieve some personal success through their study are thus those who are referred to as those who are both demanded and have a better chance to become even more prosperous and successful in America.

In the third analyzed excerpt of Romney's speech, besides metaphors, there are a few rhetorical devices enhancing the persuasive force. There are two cases of parallelism (underlined). Tricolon parallelism is found in the following sentence: "*Immigrant with advanced degrees start companies, create jobs, and drive innovation at a high rate.*" It has a parallel structure in use of verbs. The other case of parallelism is identified in: "..., we want you to stay here...*We want the best and brightest to enrich the nation.*" Finally, there is also a case of alliteration²⁰ (in italics) in: "*the best and brightest*" as the initial sound in previous two words is repeated.

In the next excerpt, the portrayal of the American Dream myth (bold) is analyzed as Romney continues discussing the suggested immigration policy in relation to his view of who should have better prospects of gaining legal status of an immigrant.

[4] We also have a strong tradition in this country of **honouring immigrants** who **join our military and put their lives on the line** (1) **to keep this country safe**. Since September 11, 2001, the United States has naturalized almost 75,000 members of the Armed Forces. Too many of **these patriots died** on distant battlefields **for our freedom** before receiving full citizenship here in the country they called "home".

As President, I will stand for **a path to legal status** for anyone who is willing to **stand up and defend** (2) **this great nation** through military service. **Those who have risked their lives in defence of America have earned the right to make their life** (3) **in America**.

Drawing on the Romney's suggestions that those who "*join the military and put their lives on the line to keep this country safe*", "*stand up and defend this great nation*" and "*risk their lives in defence of America*" are fully entitled to "*make their life in America*", we can say that Romney expands the image of the American Dream that makes it is more accessible and

²⁰ Repetition of the same sounds at the beginning of two or more words (Alliteration).

attainable to those who are only willing to join the American army and fight for the country's freedom.

We can identify a metaphorical concept JOINING MILITARY IS A PATH TO LEGAL IMMIGRANT STATUS and FIGHTING FOR AMERICA IS A PATH TO THE AMERICAN DREAM. Hence to gain a permission to stay in the country, an immigrant should express his loyalty to America by joining the U.S. army. In addition he should be also willing to defend America in a battle even though it might present a threat to his life. In other words, Romney implies that an immigrant has to deserve a place in America before they receive a status of a legal immigrant. His suggested policy counts on such immigrants who are able to make efforts and are not afraid of sacrificing even their lives for America as this step would be a proof of their loyalty and dedication to the country.

The metaphorical concept also implies the fact that not everybody who aspires to live a better life in America can actually manage to succeed due to the country's strict military requirements. Therefore, it portrays the American Dream myth more difficult to be achieved due to the country's demands on its immigrants.

As for the rhetorical devices, the above section there are only three cases of isocolon²¹ parallelism identified (underlined and numbered). This lack of figures of speeches has thus an influence on the persuasiveness of the overall speech.

In the following excerpt, we analyze what other moral demands Romney would claim on those who decide to imigrate to America, which also adds to his framing of the American Dream portrayal:

[5] But improving access to legal immigration is only one part of the equation. We must also make *legal immigration* more attractive than *illegal immigration*, so that **people are**

²¹ Grammatical structures of similar length formed by the use of two or more clauses (Isocolon).

rewarded for waiting patiently in line. That's why my administration will establish a strong employment verification system so that every business can know with confidence that the people it hires are legally eligible for employment.

We can find common ground here, and we must. **We owe it to ourselves as Americans to ensure that our country remains a land of opportunity – both for those who were born here and for those who share our values, respect our laws, and we want you to come to our shores.**

In the first paragraph Romney argues for the need to adjust the immigrant policy so that immigrants would prefer legal immigration to illegal immigration. However, he continues promoting the idea that the access to a better life in America is something that one should deserve in exchange for their obedience: *“people are rewarded for waiting patiently in line”*. We can identify a metaphorical concept LEGAL IMMIGRANT STATUS IS A REWARD. Hence in exchange for their patience and observance of the immigrant laws, one gets the opportunity of living legally in America. So this idea denotes that the American Dream is not available to everybody unless he/she *“shares the American values and respects their laws”*. Here we can identify a conceptual metaphor RESPECTING THE U.S. LAWS IS A PATH TO THE AMERICAN DREAM.

Alongside the metaphors in the excerpt above, we can identify a very low number of rhetorical devices. Antithesis is one of them (italicized). In the sentence: *“We must also make legal immigration more attractive than illegal immigration, so...”* the opposites *legal and illegal immigration* are introduced here to put emphasis on their contradictory meanings and strictly differentiate the immigrants who come to America legally from those who come illegally. Furthermore, there is also a case of isocolon parallelism (underlined) as two patterns of grammatical structures of similar length and rhythm are established.

