

КИЇВСЬКИЙ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ
ІМЕНІ ТАРАСА ШЕВЧЕНКА

НАВЧАЛЬНО-НАУКОВИЙ ІНСТИТУТ ФІЛОЛОГІЇ

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ТА МІЖКУЛЬТУРНОЇ КОМУНІКАЦІЇ

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**ПОЛІТИЧНИЙ ДИСКУРС
ВЕЛИКОЇ БРИТАНІЇ та США**

Навчальний посібник

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Посібник “Політичний дискурс Великої Британії та США” охоплює становлення комунікації у сфері політики, формування політичного дискурсу у Великій Британії та США крізь призму мовних портретів видатних політиків, які вплинули на риторичні традиції, парламентські дебати, а також містить короткий огляд окремих аспектів теорії дискурсу, дискурсивного аналізу, що є релевантними для аналізу комунікації у сфері політики. Кожна частина посібника містить чисельні завдання, що дозволяють здійснювати лінгвістичний аналіз з урахуванням положень соціолінгвістики, гендерної лінгвістики, геронтолінгвістики, експериментальної фонетики, поширюючи, таким чином, горизонти дослідження.

Посібник розрахований на студентів магістратури, аспірантів, які навчаються в межах спеціальності 035 “Філологія”.

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ВСТУП

Політичний дискурс залишається популярним об'єктом дослідження у сучасній лінгвістиці, теорії аргументації, риториці протягом багатьох десятиліть. Політичний дискурс, висвітлення політичних питань у засобах масової інформації значною мірою сприяли становленню дискурсивного аналізу, критичної лінгвістики, критичного аналізу дискурсу. Політичний дискурс в англomовних країнах, в першу чергу, у Великій Британії та США, ритуали, політична комунікація, у цілому, вважаються взірцем, моделлю для багатьох інших країн. У посібнику політичний дискурс розглядається на прикладі чисельних промов, публічних виступів, мовних портретів прем'єр-міністрів Великої Британії та президентів США, які були ефективними комунікаторами, сприяли формуванню парламентської культури, риторичних та стилістичних особливостей мовлення політиків, комунікації у сфері політики. Посібник складається з трьох частин з відповідними завданнями, які дозволяють розглядати англomовний політичний дискурс, його жанри у багатьох вимірах, з урахуванням багатьох тенденцій та досягнень сучасної лінгвістики, гендерної лінгвістики, геронтолінгвістики, інтернет-лінгвістики, експериментальної фонетики, мультимодальності, візуальної комунікації.

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1. Political discourse and policy rhetoric as an object of research in Rhetoric, Theory of Argumentation and Linguistics

For many years political discourse used to be one of the most popular issues of research in Modern Linguistics. Moreover, communication in the world of politics and coverage of political events, international relations in mass media, mostly, newspapers, contributed to the emergence and development of Discourse Analysis as one of the most promising and fruitful trends in the Linguistics of the 20th century. Academic biography of Teun A. van Dijk, a towering figure in Modern Linguistics, one of the founders of Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), proves that political discourse, vital social issues, challenges politicians faced were crucial for Discourse Analysis evolution. Critical Discourse Analysis, later Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), focused on relationships of power and society, so political discourse was of paramount importance for this trend. In the last decades of the 20th century political discourse was widely studied in the Theory of Argumentation in terms of effectiveness and impact on the audience, as well as of pragmatics of interpersonal communication.

2. Rhetoric and political debates in Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome

In Europe, organized studies of public speaking originated in Ancient Greece. Ancient Greeks highly valued public political participation. Political debates were essential for demos in Greek polises. Prominent personalities with their individual talents and merits, the art of oratory included, were pivotal for political life. The strategy for effectively talking to other people in juries, forums, and the senate was worked out in the 5th century Athens. Aristotle, one of co-founders of Rhetoric, defined rhetoric as observing "in any given case the available means of persuasion", "a combination of the science of logic and of the ethical branch of politics".

Pericles (c. 495 – 429 BC) had a unique talent and merits of a supreme commander, great statesman and prominent orator.

Lysias (c. 445 – c. 380 BC) was a master of forensic speech. He was a model of plain style with limited vocabulary and predominant use of antithesis, parallelism and opposition of clauses and resulted into perfect elegance.

Isocrates (436 — 338 BC) was one of the most influential Athenian orators and rhetoricians. The school of rhetoric he established

differed markedly in its aims from the Academy of Plato. He proved to be an efficient teacher and businessman. In Rhetoric he cared above all about polished expression. His written speech influenced the public and provided significant insight into major political issues of the day. Isocrates' influence on Cicero was paramount.

Demosthenes (384 – 12 October 322 BC) is known as a master of political speech, leader of a political club and political party, and teacher of Rhetoric. But his long and extremely complicated way to the world of Rhetoric and Politics proved that supreme rhetorical skills might be obtained via both intensive and extensive speech training. Demosthenes managed to overcome speech impairment he had in childhood, rhotacism, weakness he suffered from, demonstrated perseverance and determination and gave only one recipe for success “*Delivery, delivery and delivery!*” Finally, he established himself as a very important person in politics, an authoritative statesman and one of the greatest orators of the ancient world. His speeches had powerful intellectual drive, verbal precision, brevity, artful arrangement, elegant style. Confrontation with King Phillip II of Macedon, later with his son, Alexander the Great, marked his political career. Demosthenes' principles and ideas survived, made enormous impact on prominent politicians and political movements. Demosthenes' speeches inspired the authors of *The Federalist Papers* in the USA, outstanding orators of the French Revolution. Friedrich Nietzsche admired Demosthenes' style and composed his sentences in line with his paradigms. Georges Clemenceau, French Prime Minister, idealised Demosthenes and even wrote a book about him (*Demosthenes*, 1926).

Aristotle (384–322 BC), remarkable philosopher, rhetorician and scholar, exerted a unique influence on any field of knowledge in the West. Western scholars believe that modern academic lexicon, argumentation, inquiry methods can be traced back to Aristotle. Modern philosophy developed later by Kant often sees Aristotle as a core foundation. His ideas that perception and observation are critical to understanding our world became the foundation of modern scientific thinking. In his lifetime, Aristotle was a famous figure who taught Alexander the Great, Ptolemy and famous figures within Greek society who went on to impact the world in various ways. Aristotle categorized rhetoric into three genres: epideictic (ceremonial speeches), forensic (judicial speeches), and deliberative (speeches calling on an audience to make a decision on an issue). Aristotle also suggested three basic kinds of appeals to persuade his audience: *ethos* (an appeal to the speaker's character), *pathos* (an appeal to the audience's emotion), and *logos* (an appeal to logical reasoning). His enormous contribution and profound influence on logic and argumentation were tangible in Philosophy even in the 19th century. Aristotle, known as a "founder of rhetoric", differentiated two kinds of rhetorical proofs: *enthymeme* (proof

by syllogism) and *paradeigma* (proof by example). Many schools of rhetoric, logic and argumentation claim they have Aristotelian traditions, foundations and principles.

Politics, rhetoric and oratorical discourse were essential in communication of Ancient Rome. Latin rhetoric was the art of making persuasive discourse and involved the mastery of rhetorical principles and political speaking. Politicians had to take the course of Rhetoric to compete with their opponents and rivals in political debates. They polished their rhetorical and argumentation skills in political clubs, with outstanding orators and highly qualified teachers of Rhetoric and Logic. Cicero and other orators completed their training in Greece what remained the education center of Rhetoric. Politicians used the most effective metaphors and argumentation strategies in public speeches addressing big audience, their proponents and opponents.

Rhetorical art of Roman statesmen reached its acme in the laconic style of Julius Caesar (100 – 44 BC) associated with the idiom “*Veni, vidi, vici!*” and verbose eloquent style of Cicero. Cicero (106 BC – 43 BC), practitioner and theorist of public speech, transformed Latin from a communication instrument to a sophisticated medium capable of expressing versatile and complicated abstract ideas with clarity, precision and classical elegance. The English word *Ciceronian* meaning "eloquent" is derived from his name.

Quintilian (c.35 – c.100 AD), the outstanding rhetorician, the author of fundamental *Institutio Oratoria*, declared that Cicero was "not the name of a man, but of eloquence itself." Ciceronian thought became a resource for contemporary democracy. Ciceronian Latin had many admirers in many European countries for centuries to come. His perfect texts were the ideal manuals to learn by heart, to recite and imitate both for pupils and students, on the one hand, and prominent scholars, on the other hand. The influence of Ciceronian Latin on academic and political discourse in Europe was enormous. Cicero was the only orator to rival with Demosthenes during the centuries to come. Cicero's *De Officiis* was the second book printed in Europe after the Gutenberg Bible. Among Cicero's admirers were Desiderius Erasmus, Martin Luther, John Locke, Edward Gibbon, Diderot, Montesquieu, Voltaire, the Founding Fathers of the United States and the leaders of the French Revolution.

From Ancient Greece to the late 19th century, Rhetoric was an essential component of Western education. It was crucial in training orators, lawyers, counsellors, statesmen and remained the most important form of live communication with the public. In the 20th century rhetoric and theory of argumentation developed one more department – efficient interpersonal communication, from person to person, what is of critical importance for politicians.

Modern political discourse in Great Britain and the USA inherited many achievements of Rhetoric in the Ancient World. Nowadays the

vast scope of Rhetoric and its implementation are difficult to define but political discourse remains, in many ways, the paradigmatic example of techniques and concepts of persuasion many scholars render as a synonym for "rhetoric".

3. Political discourse in the United Kingdom

3.1. Political life in the Parliament of England and of the United Kingdom

Historically, the Parliament of England is considered to be a model for many countries. Disputes, debates, public speech as predecessors of modern political discourse originated in the Parliament of England. Politicians assembled regularly in coffee-shops and clubs to discuss political issues. Coffee-shops in London specialized in clientele and, consequently, in the discourse types. Gradually, traditions, rituals and rules of political life and political discourse emerged. The political system and political discourse evolved during the centuries but many traditions are observed in present-day British parliament.

The State Opening of the Parliament is still the quintessence of traditions and relationship of the monarch and the parliament. The relationship of Monarchs and the Parliament had ups and downs, peaceful co-existence and crises. No case can be considered by the Parliament until the Monarch addresses its members.

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_Opening_of_Parliament)

The address of the monarch to the parliament has not been a purely formal and traditional issue as it looks for many decades of Queen Elizabeth II reign. Sometimes, in historic moments, it required of the sovereign great physical and mental stamina, absolute confidence, impeccable logic, exquisite argumentation, convincing intonation as it was in the historical movie *Elizabeth* (1998) (52:00 – 58:00) when Elizabeth I spoke to the distinguished aristocrats on a Unified Church of England.

<https://www.americanrhetoric.com/MovieSpeeches/moviespeechelizabeth.html>

In the Parliament of Great Britain there are many centuries-old traditions:

Prayers. Each sitting in both Houses begins with prayers that follow the Christian faith. In the Commons the Speaker's Chaplain usually reads the prayers. In the Lords a senior bishop (Lord Spiritual) who sits in the Lords usually reads the prayers. MPs can use prayers cards to reserve seats in the chamber for the remainder of that sitting day. These 'prayer

cards' are dated and must be obtained personally by the Member who wishes to use them from an on duty attendant before the House meets.

Dragging the Speaker of the House of Commons. When a new Speaker of the House of Commons is elected, the successful candidate is physically dragged to the Chair by other MPs. This tradition has its roots in the Speaker's function to communicate the Commons' opinions to the monarch. Historically, if the monarch didn't agree with the message being communicated then the early death of the Speaker could follow. Therefore, as you can imagine, previous Speakers required some gentle persuasion to accept the post.

The Woolsack, tribute to English history and wealth, is the seat of the Lord Speaker in the House of Lords Chamber. The Woolsack is a large, wool-stuffed cushion or seat covered with red cloth. The Lord Speaker presides over business in the House of Lords, but does not control them like the Speaker in the Commons, as Members of the Lords regulate their own discussions. When the House of Lords is sitting, the Mace is placed on the rear of the Woolsack, behind the Lord Speaker.

In front of the Woolsack in the House of Lords Chamber is a larger cushion known as *the Judges' Woolsack*. During the State Opening of Parliament, the Judges' Woolsack is occupied by senior judges. This is a reminder of medieval Parliaments, when judges attended to offer legal advice. During normal sittings of the House, any Member of the Lords may sit on it.

The colours of the Houses of Parliament. A tradition that stands out to most visitors to the Parliament is the difference between the colours which are used in the Lords and Commons parts of the building. Green is the principal colour for furnishing and fabrics throughout the House of Commons, with the green benches of the Chamber perhaps the most recognisable of these. The first authoritative mention of the use of green in the Chamber occurred in 1663. In the House of Lords, red is similarly employed in upholstery, notepaper etc. This colour most likely stems from the use by monarchs of red as a royal colour and its consequent employment in the room where the Monarch met their court and nobles.

Symbols used in the parliament also reveal centuries-old traditions. The symbol used by the Commons consists of a portcullis topped by St Edward's Crown. The portcullis has been one of the Royal Badges of England since the accession of the Tudors in the 15th century, and was a favourite symbol of King Henry VII. It was originally the badge of Beaufort, his mother's family; and a pun on the name Tudor, as in *tu-door*. The original badge was of gold, but nowadays is shown in various colours, predominantly green or black.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_of_Commons_of_the_United_Kingdom
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_of_Lords

The form and style of debate in the House of Commons. The style of debate in the House has traditionally been one of cut-and-thrust; listening to other Members' speeches and intervening in them in spontaneous reaction to opponents' views. This style of debate can make the Commons Chamber a rather noisy place with robustly expressed opinion, many interventions, expressions of approval or disapproval.

In the 21st century new technologies are implemented, the agenda mirrors urgent social and political issues, new generations of members of the parliament participate in hectic debates. One can follow the debates online

<https://parliamentlive.tv/Commons>

<https://www.parliament.uk/>

<https://twitter.com/ukparliament>

<https://www.facebook.com/ukparliament>

<https://www.youtube.com/UKParliament>

<https://www.instagram.com/ukparliament/>

3.2. Prominent British politicians

Sir Thomas More

Sir Thomas More (1478 –1535), venerated in the Catholic Church as **Saint Thomas More**, English lawyer, judge, social philosopher, author, statesman, and noted Renaissance humanist.



From 1510 to 1518 he was one of the two under-sheriffs of London and in 1517 entered the king's service, becoming one of Henry VIII's most effective and trusted civil servants and acting as his secretary, interpreter, speech-writer, chief diplomat, advisor and confidant. In 1521 he was knighted, in 1523, he became the speaker of the House of Commons and in 1525 chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

He served Henry VIII as Lord High Chancellor of England from October 1529 to May 1532.

Thomas More dispatched cases with unprecedented rapidity.

He wrote *Utopia*, published in 1516, which describes the political system of an imaginary island state.

In 1534 More was arrested after refusing to take the *Oath of Supremacy*, an oath of succession repudiating the Pope and accepting the annulment of Henry's marriage. He was tried for treason at Westminster and on 6 July 1535 was executed on Tower Hill.

On his execution, he was reported to have said: "I die the King's good servant, and God's first".

Dignity during his imprisonment, trial and execution, contributed much to More's posthumous reputation, particularly among Roman Catholics. Pope Pius XI canonised More in 1935 as a martyr. Pope John Paul II in 2000 declared him the patron saint of statesmen and politicians.

His friend Erasmus defended More's character as "more pure than any snow" and described his genius as "such as England never had and never again will have." Upon learning of More's execution, Emperor Charles V said: "Had we been master of such a servant, we would rather have lost the best city of our dominions than such a worthy councillor."

Jonathan Swift, an Anglican, wrote that More was "a person of the greatest virtue this kingdom ever produced"

Thomas More, 'the man for all seasons', could also be characterized as 'rhetorical man'. As Peter Ackroyd observes, rhetoric was 'the basis of all his work. His wit, his ingenuity as a writer, his skill as an actor, and his public roles, were all part of the same dispensation'. A single essay cannot cover all these aspects of the man or his writing. More wrote voluminously, and even the Yale edition of his *Complete Works* – in fifteen volumes, two languages and multiple kinds – needs to be supplemented with editions of his personal letters and with his professional writings as lawyer, judge, king's secretary, orator, diplomat and lord chancellor, in so far as they are extant. Furthermore, for More and his fellow humanists rhetoric was essential and indispensable to writing, regardless of type. Obviously formative in what we call literature (which they thought of more broadly as *bonae litterae* – 'good writing'), it was equally important in polemics; and devotional writing, too, had its rhetoric, even if it was little interested in aesthetics. More excelled in each of the rhetorical kinds he used. Among readers in general, *Utopia* and his *History of King Richard the Third* have proven pre-eminent; but many have found solace and strength in his *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, his *De Tristitia Christi* and his prayers; and his polemical works, especially the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, have strong defenders. Many of More's 'literary' works belong to his humanist period, which lasted through the second decade of the sixteenth century or a few years later. These include almost all his English poems, most of his Latin epigrams, *Utopia*, several long Latin letter-essays and the Latin and English versions of the *History*.

The Cambridge Companion to Thomas More , pp. 46 - 68
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL9780521888622.004>[Opens in a new window]
Cambridge University Press, 2011

Faro, Giorgio Cunning as a snake: Thomas More and the right to stay silent
(with a long digression on Seneca)
<https://www.eupublishing.com/doi/full/10.3366/more.2020.0074>

The Trial of Sir THOMAS MORE Knight, Lord Chancellor of England, for High-Treason in denying; the King's Supremacy, May 7, 1535. the 26th of Henry VIII.
<http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/more/moretrialreport.html>

Thomas More Quotes

- “One of the greatest problems of our time is that many are schooled but few are educated.”
- “If the lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him.”
- “It is only natural, of course, that each man should think his own opinions best: the crow loves his fledgling, and the ape his cub.”
- “You wouldn't abandon ship in a storm just because you couldn't control the winds.”
- “There is nothing more inglorious than that glory that is gained by war.”
- “Love rules without rules.”

Oliver Cromwell

Oliver Cromwell (1599 –1658) was an English general and statesman who, first as a subordinate and later as Commander-in-Chief, led armies of the Parliament of England against King Charles I during the English Civil War, subsequently ruling the British Isles as Lord Protector from 1653 until his death in 1658. He acted simultaneously as head of state and head of government of the new republican commonwealth.



Cromwell is one of the most controversial figures in British and Irish history, considered a regicidal dictator by historians such as David Sharp, a military dictator by Winston Churchill, a bourgeois revolutionary by Leon Trotsky, and a hero of liberty by John Milton, Thomas Carlyle, and Samuel Rawson Gardiner. His tolerance of Protestant sects did not extend to Catholics, and the measures taken by him against Catholics, particularly in Ireland, have been characterised by some as genocidal or near-genocidal, although the worst atrocities took place after he had returned to England. He was selected as one of the ten greatest Britons of all time in a 2002 BBC poll.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oliver_Cromwell

Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches

https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/Lieber_Collection/pdf/Cromwell_Vol-2.pdf

https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/Lieber_Collection/pdf/Cromwell_Vol-1.pdf

Silence and Laughter in the Cromwellian House of Commons

FEBRUARY 8, 2022

<https://thehistoryofparliament.wordpress.com/2022/02/08/silence-and-laughter-in-the-cromwellian-house-of-commons/>

H. R. Trevor-Roper Oliver Cromwell and His Parliaments

https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-349-01479-8_6?noAccess=true

Oliver Cromwell: 'In the name of God, go!' speech dismissing Rump Parliament - 20 April 1653, London, England

<https://speakola.com/political/oliver-cromwell-speech-dismissing-rump-parliament-1653>

‘In the name of God, go’: the history of a speech that has brought down parliament and a prime minister Published: January 20, 2022 5.18pm GMT

<https://theconversation.com/in-the-name-of-god-go-the-history-of-a-speech-that-has-brought-down-parliament-and-a-prime-minister-175368>

William Pitt, the Elder

William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham

(1708 –1778)

was a British statesman of the Whig group who served as Prime Minister of Great Britain in the middle of the 18th century. Historians call him *Chatham* or **William Pitt the Elder**, to distinguish him from his son, William Pitt the Younger, who was also a prime minister.

Pitt was also known as **the Great Commoner**, because of his long-standing refusal to accept a title until 1766.



Pitt was a member of the British cabinet and its informal leader from 1756 to 1761, during the Seven Years' War (including the French and Indian War in the American colonies). He again led the ministry, holding the official title of Lord Privy Seal, between 1766 and 1768.

Much of his power came from his brilliant oratory.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Pitt,_1st_Earl_of_Chatham

It is hardly surprising that such an erratic record did not win Pitt a place in the limited ministerial reconstruction which followed. However, he soon reinforced his claim as a rising young politician by two wide-ranging speeches supporting moves to set up a parliamentary inquiry into Walpole's years in power. His outspokenness won him one of the last places on the eventually ineffective secret committee of inquiry.

Very soon Pitt won new notice as a speaker of first rank. As the limited war with Spain of 1739 merged into general European conflict over the Austrian succession from 1740, opposition to the interventionist foreign policy of Lord Carteret became focused, late in 1742, on Britain's recent agreement to take 16,000 Hanoverian troops into British pay. Always latent, anti-Hanoverian sentiment rose sharply, expressing widespread popular disillusionment with post-Walpolean politics. To this anti-Hanoverianism Pitt gave parliamentary voice without thought for the consequences. In November he spoke against payment of the troops, in Richard Grenville's words 'like ten thousand angels'. A little later he argued that their hiring was but another instance of the way in which 'this great, this powerful, this formidable kingdom, is considered only as a province to a despicable electorate' (Cobbett, *Parl. hist.*, 12, 1741–3, 1035)—words which compounded his offence to the king while extending it to the prince of Wales, from whom he was already alienated

by the prince's reconciliation with the king. In the following session Pitt probed divisions among ministers with a new political sharpness by repeatedly attacking Carteret as 'an execrable, a sole minister', 'a Hanover troop minister', who was establishing 'a Prerogative Administration' (*ibid.*, 13, 1743–7, 136n., 465n., 678n.).

Pitt had won office by his parliamentary skills. Yet over the next eight years relatively few speeches are recorded, and most are on foreign affairs; only for 1751 are there records of speeches on a range of issues. There is, however, clear evidence beyond the sparse records of parliamentary debates for his claims that he wielded the 'oar of parliamentary drudgery' (*Memoirs and Correspondence of ... Lyttelton*, 2.467) on routine business and gave his 'most zealous endeavours in parliament, on the points that laboured the most' (Newcastle MSS, BL, Add. MS 32734, fol. 323), notably the annual mutiny bills which the opposition targeted and, above all, foreign policy.

Pitt's now mature oratory indeed brought him wide recognition as 'beyond comparison' (except for the solicitor-general, William Murray) the best speaker in the Commons (*Letters of ... Chesterfield*, 4.1678). But this reputation—buttressed by neither strength of connection nor amelioration of the king's dislike — was, from mid-1751, gravely weakened by more than three years of virtual silence, enforced by serious illness. So Pitt was hardly in a position to exploit the turmoil into which the political world was thrown in March 1754 by the unexpected death of Henry Pelham. Indeed, Pitt was entirely passed over as the ministry was reconstructed under Newcastle.

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22337>

Edmund Burke

Edmund Burke (1729–1797) was a British and Irish statesman, economist, and philosopher.

Born in Dublin, Burke served as a member of parliament (MP) between 1766 and 1794 in the House of Commons of Great Britain with the Whig Party after moving to London in 1750.



In 1757, Burke published a treatise on aesthetics titled *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* that attracted the attention of prominent Continental thinkers such as Denis Diderot and Immanuel Kant.

In the 19th century, Burke was praised by both conservatives and liberals. Subsequently, in the 20th century, he became widely regarded as the philosophical founder of conservatism.

In December 1765, Burke entered the House of Commons of the British Parliament as Member for Wendover in Buckinghamshire, a pocket borough in the gift of Lord Fermanagh, later 2nd Earl Verney and a close political ally of Rockingham. After Burke delivered his maiden speech, William Pitt the Elder said he had "spoken in such a manner as to stop the mouths of all Europe" and that the Commons should congratulate itself on acquiring such a Member. The 19th-century Liberal Prime Minister William Gladstone considered Burke "a magazine of wisdom on Ireland and America" and in his diary recorded: "Made many extracts from Burke—*sometimes almost divine*". The Radical MP and anti-Corn Law activist Richard Cobden often praised Burke's *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*. The Liberal historian Lord Acton considered Burke one of the three greatest Liberals, along with Gladstone and Thomas Babington Macaulay. In politics he resembled the modern architect who would restore an old house instead of pulling it down to construct a new one on the site". Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* was controversial at the time of its publication, but after his death it was to become his best known and most influential work and a manifesto for Conservative thinking.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edmund_Burke

Speech was to be at the centre of Burke's activities for much of his political life. Although he enjoyed the conventional education of the Irish professional classes, his education as an orator was in an important sense self-made. Lacking serious wealth and influence, young Irishmen of his rank knew that without rhetorical skills they would find it difficult to rise in the world. Many looked to Trinity College, Dublin to prepare them for their entry into public life. By all accounts the classical curriculum at Trinity, where Burke matriculated in 1744, was thoroughly taught, and he was able to extend the knowledge of the rhetorical canon he had already gained at Abraham Shackleton's school in Ballitore. Yet we know from his early correspondence that he was frustrated by the rigidity of Trinity's methods of instruction and stifled by its insistence on the study of scholastic logic. In the end, his extra-curricular activities as a youthful speaker in Dublin may have taught him more about the business of persuasion than anything he heard within Trinity's walls.

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/abs/cambridge-companion-to-edmund-burke/burke-as-rhetorician-and-orator/4E5EB0187271F677FD80FEAFB2D706B7>

Edmund Burke Quotes

- “You can never plan the future by the past.”
- “The greater the power, the more dangerous the abuse.”
- “Our patience will achieve more than our force.”
- “Those who don't know history are destined to repeat it.”
- “History is a pact between the dead, the living, and the yet unborn.”

Speech to Parliament on Reconciliation with the American Colonies 22 March 1775

<https://americainclass.org/sources/makingrevolution/war/text1/burkereconspeech.pdf>

The Political Thought of Edmund Burke - Hertog Foundation

https://hertogfoundation.org/courses/the-political-thought-of-edmund-burke?gclid=Cj0KCQiAu62QBhC7ARIsALXijXSh-OrnEbU_k2ukbH0jvwvJ7JTL

Benjamin Disraeli

Benjamin Disraeli, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield (1804 –1881)

British statesman

and Conservative politician who twice served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

He played a central role in the creation of the modern Conservative Party, defining its policies and its broad outreach.



Disraeli is remembered for his influential voice in world affairs, his political battles with the Liberal Party leader William Ewart Gladstone, and his one-nation conservatism or "Tory democracy". He made the Conservatives the party most identified with the glory and power of the British Empire.

He was also an accomplished novelist, publishing immensely popular works of fiction even as prime minister.

After several unsuccessful attempts to be elected to the Parliament, Benjamin Disraeli, finally became a MP and managed to rise from

obscurity of backbencher to accomplished public speaker and a leading Conservative politician of Victorian England. On finally achieving his long ambition, Disraeli declared, “I have climbed to the top of the greasy pole”.

Disraeli's political career developed in competition, rivalry and mutual hatred with Gladstone. They had different social background, education, mentality, morals, political views and political attributes. Disraeli was more pragmatic. In 1872 Disraeli faced Gladstone across the Dispatch Box, and it became Britain's most famous parliamentary rivalry. The contrast in their physical appearances and their styles was stark, and the hatred was strong. Though some contemporaries said outside the Parliament they communicated on friendly terms.

Disraeli was described as a Parliamentary stylist. He was witty and sharp. His best oratorical achievements were courage, originality, unbounded cleverness, the imaginative faculty and sarcasm as the most effective weapon in debates. He expressed his thoughts in numerous political writings. Many experts rendered his novels as masks to penetrate his views of a politician. His legacy was in his library.

It was after 1874 that Disraeli's love affair with the Queen began. Her power was limited but mattered just enough for it to pay a Prime Minister to be on good terms with her. This Gladstone could never do. He lacked Disraeli's gift of flattery, and some of his ideas were anathema to her, especially in the field of foreign affairs. Disraeli was charming and shameless in his flattery to Queen Victoria and they had great relationship for many years. He was later to tell a colleague who had asked for advice on how to handle the Queen, “first of all, remember she is woman”. Benjamin Disraeli's nickname was 'Dizzy'.

Benjamin Disraeli and Parliamentary Reform

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZPXTaKYMnPU>

Benjamin Disraeli's Crystal Palace Speech, 24 June 1872 | Objects of the Conservative Party

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gQex6tlULC8>

Impressions of Disraeli (1931) | BFI National Archive

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1oXFdVi-hSE>

Mr Benjamin Disraeli: speeches in 1866 (Hansard) - the API

<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/people/mr-benjamin-disraeli/1866>

The speech style of Benjamin Disraeli by Carroll C.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00335634709381330?journalCode=rqjs20>

Benjamin Disraeli Quotes

- “Time is precious, but truth is more precious than time.”
- “He who gains time gains everything.”
- “When men are pure, laws are useless; when men are corrupt, laws are broken.”
- “The best way to become acquainted with a subject is to write about it.”
- “The secret to success is constancy of purpose.”
- “Action may not always bring happiness; but there is no happiness without action.”
- “When I want to read a novel, I write one.”
- “My idea of an agreeable person is a person who agrees with me.”
- “One of the hardest things in this world is to admit you are wrong. And nothing is more helpful in resolving a situation than its frank admission.”
- “Nurture your mind with great thoughts, for you will never go any higher than you think.”
- “Where knowledge ends, religion begins.”
- “Youth is a blunder; manhood a struggle; old age a regret.”
- “Life is too short to be little.”
- “Man is not the creature of circumstances, circumstances are the creatures of men.”
- “What we learn from history is that we do not learn from history”
- “Patience is a necessary ingredient of genius.”
- “There is no index of character as sure as the voice.”
- “Predominant opinions are generally the opinions of the generation that is vanishing.”
- “Never apologize, never explain.”
- “Never explain. Never complain.”
- “Political institutions, founded on abstract rights and principles, are mere nullities.”

William Gladstone

William Ewart Gladstone

(1809 –1898),

British statesman and Liberal politician, a colossus of 19th century British politics. In a career lasting over 60 years, he served for 12 years as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, spread over four terms beginning in 1868 and ending in 1894. He also served as Chancellor of the Exchequer four times, serving over 12 years.

The words *Gladstonian* and *Gladstonianism* were derived from his name.



Gladstone's characteristics as a speaker

From the beginning to the end of his public life Gladstone was essentially a debater. ... In his prosperous middle-class Scottish home, it was a common habit, encouraged by his father, for the members of his family to dispute the most ordinary matters such as whether a window should be opened or closed, or whether an insect which had found its way to the room should be killed or allowed to escape. To a large extent, Gladstone carried with him to the Parliament the contentiousness engendered by his early, family habit of arguing almost every subject without regard to its importance. At Eton and at Oxford he took prominent part in literary and debating activities. In addition, he read systematically in the classics, including the Greek and Roman orators and rhetoricians, as well as modern students of rhetoric...

Speaking ability was regarded as the essential key to political preferment in parliament in the 19th century. Gladstone's political career was guided at several critical points by the speeches he made. His speech against the Reform Bill at the Oxford Union, in 1831, indirectly earned him the first seat in Parliament. His three-hour attack on Disraeli's budget in 1852 opened the way for him to the Chancelorship of the Exchequer in the following year. His celebrated Midlothian campaign speeches, 1879-1880, were influential in returning him to the premiership for the second time in 1880.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00335635809382302?journalCode=rqjs20>

Gladstone's training as a speaker

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00335635409382001?journalCode=rqs20>

Gladstone's charismatic leadership was crucial in translating his views into votes and parliamentary power. But the reason why his charisma was effective was that his message was in tune with popular expectations, and in particular with a strong current within the British tradition of liberty. This consisted of two components: Christian humanitarianism in both domestic and overseas affairs, and an emphasis on participatory citizenship.

Gladstone's father had made a fortune with slave labour in the West Indies. It is remarkable that he could voice these concerns more eloquently than any other contemporary politician, especially when he galvanised the country with his campaign about the iniquity of ethnic cleansing in Bulgaria in 1876. His words went straight to the heart of people in different paths of life, from the humble provincial Nonconformists, whose outlook was shaped by the stories of ancient Israel, to the sophisticated Oxford idealists, who followed Immanuel Kant's injunction that men should be treated as ends in themselves, rather than means to an end.