The following speech section presents Romney's family history in which he gives an account of his ancestor's immigrant story and further frames his interpretation of the national narrative:

[6] I've spoken often **about how proud I am of my father**. He was born to American parents living in Mexico. When he was five, they left everything behind, and started over in the United States. His dad – my grandfather – was a builder who went bust more than once. My grandfather didn't make much money. There were times in my dad's life when he lived in poverty. But **my grandfather had big hopes for my dad**, and tried to help him as best he could. My dad didn't finish college. But **he believed in a country where the circumstances of one's birth were not a barrier to achievement – and he wasn't afraid of hard work**. He held odd jobs – lath and plaster and selling paint (1). He was lucky enough to live in America, where **hard work can turn aspirations into realities**. And he became **the leader of a great car company and the governor of a great state** (2).

This is my father's story – but it could be any American's. Most of you here today are **leaders in your community**. You are here because **you have benefitted from this land of opportunity**, and **you want to give it back to this country** (3), **to fight for its people**, so that they have the same chance to succeed.

Romney gives an account of the American Dream narrative as he shares his family story with the audience to illustrate his ancestors' immigrant history. The story draws him closer to the immigrant audience and adds to the emotionality of his speech. In the narrative Romney expresses how proud he is of his father who was born into a family that moved to the United States and started their new life there. Even though the family went bankrupt a couple of times and his dad did not even succeed in getting a degree, Romney's father was driven by his belief that America is a place where one can live a prosperous and successful life regardless of his background. His father's immigrant story is depicted here as an exemplary case proving that one's American Dream can come true if one is resilient enough and willing to work hard. Hence metaphors ROMNEY'S FATHER AS SYMBOL OF THE AMERICAN DREAM and AMERICA AS A LAND OF OPPORTUNITY FOR HARD-WORKING PEOPLE can be identified here.

In the second paragraph he expands on the national narrative while referring to the Latino officials. Romney argues that their professional achievement in their community is the evidence that America helped them to fulfil their aspirations and ambitions and make them successful at their leading community work. Once they achieved their high positions, however, now their job is to help other immigrants to get the same opportunity to become successful and prosperous.

Here the Romney's interpretation of the American Dream entails that once America proves to be a land of opportunity for anybody and he/she reaches some achievement in his personal life, he/she should repay it to the country through community work. Hence, we could discern a metaphor that promotes the above argument: BEING SUCCESSFUL IN AMERICA IS A COMMITMENT TO AMERICA.

In the sixth excerpt of Romney's speech, there are only a few rhetorical devices that accompany metaphors in the persuasive force of the speech. All of these are cases of parallelism (underlined and numbered). Furthermore, an antithesis can be identified in the parallel structure: "...you have benefitted from this land of opportunity, and you want to give it back to this country." This antithesis stresses the idea that everyone who becomes successful in America should somehow return it to the country.

In the last analyzed section of Romney's speech reminds the audience of the importance of their vote for America's future. Romney appeals to them to consider carefully who they will elect while delegitimizing Obama's first presidential term.

[7] *This isn't an election about two people. This isn't an election about being a Republican, Democrat, or an independent. This is an election about the future of America.* I would ask each of you to look at **the last three and a half years**, and ask whether we can do better.

Is **the America of 11% Hispanic unemployment the America of our dreams?** I know we can do better. **We can prosper again**, with **the powerful recovery** we have all been waiting for, **the good jobs that so many still need**, and, above all, **the opportunities we owe to our children and grandchildren.**

In this section, which can be found at the very end of Romney's speech, Romney draws attention to the idea that the political affiliation of the candidates is not as important in the election as the future of the country. Consequently, he offers the Hispanic audience his vision of America's future in which he emphasizes the significance of the economic prosperity for the American nation. According to Romney, a successful America is an America which is powerful and prosperous and which can provide the immigrants with a good employment. To further develop his argument he employs a rhetorical question "*Is the America of 11% Hispanic unemployment the America of our dreams?*" in which he strives to delegitimize Obama's job

policy and at the same time to appeal to the Hispanic audience. The word ‘dreams’ in Romney’s rhetorical question denotes ambitions and aspirations while ‘the America of 11% Hispanic unemployment’ represents the high unemployment among members of Hispanic community. By juxtaposing these two images of America, Romney implies that idea that the low Hispanic unemployment rate is a salient issue which is necessary to be sorted out. Here we could identify a metaphor developing Romney’s argument. This metaphorical concept could be stated as **AMERICA OF LOW HISPANIC UNEMPLOYMENT IS AMERICA OF OUR DREAMS**. The metaphor supports Romney’s idea of America which ensures the economical security of the Hispanic immigrants by lowering their unemployment rate.

Furthermore, Romney continues to frame the idea of America that can prosper not only by providing its people with good jobs, but mainly by giving young people opportunities that the country ‘owes’ them. Drawing on the verb ‘owe’, the idea of the country’s debt to the youth can be inferred. Based on this, a metaphor **ECONOMICALLY PROSPEROUS AND POWERFUL AMERICA IS A DEBT TO A YOUNG GENERATION**. In other words, it implies the idea that improving America’s economy means preserving America a land of opportunity especially for its young citizens. Hence, maintaining America a land of opportunity is depicted here as a social commitment towards its future generations.