<https://liberalhistory.org.uk/h>

The voice of William Ewart Gladstone - 1888

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U6-2eZwUZKk>

William Ewart Gladstone: Liberal Four-time British Prime Minister

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uqqVdsqnMic>

Gladstone and Parliamentary Reform | Origins of UK Democracy

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ijaJwSdvgLA>

The British orators, IV: Gladstone's characteristics as a speaker by Albert A. Austen

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00335635809382302?journalCode=rqs20>

Gladstone's training as a speaker

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00335635409382001?journalCode=rqs20>

A Short Life of William Ewart Gladstone: With Extracts from His Speeches and Writings

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=hEs1AQAAMAAJ&pg=GBS.PA6&hl=ru>

William Gladstone Quotes

- “Justice delayed is justice denied. ”
- “Nothing that is morally wrong can be politically right. ”
- “No one ever became great except through many and great mistakes. ”
- “National injustice is the surest road to national downfall. ”
- “Selfishness is the greatest curse of the human race. ”
- “Commerce is the equalizer of the wealth of nations. ”
- “One example is worth a thousand arguments. ”
- “The errors of former times are recorded for our instruction in order that we may avoid their repetition. ”

Unlike Disraeli, Gladstone had bad relationship with Queen Victoria and preferred to lecture her. He was honest and fair in politics what is pretty rare. It was old-school. Their style of debate was different as their personalities - Gladstone torrential, eloquent, evangelical, vehement and 'preachy'; Disraeli - urbane, witty and worldly, with a streak of romance as well as cynicism. Gladstone keeps the record of the longest speech on the budget speaking for 4 hours 45 minutes and drinking a strange concoction of egg and sherry.

...they were not direct antagonists for most of their political careers. Indeed initially they were both loyal to the Tory party, the Church and the landed interest. Although their paths diverged over the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and later over fiscal policy more generally, it was not until the later 1860s that their differences over parliamentary reform, Irish and Church policy assumed great partisan significance. Even then their personal relations remained fairly cordial until their dispute over the Eastern Question in the later 1870s.

Disraeli and Gladstone: Opposing Forces

By Robert Blake

Last updated 2011-02-17

https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/victorians/disraeli_gladstone_01.shtml

In 1895, at the age of 85, Gladstone bequeathed £40,000 (equivalent to approximately £4.65 million today) and much of his 32,000 volume library to found St Deiniol's Library in Hawarden, Wales. It had begun

with just 5,000 items at his father's home Fasque which were transferred to Hawarden for research in 1851.

Henry Palmerstone

Henry John "Harry" Temple,

3rd Viscount Palmerston (1784–1865), was a British statesman, who was twice Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in the mid-19th century.

Palmerston dominated British foreign policy during the period 1830 to 1865, when Britain stood at the height of its imperial power. He held office almost continuously from 1807 until his death in 1865. He began his parliamentary career as a Tory, defected to the Whigs in 1830, and became the first prime minister from the newly formed Liberal Party in 1859.

He was highly popular with the British public. David Brown argues that "an important part of Palmerston's appeal lay in his dynamism and vigour".

Lord Palmerston was no orator; his language was unstudied, and his delivery somewhat embarrassed; but generally he found the words to say the right thing at the right time, and to address the House of Commons in the language best adapted to the capacity and the temper of his audience.

He may have become Prime Minister more than 150 years ago, but Lord Palmerston was, in many respects, a truly 21st-century politician. He was a vocal champion of liberty and adept at keeping the popular press onside. Yet, above all, Palmerston knew how to gauge public opinion and use it to his advantage, as Terry Jenkins explains – and he became one of Queen Victoria's most successful prime ministers.



Lord Palmerston: the people's champion

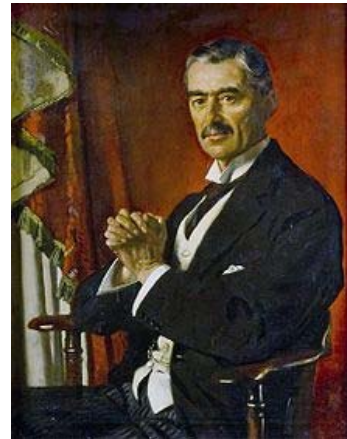
<https://www.historyextra.com/period/victorian/lord-palmerston-politician-queen-victoria-prime-minister-peoples-champion/>

Henry Palmerstone Quotes

- “There are no permanent alliances, only permanent interests. ”
- “We have not eternal allies and we have not perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual and those interests it is our duty to follow.”

Neville Chamberlain

Arthur Neville Chamberlain (1869 – 1940) was a British politician of the Conservative Party who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from May 1937 to May 1940. He is best known for his foreign policy of appeasement, and in particular for his signing of the Munich Agreement on 30 September 1938, ceding the German-speaking Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia to Nazi Germany led by Adolf Hitler.



Following the German invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939, which marked the beginning of the Second World War, Chamberlain announced the declaration of war on Germany two days later and led the United Kingdom through the first eight months of the war until his resignation as Prime Minister on 10 May 1940.

British Declaration of War (audio and transcript of Chamberlain's speech)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t2qlZHW-fDI>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xcSnKArKz8E>

At 11:15 am, 3 September 1939, Chamberlain addressed the nation by radio, stating that the United Kingdom was at war with Germany:

I am speaking to you from the cabinet room at 10 Downing Street. This morning the British ambassador in Berlin handed the German government a final note stating that unless we heard from them by 11 o'clock that they were prepared at once to withdraw their troops from Poland, a

state of war would exist between us. I have to tell you now that no such undertaking has been received, and that consequently this country is at war with Germany. ... We have a clear conscience, we have done all that any country could do to establish peace, but a situation in which no word given by Germany's ruler could be trusted, and no people or country could feel itself safe had become intolerable ... Now may God bless you all and may He defend the right. For it is the evil things that we shall be fighting against, brute force, bad faith, injustice, oppression, and persecution. And against them I am certain that the right will prevail. "

That afternoon Chamberlain addressed the House of Commons' first Sunday session in over 120 years. He spoke to a quiet House in a statement which even opponents termed "restrained and therefore effective":

"Everything that I have worked for, everything that I have hoped for, everything that I have believed in during my public life has crashed into ruins. There is only one thing left for me to do: that is devote what strength and power I have to forwarding the victory of the cause for which we have sacrificed so much. "

In 2020 British historian Alan Allport concludes Neville Chamberlain was:

vain, mean, casually bigoted, boring, ungrateful, spiteful, obstinate and friendless. Egotistical but also insecure and thin-skinned, he cultivated close relations with the Fleet Street barons and lobby correspondents and gloried in favourable newspaper reports about himself, yet complained bitterly that the press was always attacking him.

3.3. Winston Churchill

Winston Churchill, in full **Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill**, (born November 30, 1874, Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, England—died January 24, 1965, London), British statesman, orator, and author who as prime minister (1940–45, 1951–55) rallied the British people during World War II and led his country from the brink of defeat to victory.

The Nobel Prize in Literature **1953** was awarded to Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill "for his mastery of historical and biographical description as well as for brilliant oratory in defending exalted human values."



Winston Churchill's parliamentary oratory

Winston Churchill was elected to the House of Commons as a Conservative MP in 1901. He was the youngest MP and made his first speech in the House of Commons just in six months what was the unprecedented event. That very fact sparked great interest to a young parliamentarian. Since then Winston Churchill delivered speeches regularly after elaborate prior preparation and rehearsal. Quite often he generated several variants of the speech taking into account potential questions from other MPs, predicting debates on the issue. He learnt his texts by heart and his speech was always an event. One day his memory failed and Churchill could not recollect a single word in the middle of his speech but he did not dare to take the text out of his breast pocket. Finally, he proceeded to his place. It took everyone in the House of Commons several minutes to recover after that extraordinary episode. Winston Churchill made a conclusion and since then kept the text of the speech in his hands.

Being at school the would-be winner of Nobel Prize in Literature did not like to read and was not promising at all. During his political career Churchill read a lot, stylistically polished all his texts to make them more appealing, persuasive, to win the audience, to convince the opponents... Visiting universities worldwide Churchill encouraged students to read books every minute. During his thorough preparation of the texts, Churchill used intensively the assistance of university students who "*googled*" for him the information in the libraries and in mass media in pre-Google era.

During WWII Winston Churchill mobilized the English language, used it as a weapon and delivered very powerful speeches. Idiosyncratic selection of the language (*I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat*), rhythm and his performance contributed to the effect and inspired the nation. His vocabulary was vast with numerous implications, quotes and references to the Bible and Shakespeare. The markers of his unique individual style were repetition as an effective argumentative device (*We shall fight...*), anaphora (*struggle and suffering*) and questions. These elements of his texts functioned as anchors (as these elements of the texts are categorized in Neuro-Linguistic Programming) and captured minds of the people. Short lines, necessary for him to breathe, to pause for effect provided the rhythm for his performance. His voice, on the radio was another powerful instrument. Churchill delivered his speeches slowly and carefully what proved he was a charismatic politician and a great showman. But the texts of his speeches published in the newspapers were no less effective.

Churchill Historic Speeches

After becoming prime minister, Churchill was facing calls from some to make peace with Hitler, as the loss of so many men in World War I was still a recent memory. But in his first speech in the Commons as the country's new leader, he made it clear the only option for his government was to "wage war".

Blood, toil, tears and sweat

"I hope that any of my friends and colleagues, or former colleagues, who are affected by the political reconstruction, will make allowance, all allowance, for any lack of ceremony with which it has been necessary to act.

"I would say to the House, as I said to those who have joined this government: 'I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat'."

(May 13, 1940, House of Commons)

“We shall go on to the end,
we shall fight in France,
we shall fight on the seas and oceans,
we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air,
we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be,
we shall fight on the beaches,
we shall fight on the landing grounds,
we shall fight in the fields and in the streets,
we shall fight in the hills;

we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.

(June 4, 1940, House of Commons)

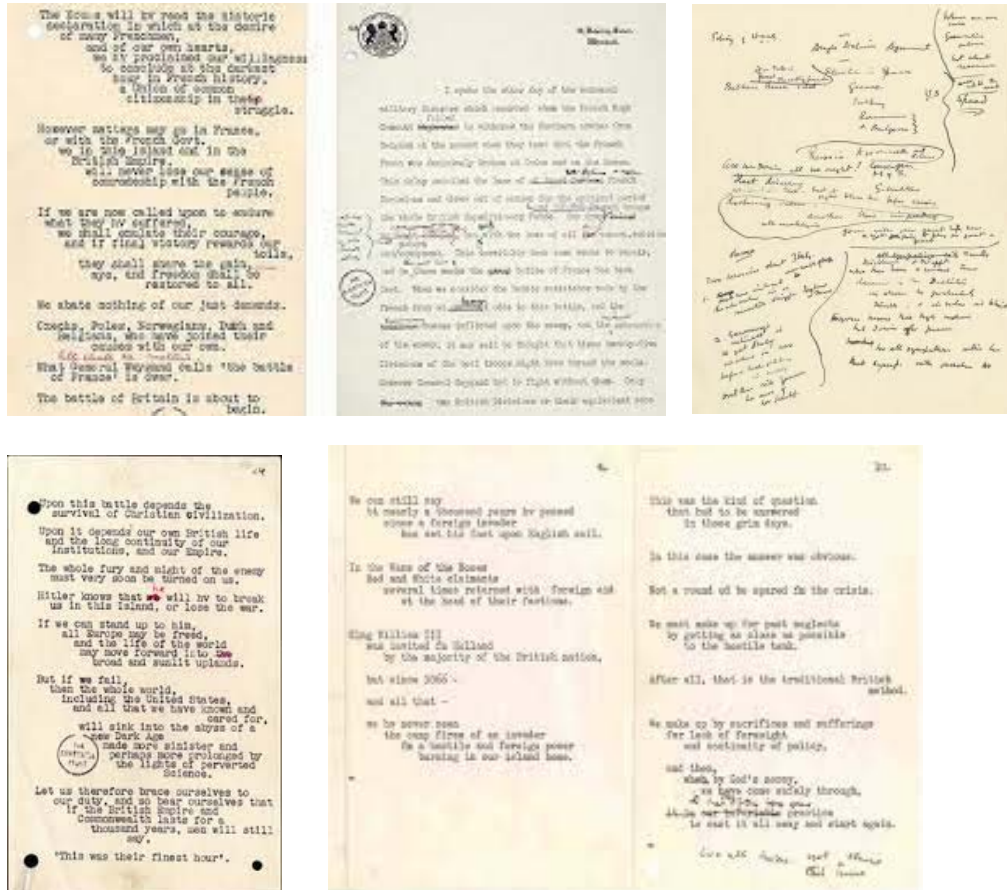


Fig.1. Pages of Winston Churchill's speeches

What General Weygand called the Battle of France is over. I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions, and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island, or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duty, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, "This was their finest hour".

British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, "This was their finest hour."

(*Their finest hour, June 18, 1940*)

<https://winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1940-the-finest-hour/their-finest-hour/>

1. "We Shall Fight on the Beaches" or "We Shall Never Surrender" is a famous historic speech delivered by Winston Churchill to the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom on June 4, 1940.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_LncVnecLA
2. Their finest hour, June 18, 1940.
<https://winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1940-the-finest-hour/their-finest-hour/>
3. Winston Churchill's V-E Day Speech:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bB4SxTGqQQU>
4. Honorary Citizen of the United States - International Churchill ...
<https://winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1946-1963-elder-statesman/united-states-citizen/>
5. Sir Winston US Citizen (1963)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tczdRDuomCk>
6. Nobel Prize For Churchill (1953)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3-NLTcQA1b8>
7. Winston Churchill Banquet speech, December 10, 1953
<https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1953/churchill/speech/>
8. Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech - 1946 | Today In History | 5 Mar 17
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X2FM3_h33Tg
9. Iron Curtain speech
<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/cold-war-on-file/iron-curtain-speech/>
10. This Was A Man Aka Tribute To Sir Winston Churchill (1965)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BkQdFSQOFmU>
11. Selected Originals - Westminster's Day Of Majesty Aka Churchill Presentation (1954)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fmEqzRdwy6s>
12. How Winston Churchill's Speeches helped to win WW2
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v3I_-5njb1k

13. Winston Churchill, Audio and video files

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Winston-Churchill/images-videos>

The effectiveness of Winston Churchill's speeches was predetermined by the structure and the components of his texts: a very strong and attractive introduction, the speech was always devoted to one issue only and divided into three-four parts. Churchill preferred to shift to another part of the speech directly and used short sentences: *The first of our resources is money / I come to the question of Chinese labour / I come to the Navy / I now come to the Dardanelles/ What are we to do? I said the situation was intolerable.* Questions, idioms, metaphors became the basis for concentric argumentation. Emotional, optimistic, future-oriented conclusion was to impress the audience and give hope:

"That is the very danger, and the chance is in our hands to save the situation."

"Work and despair not."

"I can only say let us go further together."

"Advance with courage, and the cause will prevail."

"Today we may say before an awe-struck world, "We are still masters of our fate. We are still captains of our souls."

Finally, simple language was used to package all the ideas. As Churchill put it once: "Broadly speaking, short words are best, and old words, when short, are best of all." Other language means Winston Churchill employed effectively are repetition, multiple negation in the sentences, the Imperative Mood, axiological, value-centred lexical units, raw numbers, statistical data about losses and death toll only, categorical statements, absolute and total confidence.

Repetition was one of his favourite and most effective means of persuasion:

"The Navy is strong – we have got to keep it strong - strong enough, that is to use it for all its greatest strength to the best possible advantage..."

Contrast was another effective rhetorical device:

"They are enough to irritate, they are not enough to overawe."

"It is outside party; it is above party."

"Having exercised great authority he now exerts no authority."

"Having held high employment he now has no employment."

"Find them, not referendum."

"But, if we have been powerful in the past, shall we then be powerless in the future?"

"Liberalism has its own history and its own tradition. Socialism has its own formulas and its own arms."

"Socialism seeks to pull down wealth"

"Liberalism seeks to raise up poverty."

In wartime Churchill believed he had to reveal cruel truth:

- *“Losses have to be incurred in war, and mistakes will certainly be made from time to time. Our Navy keeps the sea, our ships are in constant movement, valuable ships run risks every day.”*
- *“Britain is here today – scarred, weakened, impoverished, disillusioned, somewhat embittered but nevertheless intact, unbroken, mistress in her own house.”*
- *“Our fight is hard. It will also be long. We might not expect early success”*
- *“England is bleeding to death...”*

Winston Churchill quite often appealed to British values and patriotism:

- *“We may be able to look back upon solid achievements in the interests of the people and upon an added glory to the luster of the British Empire.”*
- *“Thus alone shall we be able to sustain and to renew through the generations which are to come the fame and the power of the British race”*
- *“Our country honour in saluting the memory of one of those whom Disraeli would have called “the English worthy.”*
- *“Force in its highest expression is a manifestation not of material but of spiritual things. This is what Germany has yet to learn. “Blood and Iron” is their motto. Let “Soul and Fire” be ours.”*
- *“It may promote contentment and stability, and make our island more truly a home for all its people.”*

Addressee factor was of particular importance for Churchill: he is always thinking of the impression his speech would make, not in his immediate audience, but in London ”as if London were hanging on his lips.” Questions were used as a method to establish contact and feedback with the audience.

Churchill Quotes

- *“Never, never, never give up.”*
- *“If you are going through hell, keep going.”*
- *“Harsh laws are at times better than no laws at all.”*
- *“Everyone has his day, and some days last longer than others.”*
- *“It’s not enough that we do our best; sometimes we have to do what’s required.”*
- *“Success is the ability to go from one failure to another with no loss of enthusiasm.”*
- *“All the greatest things are simple, and many can be expressed in a single word: freedom, justice, honor, duty, mercy, hope.”*

- “Time and money are largely interchangeable terms.”
- “Personally I’m always ready to learn, although I do not always like being taught.”
- “Success is not final, failure is not fatal, it is the courage to continue that counts.”
- “It is not in our power to anticipate our destiny.”
- “My tastes are simple: I am easily satisfied with the best.”
- “To improve is to change, so to be perfect is to change often.”
- “When the eagles are silent, the parrots begin to jabber.”
- “You have enemies? Good. That means you’ve stood up for something in your life.”
- “The greatest lesson in life is to know that even fools are right sometimes.”
- “The farther backward you can look, the farther forward you are likely to see.”
- “I never worry about action, but only about inaction.”
- “In a war, you can only be killed once, but in politics, many times.”
- “Politics is the ability to foretell what is going to happen tomorrow, next week, next month and next year. And to have the ability afterwards to explain why it didn’t happen.”
- “The empires of the future are the empires of the mind.”
- “Politics is not a game. It is an earnest business.”

After WWII Churchill’s belligerent rhetoric ran counter to peaceful life and aspirations of people. He had to resign as the prime minister but quite often was invited by universities and other institutions worldwide to make a speech. Winston Churchill was more than a charismatic person, more than a prominent politician and celebrity. He was an epoch. Aristotle Onnassis, then the richest man in the world, was eager to invite Winston Churchill and Clemetine, his wife, to his famous yacht just to listen to the stories one cannot find in any book and any library, to have amiable conversations with that unique man.

3.4. Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Hilda Thatcher, Baroness Thatcher (13 October 1925 – 8 April 2013), a British stateswoman who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990 and Leader of the Conservative Party from 1975 to 1990. She was the longest-serving British prime minister of the 20th century and the first woman to hold that office.

A Soviet journalist dubbed her the "**Iron Lady**", a nickname that became associated with her uncompromising politics and leadership style.

As prime minister, she implemented policies that became known as Thatcherism.



Margaret Thatcher's footprint in politics and British history, *Thatcherism* as her legacy are still being discussed, thirty years after her resignation as a prime minister in 1990. Some experts called the phenomenon “a cult of Maggie” and argued that it was “relatively clear, if sometimes contradictory body of ideas, attitudes and values to which her personality gave unusual coherence” (Campbell 2004). Many admirers believed she was a new Churchill, at least ‘the greatest living Englishwoman’. The statements like “Thatcher was widely respected but not liked...”, “She falls short of greatness but she radiates dominance...” did not belittle Margaret Thatcher. She replied: "If you set out to be liked, you would be prepared to compromise on anything at any time, and you would achieve nothing. ""Being prime minister is a lonely job... you cannot lead from the crowd."

Margaret Thatcher's chief press secretary Bernard Ingham managed to centralize the government's flow of information making Thatcher the only source of information people could get. The first terms of Margaret Thatcher's premiership were accompanied by sharp mediatization of political, administrative and parliamentary processes that largely contributed to the communication in the political arena. After Margaret Thatcher's resignation, a new type of political culture and communication was established. This period was called “sleaze” (marked by low character and quality, lacking firmness) and indicated a turning point in the British political discourse.

Margaret Thatcher overshadowed all leaders of the Conservative Party and other British politicians after her resignation. In 2013,

Margaret Thatcher's death provoked new hectic disputes about her premiership, Thatcherism and even ceremonial funeral she held. Her death polarised the British society what was similar to a national split between her admirers and haters with anti-Thatcher demonstrations throughout Great Britain and explosion of angry posts in social media. The latter was so noticeable that all posts, pro- and anti-Thatcher, were collected to make a databank to analyze linguistically highly emotional posts, images, multimodal communication that was unprecedented as it is.

After resignation and even after death, Margaret Thatcher and “*Thatcher’s ghost*” continue to pursue British politics: “*The unquiet ghost. How and why Margaret Thatcher continues to haunt and damage the Conservative Party*” [The Economist, Sep 13th 2007]; “*Margaret Thatcher's ghost still sets agenda in divided...*” [19 April 2013, The Independent]; “*Thatcher’s ghost lurks over Brexit campaign*” [June 21, 2016]; “*The ghost of Margaret Thatcher summoned to solve Brexit*” [Sep 10, 2019, Daily Dot]; “*I wonder what the ghost of Margaret Thatcher would make of her successor’s new cabinet?*” [16 September 2021, Independent]; “*Boris Johnson has unleashed the ghost of Margaret Thatcher – and frightened off potential voters*” [6 August 2021].

What Margaret Thatcher's death teaches us about social media. The death of Margaret Thatcher has bought us the best, the worst and the sulliest in British media

by John Owens

<https://www.prweek.com/article/1179085/margaret-thatchers-death-teaches-us-social-media>

More than 1.5 million tweets about Thatcher after her death

by Emily Alpert

<https://www.latimes.com/world/la-xpm-2013-apr-08-la-fg-wn-tweets-about-thatcher-20130408-story.html>

Thatcher death tweets examined in world’s first cross-platform academic research project into social media images

<https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/news/nr/thatcher-social-media-image-study-1.381177>

Margaret Thatcher and misapplied death etiquette

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/apr/08/margaret-thatcher-death-etiquette>

Margaret Thatcher's death evokes polarized reaction

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/margaret-thatcher-s-death-evokes-polarized-reaction-1.1360286>

Death and funeral of Margaret Thatcher

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Death_and_funeral_of_Margaret_Thatcher

Thatcher funeral: Bishop remembers funny memories of former PM

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WEgBa24xLcU>

Thatcher's Linguistic Legacy

<https://www.worldwidewords.org/articles/ar-tha1.htm>

Margaret Thatcher casts a long shadow on theatre and arts *by Michael Billington*

<https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2013/apr/08/margaret-thatcher-long-shadow-theatre>

Britain's first female prime minister came to power with the country descending into industrial and economic chaos. A relatively inexperienced politician, she nonetheless adopted a personal style of indomitable self-confidence and brooked no weakness in herself or her colleagues. Derisively dubbed the 'Iron Lady' by the Soviet press, she wore the moniker with pride. Her government's free-market policies included trade liberalisation, deregulation, sweeping privatisation, breaking the power of the unions, focus on the individual and the creation of an 'enterprise culture'. 'Thatcherism' has had a profound and lasting economic and social impact on Britain, and still sharply divides opinion to this day. The first PM to serve three consecutive terms (including two 'landslide' victories) she was eventually toppled by her own party following the disastrous imposition of a 'poll tax'. Nonetheless, she is generally considered to be one of the best peace time prime ministers of the 20th century.

Howzat! The day a 'dead sheep' turned into a roaring lion

Tory strife at No 10 is nothing new. Thirty years ago, Geoffrey Howe saw off Margaret Thatcher with one lethal speech

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/nov/15/geoffrey-howe-dead-sheep-turned-roaring-lion>

“Thatcherism” is used all over the world to describe a brisk, unsentimental pull-yourself-up-by-your-bootstraps approach. It can indicate political obstinacy. It has also become synonymous with “cuts” [Independent, 09 April 2013]. “What is Thatcherism? This was a revolutionary, even dangerous notion to most postwar politicians” [BBC, 10 April 2013]; “Her time in office proved revolutionary” [CNN, April 9, 2013]

“...was a unique among British political leaders, raised amid pragmatic traditions and an instinctive distaste for all-embracing ideological

prescriptions that appealed to many fellow Europeans” [Guardian, Mon 8 Apr 2013].

“A heroine and a hate figure’ - for better or worse, Baroness Thatcher remade our nation. Few British prime ministers have given their name to a political philosophy” [Independent, 09 April 2013].

In 1976, Thatcher gave her "Britain Awake" foreign policy speech which lambasted the Soviet Union, saying it was "bent on world dominance". The Soviet Army journal *Red Star* reported her stance in a piece headlined "Iron Lady Raises Fears", alluding to her remarks on the Iron Curtain. *The Sunday Times* covered the *Red Star* article the next day, and Thatcher embraced the epithet a week later; in a speech to Finchley Conservatives she likened it to the Duke of Wellington's nickname "The Iron Duke". The "Iron" metaphor followed her throughout ever since, and would become a generic sobriquet for other strong-willed female politicians.

The “I stand before you tonight in my Red Star chiffon evening gown, my face softly made up and my fair hair gently waved, the Iron Lady of the Western world.”

— *Thatcher embracing her Soviet nickname in 1976*

"Iron Lady" was not the only nickname Margaret Thatcher had. She was also known as *Maggie, the Grocer's daughter, milk snatcher, The Great She-Elephant*.

On the other hand, Margaret Thatcher, herself left a unique lexical legacy. Her family name gave rise to the derivatives - the adjectives *Thatcherite* (*Thatcherite agenda/ endeavour/ ideology/ package/ politics/ policy/ statecraft*), *pre-Thatcher* and *post-Thatcher*, the noun *Thatcherism*, as well. Previously epochs in politics were measured by reigning of monarchs (*Elizabethan age, Georgian era, Victorian /- ism, Edwardian*). Thatcherism was used in parallel with *Reaganomics*, the term derived from the name of then-US president Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher's counterpart and soulmate. These terms paved the way to a set of other words derived from the names of other politicians: *Majorite, Clintonomics, Kohlism, Doleiana, Bushism* etc.

“THE LIPS OF MARILYN MONROE and the eyes of Caligula” was a neat summing up of the “power woman” presented by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Or as she once put it: “Please don’t use the word ‘tough.’ People might get the impression that I don’t care. And I do care. Very deeply. Resilient, I think.”

For the funeral service at St.Paul's Cathedral the Bishop of London selected not tough but sentimental and funny memories of the Iron Lady that made many people smile and wipe a tear from the eye.

In political discourse Margaret Thatcher tended to be over-assertive and authoritarian. "Iron Lady not known for counseling half-measures in time of challenge ... was best known for speaking bluntly and resolutely but her warmth and grace in private contrasted sharply with her public image."

Over-assertiveness was evident while Margaret Thatcher criticized the opponents: *Too much government / Too much reliance on the statistics/ By borrowing and borrowing / Government spending spending beyond the taxpayers's means.*

Margaret Thatcher expressed her absolute confidence in multiple ways:

I was confident that.../ I saw no reason to conceal.../ Indeed I wanted to convince.../ I was determined to send a clear signal of change.../ But I was firmly against.../In Britain, I kept tight personal control .../ I was also passionately interested in... / I felt strongly that...

Opposition was another effective and persuasive means: *Where there is discord may we bring harmony/ Where there is error, may we bring truth /Where there is doubt, may we bring faith /And where there is despair, may we bring hope.*

Actual sentence division contributed to her persuasiveness and argumentation: *A reshuffle was required /Another approach was needed /No theory of government was given.*

Parenthesis has become quite effective in argumentation:

Unsurprisingly, ... / Essentially, .../ Thankfully, .../ Cynically, .../ Extraordinarily enough, ...

Quite often Margaret Thatcher generated value-laden discourse, appealed to morality, middle class values, Victorian values, British sterling qualities:

- *"We were taught to work jolly hard. We were taught to prove yourself, we were taught self-reliance, we were taught to live within our income. You were taught that cleanness is next to goodness. You were taught self-respect. You were taught always to give a hand to your neighbour. You were taught tremendous pride in your country. All of these are Victorian values. They are perennial values."*
- *"It is the British, the white British who have to learn that being British isn't what it was. Now it is a more complex thing involving new elements."*
- *"We are the people that in the past made Great Britain the workshop of the world, the people who persuaded others to buy British, not by begging the to do so because it was the best."*

- “We are the people who have received more Nobel prizes than any other nation except America, and head for head we have done better than America, twice as well in fact.”
- “It is noteworthy, that the Victorian era – the heyday of free enterprise in Britain – was also the era of selfishness and benefaction.”
- Yes, I want to see one nation, as you go back to Victorian times, but I want everyone to have their own personal property stake.
- I was asked whether I was trying to restore Victorian values. I said straight out I was. And I am.

Words *choice, self-reliance, enterprise, morality, responsibility, nationhood, self-help, self-reliance, gentrify, gentrification* stood for the desirable values. Some lexical units increased in importance and frequency as they signified the concepts Margaret Thatcher and the Conservatives tried to promote and impose, for example, *self-made man, self-starter, sterling qualities, meritocrat, meritocratic*.

Before Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister she went through extensive voice coaching to make her voice more powerful, more 'statesmanlike'. The tutor from the National Theatre helped her to lower the pitch level offering a number of humming exercises. It contributed to clarity as well as Margaret Thatcher began to speak more slowly due to reduction in pitch.

Being the first female prime minister in British history and European politics Margaret Thatcher gave feminine touch to political discourse in its multimodal dimension. Margaret Thatcher had all trappings of middle-class smart adult femininity. Climbing her career ladder in politics she had to work on her image, and by the acme of her premiership she polished to perfection her clothes language and individual style. “Thatcher is remembered for her achievements, but more for a presence, which was wrapped up with being a woman. Several strong women on the continent have risen to the top, but this British woman, in Britain of all places, became a phenomenon, first, through her gender” (Hugo Young).

Margaret Thatcher used dress to its full extent and invented and popularized tailored skirted suit as a feminine element of the dress code. “Mrs Thatcher is often said to have invented power dressing: mannish suits with padded shoulders” (Mail Online, 2013) which were considered to be masculine element. Thus, Margaret Thatcher’s style incorporated both feminine and masculine features in macho-dominated world. “...her clothing was a masterclass in projecting power” (Guardian, 2015), “...for her, those skirt suits imparted a ‘let’s get down to business’ formality; her look was devoid of any frivolity. These were often, somewhat contradictorily, worn with pussybow blouses that hinted at femininity”

(Grazia, 2020). "...skirt suit was the Iron Lady's uniform - the perfect fusion of femininity and forcefulness" (Ella, 2013).

Margaret Thatcher took into account color, values, traditions and symbols of host countries during her international tours. She wrote in her memoirs that to keep record and be somehow oriented in the wardrobe she and her assistant had to give names to her outfits, usually depending on where an outfit had firstly been worn (*Washington Pink, Reagan Navy, Toronto Turquoise, Paris Opera, Tokyo Blue, Kremlin Silver, Peking Black etc.*).

Asprey handbag Thatcher wore so often symbolized the Iron Lady's tough negotiation style. She never parted from her handbag and stressed many times that it was the safest and highly secretive place. The handbag gave a particular touch to her image, emphasized the fact she was very well organized and conveyed a sense of polished authority. At the same time that handbag signified her femininity and helped her to stand out in male-dominated world of politics where men do not carry anything in their hands but have breast pockets as secretive place. When the statue of Margaret Thatcher was installed in Gratham, her native town, it was much criticized and egged within two hours. "Mrs Thatcher's daughter, Carol, reportedly opposed the design because no handbag was included. The Conservative leader was famous for her selection of bags."