In the last speech section, there is an example of anaphora (in italics and underlined) as there is a repetition at the beginnings of the three neighbouring clauses: “*This isn’t an election about...*” In addition, the clause “*This isn’t an election about being a Republican, Democrat, or an independent.*” contains a case of tricolon parallelism in use of nouns (underlined). Another tricolon parallel structure is established in the last sentence as the three grammatical structures of similar construction, length and rhythm are repeated.

Table 1: Conceptual metaphors in Barack Obama's Speech

Target domain	Source domain
American Dream	Vision
	Struggle/Fight
	Battle Towards Justice, Freedom and Equality
	Shared and Permanent Belief
	Mutual Ambition
	Collective Endeavour
	Power
Immigrants	Power
	Heroes
	Enrichment
Latinos	Heroes
	Dreamers
America	Symbol of the American Dream
	Nation of Laws
	Nation of Immigrants
Immigration reform	Life
Deportation	Shadow
Growing Middle Class	Path to Prosperity of Lower Classes
Barack Obama	Symbol of the American Dream

Table 2: Conceptual metaphors in Mitt Romney's Speech

Target domain	Source domain
America	Land of Opportunity for Hard-Working People
	Land of Extraordinary Diversity
	Faith/God
	Burning Torch
	Symbol of Hope and Freedom
America of Low Hispanic Unemployment	America of the Dreams
Economically Prosperous and Powerful America	Debt to a Young Generation
Educated Immigrants	Benefit for the U.S. Economy/Enrichment
Legal Immigrant Status	Reward
Economic Prosperity	Path to the American Dream
Joining Military	Path to Legal Immigrant Status
Fighting for America	Path to the American Dream
Respecting the U.S. Laws	Path to the American Dream
Romney's Father	Symbol of the American Dream
Being Successful in America	Commitment to America
Life	Path/Journey
Policy	Path

Table 3: Other rhetorical devices in the speeches

Rhetorical device	Barack Obama	Mitt Romney
	Per 966 words	Per 907 words
Antithesis	4	3
Parallel Structures	28	18
Anaphora	6	3
Epiphora	2	1
Hyperbole	2	0
Metonymy	4	1
Total	46	26

Table 4: Number of rhetorical devices per 100 words

	No. of words	No. of devices	Devices per 100 words
Barack Obama	966	46	4,76
Mitt Romney	907	26	2,87

Conclusion

The analysis of conceptual metaphors in the political discourse of Barack Obama and Mitt Romney provides us with an insight into how this rhetorical device is employed to develop the political myth of the American Dream which reinforces the persuasiveness of the politician's speeches targeted at the Hispanic voters during the 2012 general election campaign. The identified metaphors and their further critical analysis reveal the differences between the politicians' interpretation of the American Dream myth which has an influence on the portrayal of the political reality as far as the Hispanic community is concerned. While Obama interprets the ideal of personal happiness and material prosperity as a socially shared ambition which is available for everyone in America, Romney frames it as an ideal which can be reached only if an individual exerts some efforts and meets the requirements the policies lay on him/her. Hence, the access to the American Dream differs in discourse of the two candidates. Whereas Romney stresses the American Dream myth is a reward attainable by those who earn it, Obama depicts it as an opportunity and concept ensuring freedom, justice and equality in the American society. The interpretation also differs in the portrayal of goals the myth aspires to achieve in the future. Obama interprets the American Dream as an ideal oriented towards the social and collective goals, Romney orientates it rather towards a personal achievement of every individual. This interpretation mirrors the candidates ideological background as Obama's affiliation with Democratic Party sets him to promote social and economical justice and equality whereas Romney, as a Republican, orientates rather on the values promoting the interests of materially prosperous individuals. As for the metaphors dealing with immigrants, Obama's metaphors induce positive representations of immigrants as they are portrayed as 'enrichment', 'heroes' and 'power', which evokes feelings of respect, gratitude and admiration of the candidate towards the Hispanic immigrants. The metaphorical concepts concerning immigrants employed in Romney's speech convey a positive mental representation of educated immigrants since he considers them as beneficial for the U.S. economy and the country's operation as such. However, Romney again lies some requirements on immigrants to be beneficial, which is higher education. These portrayals of the Latino immigrants also contribute to the different interpretation of the national narrative and thus convey the candidates' different intentions and political views on the issues related to immigration.

Besides metaphors, both candidates also employ a number of other rhetorical devices which enhance the persuasiveness of the speeches. Based on the qualitative analysis of the figurative language (see figure 3 and 4) the density of the devices differs in the speeches of the both politicians. While Obama uses approximately 5 devices per each 100 words in the analyzed corpus, Romney employs about 3 rhetorical devices per the same number of words. Therefore, Obama uses about 66% more of figurative language in the form of rhetorical devices than his opponent. These findings signify that Obama's speech is richer in schemes and tropes than Romney's. Hence, in Obama's speech there is a denser interaction of metaphors with schemes and other tropes, which significantly enhances the persuasive force of Obama's rhetoric.

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