No handbag? Margaret Thatcher statue plans rejected by Westminster Council

<https://news.sky.com/story/no-handbag-margaret-thatcher-statue-plans-rejected-by-westminster-council-11220384>

Margaret Thatcher Quotes

- "I am extraordinarily patient, provided I get my own way in the end."
- "I am not a consensus politician. I'm a conviction politician."
- "I don't mind how much my ministers talk, as long as they do what I say."
- "Being powerful is like being a lady. If you have to tell people you are, you aren't."
- "You may have to fight a battle more than once to win it."
- "Defeat? I do not recognize the meaning of the word."
- "I usually make up my mind about a man in ten seconds, and I very rarely change it."
- "There is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women and there are families."
- "I love argument. I love debate. I don't expect anyone just to sit there and agree with me - that's not their job."

- "Any woman who understands the problems of running a home will be nearer to understanding the problems of running a country."
- "If you want something said, ask a man; if you want something done, ask a woman."
- "The facts of life are conservative."
- "Pennies do not come from heaven. They have to be earned here on earth."
- "Disciplining yourself to do what you know is right and important, although difficult, is the high road to pride, self-esteem, and personal satisfaction."
- "What is success? I think it is a mixture of having a flair for the thing that you are doing; knowing that it is not enough, that you have got to have hard work and a certain sense of purpose."
- "If you lead a country like Britain, a strong country, a country which has taken a lead in world affairs in good times and in bad, a country that is always reliable, then you have to have a touch of iron about you."

"She will be remembered not only for being Britain's first female prime minister and holding the office for eleven years, but also for the determination and resilience with which she carried out all her duties throughout her public life. Even those who disagreed with her never doubted the strength of her convictions and her unwavering belief in Britain's destiny in the world. "

Gordon Brown, Former Labour Prime Minister

"She changed our country forever and all of us owe so much to her. A legacy few will ever equal. "

William Hague, Foreign Secretary

"Margaret Thatcher's belief in freedom and optimism about the future overcame all. Her determination is our generation's inspiration. "

George Osborne, Chancellor of the Exchequer

"Margaret Thatcher was a truly formidable prime minister whose policies defined a political generation. "

Alex Salmond, Scottish First Minister

3.5. British politicians of the 21st century

Tony Blair

Sir Anthony Charles Lynton Blair (born 6 May 1953) is a British politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1997 to 2007 and Leader of the Labour Party from 1994 to 2007. On his resignation he was appointed Special Envoy of the Quartet on the Middle East, a diplomatic post which he held until 2015. He has been the executive chairman of the Tony Blair Institute for Global Change since 2016.



As Prime Minister, many of his policies reflected a centrist "Third Way" political philosophy. He is the only living former Labour leader to have led the party to a general election victory; and one of only two in history to form three majority governments, the other being Harold Wilson.

Under Tony Blair, the party used the phrase "*New Labour*" to distance itself from previous Labour politics. He campaigned for European Union and did not want UK leave EU during Brexit referendum. Tony Blair was known as Bush's poodle or American poodle for his support for George Bush's politics, in particular, willingness to use force in Iraq, later faced accusations of war crimes.

Tony Blair's oratory can be divided into three distinct oratorical phases: as opposition leader, as Prime Minister before 2003, and as Prime Minister after 2003. Blair used different rhetorical devices with different audiences.

When he first arrived on the political scene, fresh-faced and bouncy, Tony Blair was nicknamed Bambi. By the time he left, to David Cameron he was The Master. To others — first marvellingly and in later years sarcastically — he was known as The Great Persuader. His angry denigrators in online comment threads and on placards at demonstrations called him Tony B.Liar. Now, two decades after he swept to victory in the 1997 UK general election, Tony Blair, the former prime minister, has announced his return to politics. But if we are to take him at his word, he will not be seeking election as an MP. He instead proposes to lend his voice, and his considerable political gifts, to resistance to Brexit. Will he still be the Great Persuader? On the face of it, you might think him an analogue politician in a digital age. He honed his skills before the

transformation of the communications landscape over the past 10 years. There is the spin thing, of course. In the late 1990s, he was associated with the entry into British politics of that much-derided old thing, the “soundbite” — metonym for all that is shallow and cynical in postmodern politics.

All that staled with the years. The problem Mr Blair has now is what advertising folk call “brand contamination”. His persuasion rode on his carrying an argument (logos), but also on appearing, as he was foolish enough to say himself, “a pretty straight kind of guy” (ethos). He made himself a selling point. He can still carry the arguments as well as anyone, but his ethos appeal has been badly damaged. A large constituency in his own party and on the right firmly believes, whether fairly or not, that he launched a catastrophic war in Iraq on the basis of a knowing dishonesty. His apparent fondness for making money and his association with some questionable characters since leaving office have not helped his public image.

Fmr UK PM on Brexit

<https://weta.org/watch/shows/amanpour-and-company/tony-blair-brexit-its-tragic-qkgzye>

“Tony Blair has always been a puzzle to me,” says the former official. “Here is a man who showed great courage in taking on domestic public opinion in order to join a very unpopular invasion of Iraq and yet in private conversation with George Bush he was as quiet as a mouse.”

Was Blair Bush’s poodle?

<https://www.ft.com/content/1b706386-fe22-11db-bdc7-000b5df10621>

Tony Blair: The US poodle?

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/2711623.stm>

Tony Blair is not a poodle

<https://www.economist.com/leaders/2002/08/08/tony-blair-is-not-a-poodle>

The oratory of Tony Blair by *Mark Bennister*, 2016.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326787531_The_oratory_of_Tony_Blair

Lessons in Tony Blair’s presentation style (2017)

<https://www.ft.com/content/b8c0d4f4-2f54-11e7-9555-23ef563ecf9a>

Wit, oratory – and evasion. A master debater at work

<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2007/jun/24/politics.houseofcommons>

Politicians and Rhetoric pp 223–250 Cite as

<https://link.springer.com/book/10.1057/9780230319899>

Tony Blair and Conviction Rhetoric//
Politicians and Rhetoric by *Jonathan Charteris-Black*
https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9780230319899_9?noAccess=true

David Cameron

- **David William Donald Cameron** (born 9 October 1966) is a British politician, businessman, lobbyist, and author who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 2010 to 2016.
- He was Member of Parliament (MP) for Witney from 2001 to 2016 and leader of the Conservative Party from 2005 to 2016. He identifies as a one-nation conservative, and has been associated with both economically liberal and socially liberal policies.



David Cameron's speech - what the national newspapers say
<https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2015/oct/08/david-camersons-speech-what-the-national-newspapers-say>

[Essay] Contrasting the rhetorical styles of David Cameron and Tony Blair
https://medium.com/@dan_roberts96/essay-contrasting-the-rhetorical-styles-of-david-cameron-and-tony-blair-98124061aa51

Style not substance: David Cameron's conference speech contained some smart sloganeering but was largely an exercise in evasiveness

<https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/editorials/style-not-substance-david-cameron-s-conference-speech-contained-some-smart-sloganeering-but-was-largely-an-exercise-in-evasiveness-9768516.html>

Cameron v Miliband: what the body language tells us
<https://theconversation.com/cameron-v-miliband-what-the-body-language-tells-us-32341>

“It's Doing the Right Thing”: David Cameron's Rhetoric of Responsibility. Dr. David S. Moon
https://www.psa.ac.uk/sites/default/files/260_120.pdf

Byrne, B. (2014). Rhetoric and Multiculturalism — David Cameron’s ‘King James’ Speech and the Crisis of Multiculturalism. In: Atkins, J., Finlayson, A., Martin, J., Turnbull, N. (eds) Rhetoric in British Politics and Society. Rhetoric, Politics and Society Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137325532_9

Dai Zhiyong

Logo, Pathos and Ethos in David Cameron’s Political Speech: A Rhetorical Analysis <https://so04.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/KKUIJ/article/view/86082>

Theresa May

Theresa Mary, Lady May, born 1 October 1956) is a British politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Leader of the Conservative Party from 2016 to 2019.

May served as Home Secretary from 2010 to 2016 in the Cameron government and has been the Member of Parliament (MP) for Maidenhead in Berkshire since 1997. Ideologically, she identifies herself as a one-nation conservative.



Theresa May, her premiership and her rhetoric are associated with Brexit. Her leadership and her style of communication sparked up a plethora of debates and contributed to the image of May as a controversial figure though some experts admit her speeches reflected no-nonsense approach.

Theresa May used a set of strategies to establish a good rapport with audience, voters as well as her counterparts. One of them was *Unification Strategy (We-Groups)* to create affiliated relations between her and the audience. The words ‘*sharing*’ and ‘*we*’ constructed a certain ‘inclusion’ and ‘assumed consensus’ in her policy making and decision making.

Her premiership has undoubtedly been overshadowed by Brexit’s endless disagreements and has received a mixed response from commentators.

Unlike Thatcher who seized every single opportunity to mention the Conservative Party in her speeches, May alluded to her party only on a rare occasion. Theresa May believed she was responsible for her own doing as a politician, but not just as a party member: *As a Conservative, I*

have never had any doubt about what I believe in – security, freedom and opportunity. Decency, moderation, patriotism. Conserving what is of value, but never shying away from change. Indeed, recognising that often change is the way to conserve; Because Conservatism and Conservation are natural allies; Conservative Governments have always taken our responsibility to the natural environment seriously. In the nineteenth century it was Benjamin Disraeli's Conservative government which passed the River Pollution Prevention Act, providing the first legal environmental protections for our waterways.

Theresa May employed simple phrases: *Well, I want to be clear: as long as officers act within reason and the law themselves, this Home Secretary will never damn the police if they do; I want to make clear to the House that in making these points, I am not criticising the police themselves ; Let me be very frank – political parties have not always got this right in the past; So I want to assure you that I am clear-eyed about the threat that Iran poses to the Gulf and the wider Middle East.*

Brexit was the main issue of Theresa May's rhetoric as Prime Minister:

I want the UK to leave the EU in an orderly way as soon as possible and that means leaving in a way that does not disrupt people's lives / I passionately hope MPs will find a way to back the deal I have negotiated with the EU / As Prime Minister of the whole United Kingdom, I am not going to let our departure from the European Union do anything to set back the historic progress that we have made in Northern Ireland – nor will I allow anything that would damage the integrity of our precious Union / So I took the difficult decision to try to reach a cross-party deal on Brexit / I am ready to take us out of the EU with a deal that is good for the UK / I would not expect this House to agree to a deal unless we have the reassurance that the UK, as a sovereign nation, has this say over our arrangements with the EU / I do not pretend that this has been a comfortable process – or that either we or the EU are entirely happy with all of the arrangements that have been included within it.

Traditionally, Prime Ministers of the UK are subjected to magnifying glass-style inspection. Media presentation has become critical for public image-making, for the relationships between the audience and the politicians. When Theresa May became the second female Prime Minister in British history, media coverage focused on her gender and on her self-effacing conduct. The media image of May is abundant in evaluative adjectives that are fully subjective and add either a positive or negative judgment. Her particular way of delivering a message was described as *wooden, leaden-footed and verbally constipated* (The Sun, 9 Jun 2017). When she completed her resignation speech in tears as she spoke about the country no one really believed her and came up with memes... The low point of trust in her own party came

at a meeting of hardline Brexiteers when members of her own party were heard chanting "*Theresa the appeaser*," a reference to former Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, infamous for striking a deal with Adolf Hitler in 1938 (CNN, 26 May, 2019). May was compared to Angela Merkel, then-Chancellor of Germany, as they were both daughters of Protestant clergymen, both with quiet, private husbands, both without children, both hardworking and rather distant (July 13, 2016, The New York Times) and Margaret Thatcher, first female British Prime Minister, who was different in terms of political talent but similar in being *bloody difficult woman* (Express, May 25, 2019) but they both had a strong sense of public service.

Fashion was a substantial part of Theresa May's image. Her fashion preferences deserved special attention as a lot of newspapers commented on what she wears throughout her political career. Her sartorial choices indicate that she is a fashionista at heart and she has clearly used her clothes to enhance herself and create a reputation as someone to be trusted (Express, Oct 1, 2017). Moreover, she was dubbed with a nickname the modern mistress of the sartorial red herring (Vogue, May 10, 2017) which means that her political status coincides with her fashion choice. Thatcher wore clothes to make her look less threatening than she was but May made her style a legitimate part of a political personality: ...the way Theresa May dresses indicates her strength as a leader and how she is not afraid to take a risk, both politically and with her clothes. She has the confidence to carry off bold choices (Mail Online, 3 January 2017).

Rhetoric and audience reception: An analysis of Theresa May's vision of Britain and Britishness after Brexit

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0263395721991411>

Rhetoric and audience reception: An analysis of Theresa May's vision of Britain and Britishness after Brexit

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/350017302>

Theresa May's rhetoric can be as populist as Trump's

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/06/theresa-may-british-prime-minister-populism-rhetoric-is-as-rife-as-in-donald-trump-speeches>

A Rhetorical Political Analysis of Theresa May's Statecraft on Brexit

Samuel Marlow-Stevens, Richard Hayton

Parliamentary Affairs, Volume 74, Issue 4, October 2021, Pages 871–889,

<https://academic.oup.com/pa/article/74/4/871/5856124?login=true>

Herrero, Rosanna Dolon Theresa May's Representation of Reality in her Brexit Speeches: Time and Self-projection as Meaningful Values //

International Journal of English Studies. 2020. Vol.20(3)pp.109-127.

Theresa May Told Us What She Wants from Brexit. But What Is She Willing to Give?

<https://time.com/4640585/theresa-may-brexit-speech-europe/>

Theresa May's speech could not persuade the unpersuadable
The prime minister deployed clever rhetorical tricks but her appeal to
MPs was doomed

<https://www.ft.com/content/4cb09fa2-1967-11e9-b191-175523b59d1d>

Boris Johnson

Alexander Boris de Pfeffel Johnson

(born 19 June 1964) is a British politician and writer serving as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Leader of the Conservative Party from July 2019 to September 2022. He was Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs from 2016 to 2018 and Mayor of London from 2008 to 2016. Johnson has been Member of Parliament (MP) for Uxbridge and South Ruislip since 2015 and was previously MP for Henley from 2001 to 2008. He has been described as adhering to the ideology of one-nation and national conservatism.



Boris Johnson has been subjected to unprecedented scrutiny by mass media, his rivals and average Britons. He is the most extravagant Prime Minister in British history. The perspective to become Prime Minister after Theresa May looked gloomy against the background of his recent divorce. But times change... and in the 21st century the divorce of the politician turned out to be an insignificant fact to hinder his appointment. His eccentric image and behavior as Mayor of London and Prime Minister triggered the nickname Teflon Boris Johnson. These facts and many others posed questions about the reasons of "his electability and continued rise through the echelons of British politics".

Boris Johnson uses his unconventional image in politics, his education and his eccentricity to the best advantage. His knowledge of classical texts, of rhetorical traditions of Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome has become a powerful tool in his political and parliamentary performance. Once Boris Johnson claimed he could recite pages of

classical texts by heart. Obviously, he can easily make reference to antiquity and quote prominent rhetoricians. "Johnson may be aware of the connection between his rhetorical style and the official communications of Roman emperors. His degree at Oxford was in *Literae humaniores*, nicknamed "the greats": an undergraduate course focused on classics. This serves him as a form of social capital (and it's worth noting that such training was pursued by young men from elite Roman families in preparation for government careers)."

At the same time Boris Johnson knows 'what real people want' and makes appeal to his feelings and emotions. Experts noticed Boris Johnson's calculated sloganeering. One of the slogans is "new age". His so called "new age rhetoric" by definition focuses on beginnings, not endings. "On July 25 2019, in his first address to the Commons as prime minister, Johnson proclaimed the "beginning of a new golden age." After his first Queen's Speech on October 14 2019, he told the Commons that delivering Brexit by October 31 meant a "new age of opportunity for the whole country". And on December 19 2019, in the same context, Johnson reiterated that "a new golden age for this United Kingdom is now within reach".

Of course, Boris Johnson's is aware that his speeches are entertaining as some elements are quite unusual and even unique, for example, some phrases like "*doubters, the doomsters, the gloomsters*", "*awesome foursome that are incarnated in that red white and blue flag*". Other reasons of Boris Johnson's rhetorical success are his verbose manner of speech, his diction and delivery. "It's not clear that anyone else could possibly have delivered some of his best-known lines with a straight face:

"My chances of being PM are about as good as the chances of finding Elvis on Mars, or my being reincarnated as an olive." "My speaking style was criticised by no less an authority than Arnold Schwarzenegger. It was a low moment, my friends, to have my rhetorical skills denounced by a monosyllabic Austrian cyborg."

Being a politician of the 21st century Boris Johnson is aware of the role of social media. So he is active in Twitter.

He has also mastered the art of self-presentation: his hairstyle makes him easily recognisable to the masses.

Boris Johnson published a number of books, including *The Churchill Factor*. Though some headlines in mass media claim "Boris Johnson is not Churchill" writing books and attempts to paint pictures are the hobbies both politicians shared.

Performance, Politics and Boris Johnson's Brexit

<https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.709756/full>

Brexit rhetoric: How to convince a sceptical public

<https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/politics/blog/2018/brexit-rhetoric/>

A Bakhtinian Dialogical Analysis of a Speech by Prime Minister Boris Johnson

<https://methods.sagepub.com/base/download/DatasetStudentGuide/bakhtinian-dialogical-analysis-speech-prime-minister>

A linguistic analysis of the first official speeches in office of Boris Johnson and Donald Trump

<https://www.grin.com/document/916683>

Boris Johnson and the seductive sophistry of slogans

<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/rhetoric/boris-johnson-and-the-seductive-sophistry-of-slogans/>

How to talk like Boris Johnson *by Kate Greer*

<https://clydegroupp.com/how-to-talk-like-boris-johnson/>

Has Boris Johnson been picking up tips from the Roman emperors? (2020)

<https://theconversation.com/has-boris-johnson-been-picking-up-tips-from-the-roman-emperors-131535>

Boris Johnson's magniloquent tongue reaps political gold, linguists say

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-eu-leader-johnson-language-idUSKCN1UI1LV>

Is Boris Johnson's 'levelling up' rhetoric fooling anyone?

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2021/jul/18/is-boris-johnsons-levelling-up-rhetoric-fooling-anyone>

Want, want, want: How Boris Johnson's choice of language failed to bring the UK together (2020) by Neil Vowles

<https://www.sussex.ac.uk/broadcast/read/5211>

The risks of Boris Johnson's rhetoric

<https://www.ft.com/content/1aed21a4-8c42-11e9-a24d-b42f641eca37>

Boris Johnson's Secret? He's the Master of Political Cheer

<https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2021-10-11/boris-johnson-s-secret-he-s-the-master-of-political-cheer-starmer-take-note>

Who is Boris Johnson? The eccentric blond New Yorker set to rule the UK

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/25/who-is-boris-johnson-brexit-referendum-uk-prime-minister>

Thanet MP Sir Roger Gale says Boris Johnson has 'eccentric relationship with truth' but now is not right time for leadership election

<https://www.kentonline.co.uk/thanet/news/boris-johnson-has-an-eccentric-relationship-with-the-truth-265841/>

Our love of eccentricity means Teflon Boris Johnson will survive Brexit Britain's collapse

<https://www.euronews.com/2019/09/17/our-love-of-eccentricity-means-teflon-boris-johnson-will-survive-brexit-britain-s-collapse>

'He is not Churchill': Spanish media condemns Boris Johnson over lockdown parties

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/boris-johnson-party-london-spain-b2006644.html>

Assignments

on political discourse and public speech in Great Britain

1. Watch videos of State Opening of Parliament, pay attention to traditions and rituals. Analyze changes of Elizabeth II's speaking voice, voice quality, intonation etc.

The Queen's Speech begins 🇬🇧 The State Opening of Parliament 2021

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M7xeBtUFEY>

State Opening of Parliament and the Queen's Speech - December 2019

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-mo6xvGlcgE>

Queen Elizabeth II Opens Parliament 2013

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WmGoyWXq0-k>

UK State Opening of Parliament 2010 with Queen Elizabeths Speech

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A668eS24IXE>

Queen formally opens Parliament (2009)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r1g-RzRh368>

The State Opening of Parliament - 1981

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-kf4dRDxbXg>

ALL COLOUR REEL: SPECIAL PRESENTATION OF THE STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT BY HER MAJESTY, QUEEN ELIZABETH II (1970)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yZkM39x2QuM>

Queen Elizabeth II Speech: State Opening Of Parliament (1960) | British Pathé

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tntqLTR3fYA>

Queen Opens Parliament Aka State Opening Of Parliament (1958)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6GWiQ7b28Ws>

Queen Opens Parliament (1953)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qfwe25Owejo>

2. Queen Elizabeth II: language and aging. Analyze Queen's Christmas messages to show speaking voice changes, voice quality, changes in the content etc.

Queen Elizabeth II annual Christmas message (2021)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uthJP1lLwsg>

The Queen's Christmas Broadcast 2020
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OZbCRN3C_Hs&t=86s

Queen Elizabeth II Christmas Message 2010
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j8wYmxvpN_s

The Queen's Christmas Message 1990
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sidjUFhiXGI>

The Queen's Christmas Message 1985
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rg-3WHABqnU>

The Queen's Christmas Message 1971
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iuWsxp7aIaE>

The Christmas Broadcast, 1957 (the first televised broadcast)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mBRP-o6Q85s>

3. Neville Chamberlain VS Winston Churchill. Compare the tone of the broadcast. Characterise speaking voice of Neville Chamberlain and Winston Churchill. Characterise their leadership styles.

Neville Chamberlain's speech on returning from Munich

<http://www.history.com/audio/chamberlain-secures-peace-in-our-time>

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S FIRST BROADCAST AS PRIME MINISTER
MAY 19, 1940 • BBC RADIO

www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/winstonchurchillbemenofvalor.htm

4. Analyze wartime speeches of Winston Churchill (speaking voice, voice quality, intonation, argumentation, structure):

Listen Winston Churchill delivering his first speech as the Prime Minister, 1940

<https://www.britannica.com/video/23885/Winston-Churchill-Parliament-prime-minister-speech-May-13-1940>

'Blood, toil, tears and sweat' **13 May 1940. House of Commons**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8TlkN-dcDck>

'We shall never surrender' **4 June 1940. House of Commons**

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_LncVnecLA

'This was their finest hour' **18 June 1940. House of Commons**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6jjhxeHIjvU>

'The few' **20 August 1940. House of Commons**

<http://www.churchill-society-london.org.uk/thefew.html>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1B87HhJSv3E>

5. Analyze Winston Churchill's post-war speeches, structure, argumentation, persuasiveness, emotional component, pragmatic effect, humour etc.

‘An iron curtain has descended’ 5 March 1946. Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IULSK10LQqA>

‘The nation... had the lion heart’ 30 November, 1954. Presentation by both Houses of Parliament, Westminster Hall

<https://churchill.pw/the-nation-had-the-lion-heart.html>

Churchill 80th birthday

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QqclickG4NM>

<https://www.britishpathe.com/video/selected-originals-westminsters-day-of-majesty-1>

6. Compare Winston Churchill's individual style, manner of speaking with his image in the movies:

The 10 Best Versions Of Winston Churchill In Movies & Television, Ranked

<https://screenrant.com/the-10-best-versions-of-winston-churchill-in-movies-television-ranked/>

7. Analyze Winston Churchill's speeches (3-4) to reveal impact of aging on his speech:

Churchill 80th birthday

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QqclickG4NM>

Listen Winston Churchill delivering his first speech as the Prime Minister, 1940

<https://www.britannica.com/video/23885/Winston-Churchill-Parliament-prime-minister-speech-May-13-1940>

8. Compare the tone of British Prime Ministers resignation speeches:

- Neville Chamberlain – Resignation Speech (Full version) – 10 May 1940

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h7hiMKu9JCE>

- Robin Cook's powerful resignation speech

<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/robin-cook-speech-transcript-full-8357795>

- From Thatcher to May: Prime Ministers' resignations

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cLLdRF0wlyY>

- Leaving Downing Street: How previous PM's have come and gone - BBC News

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UT8rGW0Rwcv>

9. Analyze Resignation letter Winston Churchill wrote:

Here Is The Letter Sir Winston Churchill Wrote When He Resigned As Prime Minister

<https://www.businessinsider.com/winston-churchill-resignation-letter-2014-3>

10. Analyze Margaret Thatcher's individual style, her speaking voice, persuasiveness, argumentation, pragmatic effect:

Margaret Thatcher's Iron Lady speech

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oAgM6YHioxI>

The lady's not for turning

This speech was delivered to the Conservative party conference in Brighton on October 10 1980

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2007/apr/30/conservatives.uk1>

Great speeches: 'Orwellian nightmare' if Tories fail, claims Margaret Thatcher

This report of the Conservative party conference ran in the Guardian on Saturday October 11 1980

<https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/1980/nov/11/margaret-thatcher-lady-not-for-turning>

Thatcher's Last Stand Against Socialism

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rv5t6rC6yvg&t=197s>

Margaret Thatcher - UN General Assembly Climate Change Speech (1989)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VnAzoDtwCBg>

"No No No!" - Thatcher's attack on EU power grab

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rjxz2WG16KA>

11. Margaret Thatcher: politician and movie character. Analyze Margaret Thatcher's individual style, manner of speaking, voice quality, intonation, articulation to compare these characteristics with her images in the movies:

The Iron Lady (2011) with Meryl Streep

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jcBkvr_PGaY

https://www.imdb.com/video/vi1364893209?playlistId=tt1007029&ref_=vp_rv_1

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xxcsGcV8s9g>

The Crown (2020) with Gillian Anderson

Highlights From the Iron Lady's Speeches

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mwzCvuj8XXA>

Best of Gillian Anderson as Margaret Thatcher | The Crown

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gZgqQsFvyMM>

Margaret Thatcher - The Iron Lady | The Crown Season 4 Episode 8

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nkoXizx7uME>

The Crown: Falklands War & Tribute to Margaret Thatcher

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Txzzt0_Uzxw

The Crown Season 4 | Becoming Thatcher | Netflix

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F7g_vNdfWgc

12. Compare 3-5 speeches of Margaret Thatcher to show correlation of speech and aging.

13. Analyze categoricalness in Margaret Thatcher's speeches.

14. Gender factor in British politics. Compare individual style of Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May:

Margaret Thatcher's last Prime Minister's Questions: 27 November 1990

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-lSIIdJlSHQQ>

The day Margaret Thatcher resigned - Newsnight archives (1990)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Im9c1JHtrI0>

<https://www.bestpubquiz.co.uk/history/british-history/british-politicians/margaret-thatcher/>

Maggie's Magic Moments: Margaret Thatcher Highlights

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oua4dzuVLI0>

Margaret Thatcher interview | An interview with the Prime Minister | This Week | 1987

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MDX_prWRDc0

Theresa May's last PMQs: 24 July 2019

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jplu6t__Y78

May's first PMQs: 20 July 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IAYGk4XP23M>

Prime Minister's Questions: 15 May 2019 - inequality, food poverty, climate change

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VXK1opJHNb8>

Prime Minister's Questions: 19 December 2018

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=16383ybn2QA>

Theresa May's final Number 10 interview - BBC News

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ug0TvDaVL7g>

Full Interview: Prime Minister Theresa May - BBC News

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VqF96Um0HQw>

15. Compare Theresa May's speech as as a Prime Minister and MP:

Afghanistan: Theresa May told MPs 'the politicians must be responsible for the consequences'

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sF45HkdQaEc>

A Conversation with Theresa May | Theresa May(The United Kingdom, The 76th Prime Minister) | WKF 2020

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WqaxvnuMI5A>

Theresa May gives warning over Britain's global standing

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7_oP3RAF0vU

Theresa May attacks Government's travel ban: 'global Britain shut for business'

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q-0g1qM3sHU>

16. Brexit. Analyze argumentation in British politicians' debates on Brexit:

Theresa May's Brexit deal is rejected

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YaaaG1ww-Z0>

Theresa May on Boris Johnson's new Brexit deal

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6tlrqLemJHU>

Article 50: Theresa May's Brexit statement in full

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d85zt0AWqe0>

Brexit: Theresa May gives Downing Street statement - BBC News

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0C6Q8hTjGvI>

In full: Boris Johnson's Brexit statement - BBC News

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1RINzMxMKeU>

Full interview: Boris Johnson on Brexit, immigration and UK labour shortages

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ugv7q1_-hq4

Boris Johnson's Brexit Address to the Nation | This is not an end, but a beginning

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hdYNcv-chgY>

In full: Boris Johnson announces post-Brexit trade deal with the EU

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Sn4x147Tm8>

British politicians urge new Brexit vote: 'Put it to the people'

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5s6RGinShfg>

British Politicians Revolt Against PM Boris Johnson On Brexit | The Last Word | MSNBC

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k8-pqDcRate>

Watch live: British Parliament debates Brexit

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uk-zqpPIMrM>

17. Labour discourse. Analyze Tony Blair's individual style, argumentation and persuasiveness. Analyze aging marks in Tony Blair's speech:

Tony Blair: His Greatest Speech (1 of 4)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1PCYPPKp7ts>

The Iraq War: Tony Blair's Speech 10 Years Later

<https://screenrant.com/the-10-best-versions-of-winston-churchill-in-movies-television-ranked/>

UK - Tony Blair speaks of Diana's death

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q3qinDH_3HE

Princess Diana's Funeral Part 16: Tony Blair and Elton John

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NsZKQkVED_I

<https://news.sky.com/story/tony-blair-west-needs-to-figure-out-how-to-deal-with-radical-islam-without-us-12400607>

<https://news.sky.com/story/tony-blair-getting-vaccine-is-civic-duty-and-govt-should-bump-boosters-to-500-000-a-day-12440200>

<https://news.sky.com/story/covid-19-tony-blair-brands-eu-foolish-over-article-16-coronavirus-vaccine-row-12204042>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xle3C36bAvI>

18. Analyze Boris Johnson individual style, argumentation, emotions, manner of speaking, voice quality:

PMQs: Boris Johnson faces questions on 'bring your own booze' party at No 10 – watch live

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sh9yEhbYZyE>

PMQs: Boris Johnson faces questions in parliament before mini recess – watch live

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZQ1n-z9Yv50>

Prime Minister's Questions with British Sign Language (BSL) - 12 January 2022

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Msjo5yIGmo>

PMQs in full: Boris Johnson says Covid isolation laws could be scrapped this month

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gi0H1eAJkUs>

In full: Boris Johnson interview - BBC News

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3rm45jiPrdw>

Boris Johnson | Interview & Lap | Top Gear

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CoifaIEvC0Q>

In full: Boris Johnson apologises in remarkable interview about No10 lockdown parties | ITV News

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=InYtITXRZ7Q>

Race to become UK PM: Boris Johnson exclusive interview - BBC News

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a1Kxhhmq8U>

19. Analyze intertextuality in Boris Johnson' texts.

20. Non-verbal communication in political discourse. Analyze non-verbal elements in communication in British political discourse.

21. Give a language profile of a British politician (MP, member of Cabinet of Ministers).

22. Select one of the quotations of British politicians and give your arguments and counterarguments.

4. Political discourse in the USA

Political discourse in the USA has become one of the most important issues within discourse analysis due to the leading role of the country in the world in the 1990s and in the 21st century. As the Constitution of the United States was used as a model of basic law by many countries which gained independence, political discourse in the USA has become a pattern for imitation as well. Image-making techniques and strategies used in the USA are copied, adapted and implemented in many countries during election campaigns, for electioneering by spin-doctors, speech-writers, image-makers. Presidential discourse is a trend-setting part of political discourse in the USA. Ratings of the US presidents, analytical surveys, publications are in abundance and updated regularly. Some speeches of the US Presidents turned out to be inspiring, eventful and historic. US presidential discourse is analyzed in Linguistics, Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Studies, Theory of Argumentation.

Historical rankings of presidents of the United States

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical_rankings_of_presidents_of_the_United_States

The 15 Most Inspiring Presidential Speeches in American History

<https://janetpanic.com/who-was-the-best-american-president-speech/>

4.1. George Washington

George Washington (1732 – 1799) was an American soldier, statesman, and Founding Father who served as the first president of the United States from 1789 to 1797.

Appointed by the Continental Congress as commander of the Continental Army, Washington led the Patriot forces to victory in the American Revolutionary War, and presided at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, which established the Constitution of the United States and a federal government.



Washington has been called the "Father of the Nation" for his manifold leadership in the formative days of the country. Washington is one of the most influential figures in American history since he served as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, was a hero of the Revolution, and the first president of the United States. His political legacy was a dominant factor in America's founding, the Revolutionary War, and the Constitutional Convention.

Presidency (1789–1797)

In Washington's lifetime, slavery was deeply ingrained in the economic and social fabric of Virginia. Washington was a slaveowner who controlled over 577 slaves who worked on his farm and in his houses. He gradually developed a cautious sympathy toward abolitionism but did not publicly support any initiatives for bringing about its end during his presidency, believing that it was a nationally divisive issue which could destroy the union between the states.

As president, he signed laws passed by Congress that both protected and curtailed slavery. His will said that one of his slaves, William Lee, should be freed upon his death, and said the other 123 slaves were to work for his wife and be freed on her death.

Light-Horse Harry Lee eulogized him as "First in war—first in peace—and first in the hearts of his countrymen". Lee's words became the hallmark by which Washington's reputation was impressed upon the American memory, with some biographers regarding him as the great exemplar of republicanism.

Historian John Ferling, however, maintains that Washington remains the only founder and president ever to be referred to as "godlike", and points out that his character has been the most scrutinized by historians, past and present. Historian Gordon S. Wood concludes that "the greatest act of his life, the one that gave him his greatest fame, was his resignation as commander-in-chief of the American forces." A 1993 review of presidential polls and surveys consistently ranked Washington number 4, 3, or 2 among presidents. A 2018 Siena College Research Institute survey ranked him number 1 among presidents.^[499]

In the 21st century, Washington's reputation has been critically scrutinized. Along with various other Founding Fathers, he has been condemned for holding enslaved human beings. Though he expressed the desire to see the abolition of slavery come through legislation, he did not initiate or support any initiatives for bringing about its end. This has led to calls from some activists to remove his name from public buildings and his statue from public spaces. Nonetheless, Washington maintains his place among the highest-ranked U.S. Presidents, listed second (after Lincoln) in a 2021 C-SPAN poll.

In Honor of Presidents' Day: Public Speaking Lessons from George Washington

Interestingly, as it turns out, George Washington was not a great orator. In fact, "he established the precedent that oratorical ability is not a requisite for the presidency."

One of the major reasons for Washington's poor speaking skills was his teeth. Contrary to popular belief, his teeth were not made of wood. They were made of hard materials—tusks, bones or teeth of animals or humans, or gold or silver. During the course of his lifetime he had six sets of false teeth, and they did affect his speech. The upper and lower sets of his teeth were connected to each other by steel springs. Washington had to clench his jaw tightly together just to keep his mouth shut. This caused noticeable discomfort and made it difficult to speak for long periods of time.

But speak he did...and we can learn a great deal from the speeches he gave. Some key points include:

- **Brevity:** Because of the pain and discomfort of his teeth, Washington spoke in very short intervals and no more than 15 minutes at a time. Most of his speeches were around 10 minutes. He was a master of keeping his remarks short and to the point.

• **Varied tone:** In his first inaugural address, Washington set the tone of high, formal, ornate style, using long and elaborate sentences of 87 words or more. Yet in his second speech, he spoke plainly and directly. By varying his tone to match the event or situation, he showed his connection to the moment and to the audience's expectations.

• **Highly personal:** Though Washington looked to the British monarchs' annual address at the opening session of Parliament as a model for his inaugural address, he chose to use the phrase "My fellow citizens..." He was, after all, the First Citizen and not His Majesty.

• **Spoke with dignity, formality, and humility:** Washington had a quiet, low, monotone voice, perhaps caused by the effort it took to manage his teeth. When he delivered his first inaugural address, his voice was said to be shaky and soft. But while his voice was soft, his bearing was imposing. He was 6' 2" tall—quite tall for those days—yet his physical presence coupled with his dignified yet humble style kept him from intimidating others

<https://www.definiscommunications.com/blog/in-honor-of-presidents%E2%80%99-day-public-speaking-lessons-from-george-washington#:~:text=Interestingly%2C%20as%20it%20turns%20out,were%20not%20made%20of%20wood>

The Top 5 Greatest Speeches of George Washington

1. Washington's Newburgh Address: March 15, 1783
2. Washington's Inaugural Address: April 30, 1789
3. George Washington's First State of the Union: January 8, 1790
4. Washington's Thanksgiving Proclamation: October 3, 1789
5. Washington's Farewell Address: September 19, 1796

<https://dc.hillsdale.edu/News/Latest-News/The-Top-5-Greatest-Speeches-of-George-Washington/>

Transcript of President George Washington's First Inaugural Speech (1789)

<https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=11&page=transcript>

Transcript of President George Washington's Farewell Address (1796)

George Washington's second inaugural address remains the shortest ever delivered, at just 135 words.

Fellow Citizens:

I am again called upon by the voice of my country to execute the functions of its Chief Magistrate. When the occasion proper for it shall

arrive, I shall endeavor to express the high sense I entertain of **this distinguished honor, and of the confidence which has been reposed in me by the people of united America.**

Previous to the execution of any official act of the President the Constitution requires an oath of office. This oath I am now about to take, and in your presence: That if it shall be found during my administration of the Government I have in any instance violated willingly or knowingly the injunctions thereof, I may (besides incurring constitutional punishment) be subject to the upbraidings of all who are now witnesses of the present solemn ceremony.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_inauguration_of_George_Washington

Transcript of President George Washington's Farewell Address (1796)

<https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=15&page=transcript>

Constitution of Washington

Rising above conflicts between individual states, Washington created an atmosphere that allowed convention members to reach the compromises necessary to create a bold, new government. He stayed relatively quiet, allowing the delegates to debate the foundation of the Constitution amongst themselves.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Washington

George Washington and the Constitution

<https://csac.history.wisc.edu/document-collections/george-washington-and-the-constitution/>

George Washington and the Making of the Constitution

<https://washingtonpapers.org/resources/topics/making-of-the-constitution/>

George Washington and the Constitutional Convention, by Professor William Allen

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MkD5bgjxWAc>

George Washington By John R. Vile

<https://www.mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/1228/george-washington>

George Washington Quotes

- “It is better to offer no excuse than a bad one.”
- “It is better to be alone than in bad company.”
- “Human happiness and moral duty are inseparably connected.”
- “The harder the conflict, the greater the triumph.”
- “We must consult our means rather than our wishes.”
- “Real men despise battle, but will never run from it.”
- “Decision making, like coffee, needs a cooling process.”
- “A sensible woman can never be happy with a fool.”
- “I’ll die on my feet before I’ll live on my knees!”
- “Some day, following the example of the United States of America, there will be a United States of Europe.”

4.2. Abraham Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln (1809 –1865)

was an American lawyer and statesman who served as the 16th president of the United States from 1861

until his assassination in 1865.

Lincoln led the nation through the American Civil War and succeeded in preserving the Union, abolishing slavery,

bolstering the federal government, and modernizing the U.S. economy.



Lincoln's emergence as a great orator dates from 1854, when he made a memorable speech in Peoria, October 6, of that year. This was his first major attack upon the position of Senator Douglas as the leader of the Illinois Democrats.

The greatest speeches by Abraham Lincoln are

- Peoria Speech, October 16, 1854.
- House Divided Speech, June 16, 1858.
- Cooper Union Address, February 27, 1860.
- Farewell to Springfield, February 11, 1861.
- Address at Independence Hall, February 22, 1861.

- First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861.

https://ap.gilderlehrman.org/resources/president-lincoln%C3%A2%E2%82%AC%E2%84%A2s-first-inaugural-address-1861?gclid=CjwKCAiAgbiQBhAHEiwAuQ6BkhHba1pvjaWBO_KAOcuFrOmVM3-X2-mnMwFdeB7X5K407AEfIr7iRoC_IQAvD_BwE

Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861.

<https://www.battlefields.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/Lincoln%20Second%20Inaugural%20Address.pdf>

Lincoln speech on slavery and the American Dream, 1858

https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/spotlight-primary-source/lincoln-speech-slavery-and-american-dream-1858?gclid=CjwKCAiAgbiQBhAHEiwAuQ6Bkmp4erdRh8QAwG0fs1Uk4JtiO5Aen6hKdw6j04YLDKJ_XXqw3R8N9xocnc4QAvD_BwE

Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address

<https://www.c-span.org/video/?469259-1/abraham-lincolns-inaugural-address>

Abraham Lincoln as a Speaker

<http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/speaker.htm>

Abraham Lincoln spent many years polishing his speaking abilities, from his youth to his presidency. His life in politics gave him hundreds of opportunities, as did his 25-year law career. Below you will see a small sample of those moments, as mentioned by his contemporaries. Please note that newspaper accounts appeared one or more days *after* a speech.

Preparation. Mr. Lincoln thought his speeches out on his feet walking in the streets: he penned them in small scraps - sentences and paragraphs, depositing them in his hat for safety. When fully finished, he would recopy, and could always repeat easily by heart -- so well thought, shotted, and matured were they. (William H. Herndon lecture, January 24, 1866)

Logic. Every point he touched upon was elucidated by the clearness of his logic, and with his keen blade of satire he laid bare the revolting features of policy of the pseudo-Democracy. (Peoria (Illinois) *Weekly Republican*, July 25, 1856)

His manner is neither fanciful nor rhetorical, but logical. His thoughts are strong thoughts, and are strongly joined together. He is a close reasoner, and has the faculty of making himself clearly understood. (Galena (Illinois) *North-Western Gazette*, July 1856)

Mannerisms. About the year 1832 or 1833 Mr. Lincoln made his first effort at public speaking. A debating club of which James Rutledge was President was organized and held regular meetings -- as he arose to speak his tall form towered above the little assembly. Both hands were thrust down deep in the pockets of his pantaloons. A perceptible smile at once lit up the faces of the audience for all anticipated the relation of some humorous story. But he opened up the discussion in splendid style to the infinite astonishment of his friends. As he warmed with his subject his hands would forsake his pockets and would enforce his ideas by awkward gestures; but would very soon seek their easy resting place. (Robert B. Rutledge letter, ca. November 1, 1866)

On rising to address the jury or the crowd he quite generally placed his hands behind him, the back part of his left hand resting in the palm of his right hand. As he proceeded and grew warmer, he moved his hands to the front of his person, generally interlocking his fingers and running one thumb around the other. Sometimes his hands, for a short while, would hang by his side. In still growing warmer, as he proceeded in his address, he used his hands -- especially and generally his right hand -- in his gestures; he used his head a great deal in speaking, throwing or jerking or moving it now here and now there, now in this position and now in that, in order to be more emphatic, to drive the idea home. Mr. Lincoln never beat the air, never sawed space with his hands, never acted for stage effect: was cool, careful, earnest, sincere, truthful, fair, self-possessed, not insulting, not dictatorial; was pleasing, good-natured; had great strong naturalness of look, pose, and act; was clear in his ideas, simple in his words, strong, terse, and demonstrative; he spoke and acted to convince individuals and masses; he used in his gestures his right hand, sometimes shooting out that long bony forefinger of his to dot an idea or to express a thought, resting his thumb on his middle finger. Bear in mind that he did not gesticulate much and *yet it is true* that every organ of his body was in motion and acted with ease, elegance, and grace, so it all looked *to me*. (William H. Herndon letter, July 19, 1887)

Persuasion. It would be doing injustice to his speech to endeavor to give a sketch of it. It was replete with good sense, sound reasoning, and irresistible argument, and spoken with that perfect command of manner and matter which so eminently distinguishes the Western orators. (Lowell (Massachusetts) *Daily Journal*, Sept. 18, 1848)

The speaker was calm, clear and forcible, constantly referring to indisputable facts in our political history, and drawing conclusions from them in favor of supporting the Anti-Nebraska platform and nominees, that were unanswerable. (Chicago (Illinois) *Democratic Press*, July 21, 1856)

We shall not undertake to tell what he said to the people, but we do not hesitate to say that his arguments on the leading issue between the parties were unanswerable; and we wish every man in the State could hear the same. (Paris (Illinois) *Prairie Beacon*, August 8, 1856)

Mr. Lincoln spoke nearly two hours and we believe he would have held his audience had he spoken all night. (Dover (New Hampshire) *Inquirer*, March 8, 1860)

Power. This speech was fresh - new - genuine - odd - original - filled with fervor - not unmixed with a divine enthusiasm, his head breathing out through his tender heart its Truths - its sense of Right and its feeling of the good and for the good. This speech was full of fire & energy & force. It was logic - it was pathos - it was enthusiasm. It was Justice - Equity - Truth - Right & the Good set ablaze by the divine fires of a soul maddened by the wrong. It was hard - heavy - knotty - gnarly - edged and heated. (William H. Herndon lecture, December 27, 1865)

He had not spoken ten minutes until everybody was carried away. We forgot all about his looks. Exeter was full of people of culture. It was a place to which people moved when they retired from active life. The audience was one of educated, cultivated people. I never heard such applause in that hall as Mr. Lincoln received that night. Every part fitted into the whole argument perfectly. As I recall it, the Exeter speech followed closely the lines of the Cooper Union address, which was on slavery. I suppose it had been carefully prepared. I know it captured all of us. (Marshall Snow in *Intimate Memories of Lincoln*)

Voice. Lincoln's voice was, when he first began speaking, shrill, squeaking, piping, unpleasant; his general look, his form, his pose, the color of his flesh, wrinkled and dry, his sensitiveness, and his momentary diffidence, everything seemed to be against him, but he soon recovered. (*William H. Herndon letter, July 19, 1887*)

But whenever he began to talk his eyes flashed and every facial movement helped express his idea and feeling. Then involuntarily vanished all thought or consciousness of his uncouth appearance, or awkward manner, or even his high keyed, unpleasant voice. (Abram Bergen in *Intimate Memories of Lincoln*)

The [second] inaugural address was received in most profound silence. Every word was clear and audible as the ringing and somewhat shrill tones of Lincoln's voice sounded over the vast concourse. (Noah Brooks in *Washington in Lincoln's Time*)

Lincoln The Orator

<https://www.americanheritage.com/lincoln-orator>

American Speeches: Political Oratory from Abraham Lincoln to Bill Clinton

<https://www.loa.org/books/249-american-speeches-political-oratory-from-abraham-lincoln-to-bill-clinton>

The Political Thought of Abraham Lincoln by Allen C. Guelzo

https://hertogfoundation.org/resources/the-political-thought-of-abraham-lincoln?gclid=CjwKCAiAgbiQBhAHEiwAuQ6BkpNoAopxsnJHIBQhPy4FvPZq9UIdTIJifiC8LtqLPlk9dCoAtu-PjBoCVzgQAvD_BwE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS *by Michael Burlingame*

<https://millercenter.org/president/lincoln/campaigns-and-elections>

The road to presidency

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abraham-Lincoln/The-road-to-presidency>

Abraham Lincoln Quotations

- “Character is like a tree and reputation like a shadow. The shadow is what we think of it; the tree is the real thing.” — Abraham Lincoln
- “No man has a good enough memory to be a successful liar.”
- “I am rather inclined to silence, and whether that be wise or not, it is at least more unusual nowadays to find a man who can hold his tongue than to find one who cannot.”
- “Every man’s happiness is his own responsibility.”
- “I would rather be a little nobody, than to be an evil somebody.”
- “I can make a General in five minutes but a good horse is hard to replace.”
- “I am a slow walker, but I never walk back.”
<https://parade.com/989260/marynliles/abraham-lincoln-quotes/>

Lincoln Memorial

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lincoln_Memorial

4.3. Theodore Roosevelt Jr.

Theodore Roosevelt Jr. (1858 – 1919), often referred to as Teddy or his initials T. R., was an American politician, statesman, conservationist, naturalist, historian, and writer who served as the 26th president of the United States from 1901 to 1909.

He previously served as the 25th vice president under William McKinley from March to September 1901, and as the 33rd governor of New York from 1899 to 1900.

Having assumed the presidency after McKinley's assassination, Roosevelt emerged as a leader of the Republican Party and became a driving force for anti-trust and Progressive policies.

He remains the youngest person to become president of the United States.

Theodore Roosevelt received Nobel Peace Prize 1905 for mediation between Russia and Japan (1904-1905).



Was Teddy Roosevelt a Good Public Speaker?

Written by: Jeremy C. Young

Roosevelt eventually overcame his speech impediment, but he never became a good public speaker. In 1942, graduate student William Auburn Behl wrote to a number of journalists who had known Roosevelt and asked for their opinions of the late president's speaking style. Unlike Bryan, who "had magic," responded Julian Street, Roosevelt "wasn't a great speaker but one felt the force and magnetism of his personality and...his great honesty and genuineness." Others were less charitable. Roosevelt's speech was oddly high-pitched and his gestures jerky and off-putting – "terrible," William Allen White called them. "He leaned toward the audience," remembered G. N. Keniston, "using fist and index finger gestures – flashing eyes and snapping teeth." (Indeed, Roosevelt developed the off-putting habit of audibly clacking his teeth together during emotional parts of a speech.) TR was "tiring to listen to," agreed William Bayard Hale in 1912, because he "grimaces constantly and gesticulates continually."

Apart from a few famous epigrams, Roosevelt's speeches, too, were often dry, equivocal, and monotonous, in part because he obsessively revised them and then had them typed paragraph by paragraph on half-sheets of

paper rather than delivering them extemporaneously as most magnetic orators did. (Don't take my word for it, though; you can listen to one of his speeches) Roosevelt's poor speeches caused him serious problems during the 1912 presidential campaign, when TR's aides arranged his speaking schedule to maximize the number of newspapers that would reprint his speeches – failing to realize that the printed text itself did little to advance their candidate's cause with voters.

Roosevelt found success as a politician not because of his oratorical prowess, but because of his boundless energy and tireless work ethic. “Theodore Roosevelt is a marvel as a campaigner,” wrote journalist Luther M. Little in 1900, “more from his tremendous strength, energy, force, and endurance than from finish and grace of delivery or diction.” As William McKinley's running mate in 1900, he barnstormed the country on a three-month speaking tour; as president, he set a record for handshaking that stood for seven decades. On the stump, Roosevelt managed to win over audiences despite his dull printed speeches. After reading each paragraph, recalled Congressman Schuyler Merritt, Roosevelt would drop the page at his feet and “would either say something which would bring the audience to its feet in applause, or say something humorous, which would cause them to laugh” – forging a durable emotional connection with voters.

<http://www.cambridgeblog.org/2017/08/was-teddy-roosevelt-a-good-public-speaker/>

Theodore Roosevelt's principles of speech preparation and delivery

By William A. Behl Ist. Lt., A.A.F.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03637754509390109?journalCode=rcmm19>

Quotations from the speeches and other works of Theodore Roosevelt

https://www.theodoreroosevelt.org/content.aspx?page_id=22&club_id=991271&module_id=339333

Theodore Roosevelt "The Right of the People to Rule" Speech (1912)

[AUDIO RESTORED]

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kRaYxYTIGVM>

Man in the Arena Speech by Theodore Roosevelt with Audio, Read by John F. Kennedy

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=snOWR6VZ95U>

Sound Recordings of Theodore Roosevelt's Voice

<https://www.loc.gov/collections/theodore-roosevelt-films/articles-and-essays/sound-recordings-of-theodore-roosevelts-voice/>

From the Archives: President Teddy Roosevelt's New Nationalism

Speech

<https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/12/06/archives-president-teddy-roosevelts-new-nationalism-speech>

Theodore Roosevelt Association. Speeches

https://www.theodoreroosevelt.org/content.aspx?page_id=22&club_id=991271&module_id=339335

Theodore Roosevelt Quotations

- "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far. "
- "Do what you can, with what you have, where you are. "
- "Keep your eyes on the stars, and your feet on the ground. "
- "It is hard to fail, but it is worse never to have tried to succeed. "
- "A thorough knowledge of the Bible is worth more than a college education. "
- "People ask the difference between a leader and a boss. The leader leads, and the boss drives. "
- "When you play, play hard; when you work, don't play at all. "
- "Great thoughts speak only to the thoughtful mind, but great actions speak to all mankind. "
- "Every immigrant who comes here should be required within five years to learn English or leave the country. "
- "Get action. Seize the moment. Man was never intended to become an oyster. "
- "Old age is like everything else. To make a success of it, you've got to start young. "

<https://www.brainyquote.com/authors/theodore-roosevelt-quotes>

4.4. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882 -1945), often referred to by his initials FDR, was an American politician and attorney who served as the 32nd president of the United States from 1933 until his death in 1945.

As a member of the Democratic Party, he won a record four presidential elections and became a central figure in world events during the first half of the 20th century.



Franklin Delano Roosevelt directed the federal government during most of the Great Depression, implementing his New Deal domestic agenda in response to the worst economic crisis in U.S. history.

As a dominant leader of his party, he built the New Deal Coalition, which defined modern liberalism in the United States throughout the middle third of the 20th century.

His third and fourth terms were dominated by World War II, which ended shortly after he died in office.

Roosevelt is widely considered to be one of the most important figures in the history of the United States, as well as one of the most influential figures of the 20th century. Historians and political scientists consistently rank Roosevelt, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln as the three greatest presidents, although the order varies. Reflecting on Roosevelt's presidency, "which brought the United States through the Great Depression and World War II to a prosperous future", biographer Jean Edward Smith said in 2007, "He lifted himself from a wheelchair to lift the nation from its knees."

Roosevelt firmly established the United States' leadership role on the world stage, with his role in shaping and financing World War II.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franklin_D._Roosevelt

Franklin D. Roosevelt - "The Great Communicator"

The simultaneous rise in popularity of radio and FDR's political fortune is an interesting historical twist of fate. Radio brought news alive, but left people free to create images in their imaginations. FDR's distinctive

voice and jollity flowed into people's homes. His disability was invisible. Radio helped make this possible. Through this means of mass communication, FDR could convey his ideas effectively, sitting in his estate in Hyde Park, New York or in the White House. Because FDR was such a masterful communicator, he was able to use his speeches, press conferences, and radio broadcasts, to shape American history. Evidence of FDR's successful use of the spoken word is widespread. The power of his "Day of Infamy" speech led the nation to unite behind the President's call to war, and his fireside chats gained him support from the people for innovative and controversial social programs. The other was his relationship with the public. As with any successful politician, FDR's power came from the people. Radio provided him with a direct link to his voting public and the next generation of voters. His use of radio helped him win people's hearts. Historians still debate FDR's true significance in history--saint or manipulator, or somewhere in between.

<https://www.gale.com/intl/c/franklin-d-roosevelt-the-great-communicator-the-master-speech-files-1898-1910-1945-series-1-franklin-d-roosevelts-political-ascension>

Franklin Delano Roosevelt Voice

Franklin D. Roosevelt Audio Recording

<https://www.c-span.org/video/?96805-49/franklin-d-roosevelt-audio-recording>

Franklin D. Roosevelt's Address to Congress, December 8, 1941

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbRYqLtg6LU>

Four Freedoms Speech

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qrNDwyj4u1w>

Franklin D. Roosevelt - Inaugural "The Only Thing We Have to Fear is Fear Itself" Speech

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rIKMbma6_dc

Rhetoric in the speeches of Franklin Delano Roosevelt

<https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpsredir=1&article=1701&context=etd-project>

Franklin D. Roosevelt; Master Communication

<https://digitalcommons.calpoly.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1121&context=comssp>

Franklin Delano Roosevelt Quotes

- "We must be the great arsenal of democracy."
- "Freedom of speech...Freedom of worship...Freedom from want...Freedom from fear."
- "A nation that destroys its soils destroys itself. Forests are the lungs of our land, purifying the air and giving fresh strength to our people."
”
- "Men and nature must work hand in hand. The throwing out of balance of the resources of nature throws out of balance also the lives of men."
- "Among American citizens, there should be no forgotten men and no forgotten races."

4.5. John F. Kennedy

John Fitzgerald Kennedy (May 29, 1917 – November 22, 1963), often referred to by his initials JFK, was an American politician who served as the 35th president of the United States from 1961 until his assassination near the end of his third year in office. Kennedy served at the height of the Cold War, and the majority of his work as president concerned relations with the Soviet Union and Cuba.



"Camelot Era"

The term "Camelot" came to be used retrospectively as iconic of the Kennedy administration, and the charisma of Kennedy and his family. The term was first publicly used by his wife in a post-assassination *Life* magazine interview with Theodore H. White, in which she revealed his affection for the contemporary Broadway musical of the same name, particularly the closing lines of the title song:

"Don't let it be forgot, that once there was a spot, for one brief, shining moment that was known as Camelot. There'll be great presidents again ... but there will never be another Camelot." (*Jacqueline Kennedy*)

Top 10 Greatest Speeches

Inaugural Address, 1961

http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1841228_1841749_1841745,00.html

JFK's Iconic Speech on Arts and Politics (1962) | The Kennedy Center

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-RYiL-7V7IY>

John F. Kennedy: Powerful Inspirational speech

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Lcs2g_DOzU

President John F. Kennedy's "Peace Speech"

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0fkKnfk4k40>

President John F. Kennedy's Civil Rights Address

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7BEhKgoA86U>

JFK's Famous Speech to Congress on Space Exploration (1961) | The Kennedy Center

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ygoE2YiHCs>

JFK New Frontier Speech, DNC 1960

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-t03ktje7jE>

4.6. Presidential discourse in the USA

Richard Nixon

Richard Milhous Nixon (1913 –1994) was the 37th president of the United States, serving from 1969 to 1974. He was a member of the Republican Party who previously served as a representative and senator from California and was the 36th vice president from 1953 to 1961.

His five years in the White House saw the end of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, détente with the Soviet Union and China, the first manned moon landings, and the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency.



Richard Nixon is best remembered as the only president ever to resign from office. Nixon stepped down in 1974, halfway through his second term, rather than faced impeachment over his efforts to cover up illegal activities by members of his administration in the Watergate scandal.

Richard Nixon was elected to the House of Representatives in 1946, to the Senate – in 1950. Nixon was the running mate of Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican Party's presidential nominee in the 1952 election, and served for eight years as the vice president.

Presidential election in 1960 and debates of JFK and Richard Nixon are described in many books on electioneering and image-making, political discourse and presidential election in the USA. Those who could afford a TV-set regretted about it as they experienced great frustration over the

appearance of Richard Nixon. The day of the debates ailing Richard Nixon had temperature. TV broadcasting emphasized his running nose, drops of sweat on his forehead in the studio, his awkward gestures. On the contrary, JFK looked young, elegant, charismatic, relaxed as his team 'tanned' him for two weeks, shaved him before the visit to the studio to avoid growth of beard, and made him change into a new suit just in the studio. Vice versa, those who followed radio broadcasting were convinced Richard Nixon won the debates as he sounded much more persuasive and confident. Though Richard Nixon narrowly lost the election to JFK in 1960, he made another run for presidency in 1968 and was elected. In 1972 he won presidential campaign again but had to resign the presidency in 1974 after Watergate – a set of clandestine and illegal activities of Nixon's administration. Watergate became a pattern for new coinages in political discourse, for example, *Irangate*, *zipperate* and others.

Richard Nixon was the first US president to set up a team of speech writers though his predecessors, Abraham Lincoln and all others, used the aid of assistants and consultants while working on the texts of the speeches. Richard Nixon also introduced 100-word-press-releases to deprive newsmen of any opportunity to transform or distort the text. The texts of the press-releases were written and edited logically, grammatically, semantically in such a way that a retrieval of any word or a word cluster ruined the whole text.

In 1975 after his resignation and illness Richard Nixon gave a number of interviews which gathered 40-50 million viewers becoming the most watched program of this category in TV history.

In post-presidential years Richard Nixon became a distinguished author and published ten books, including *Seize the Moment: America's Challenge in a One-Superpower World* (1992).

Speech of Vice President Richard M. Nixon, Atlanta, GA

<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/speech-vice-president-richard-m-nixon-atlanta-ga>

Richard Nixon Victory Speech - 1968

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gmw4el10KPI>

Richard Nixon's resignation speech

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3_DrUaJEBtE

President Nixon's Election Victory Speech 1972

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x71wUTELcXY>

President Richard Nixon Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam, November 3, 1969

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RPpOBU2LNC0>

Watergate

https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/as-years-go-by-watergate-drifts-toward-myth/2014/06/14/cff4080c-aa8a-11e1-b15f-a61faf9b4d76_story.html

<https://www.history.com/topics/us-presidents/richard-m-nixon>

James Carter

James Earl Carter Jr. (born October 1, 1924) is an American politician who served as the 39th president of the United States from 1977 to 1981.

A member of the Democratic Party, he previously served as the 76th governor of Georgia from 1971 to 1975 and as a Georgia state senator from 1963 to 1967.

Since leaving office, Carter has remained engaged in political and social projects.



James Carter is the earliest-serving living former president since the death of Gerald Ford in 2006. He became the oldest president ever to attend a presidential inauguration in 2017, at the age of 92. Two years later, on March 22, 2019, he gained the distinction of being the nation's longest-lived president, when he surpassed the lifespan of George H. W. Bush, who was 94 years, 171 days of age when he died in November 2018; both men were born in 1924. On October 1, 2019, Carter became the first U.S. president to live to the age of 95. He also noted how difficult it felt to reach his 90s, the former president saying in an 2019 interview with "People" that he never expected to live as long as he has, claiming his secret to a long life is a good marriage.

President Jimmy Carter - "Crisis of Confidence" Speech

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1IIRVy7oZ58>

CBS News archives: Carter's famous "malaise speech"

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0tGd_9Tahzw

Excerpt from President Jimmy Carter's Farewell Address to the Nation
(Carter Center)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mQXluxavMxY>

Ronald Reagan

Ronald Wilson Reagan (1911 –2004) was an American politician who served as the 40th president of the United States from 1981 to 1989.

A member of the Republican Party, he previously served as the 33rd governor of California from 1967 to 1975 after a career as a Hollywood actor and union leader.



Ronald Reagan contribution to American politics and economics was marked by the word *Reaganomics*.

President Reagan popularized American values. As Alexander Haig, the White House Chief of Staff put it, "He has contributed greatly to the revival of America's confidence and pride in itself". Value-laden political discourse of Ronald Reagan was based on core concepts - partnership, human imperfection, spiritual dignity. Metaphor *Life is a footrace* (1981) became a key concept to plunge American individualism into social context. Ronald Reagan claimed that another metaphor *evil empire* was just an occasional coinage which acquired high frequency due to mass media. Much later it became a matrix for other metaphors in political discourse, for example, *axis of evil*.

Ronald Reagan is considered to be a very successful speaker, and efficient televised president.

Reagan is also known as a perfect storyteller. He had a team of speechwriters as other US presidents. The team members admitted that President Reagan prepared thoroughly for every public event and always amended the draft of the speech they prepared, sometimes beyond recognition. It happened quite often so speechwriters asked themselves a question whether they deserved any salary. His rhetorical effectiveness was based on his unique ability of storytelling - he managed to incorporate a relevant story into every speech thus making it easily

memorizable. Funeral speeches were no exceptions. President Reagan attended funerals more often than other presidents and every speech was an event.

Being an actor Ronald Reagan really enjoyed watching TV coverage of conventions, summit meetings, other events where he was involved. His associates said the president was quite frustrated when the TV coverage was too brief. His experience of an actor helped him in his communication with mass media. When President Reagan was going towards the helicopter at the lawn of the White House newsmen rushed to him to ask multiple questions. But the president asked his helicopter's pilots not to switch the engines off and pretended he did not hear the questions against the background of the noise. He answered only the questions he liked. As many other people Ronald Reagan sometimes made mistakes at the press-conferences but those mistakes were forgotten very quickly and did not tarnish his reputation so he was nicknamed *Teflon President*.

Compilation of President Reagan's Humor from Selected Speeches, 1981-89

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BTIfGFJqLko>

The Best Of President Reagan's State of the Union Addresses

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8hUVSfgsoN8>

Ronald Reagan's Inaugural Address, January 20, 1981

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zEqVnU-m9dE>

The Best of President Reagan's Inaugural Addresses

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_c3ephVE0Iw

President Reagan Departs the White House via Marine One helicopter on April 18, 1986

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5w_9XzPTNNI

George H.W.Bush

George Herbert Walker Bush (1924 – 2018) was an American politician, diplomat,^land businessman who served as the 41st president of the United States from 1989 to 1993.

A member of the Republican Party, Bush also served as the 43rd vice president from 1981 to 1989 under Ronald Reagan, in the U.S. House of Representatives, as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and as Director of Central Intelligence, as Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in the People's Republic of China, the de facto ambassador to China.



With the victory of his son, George W. Bush, in the 2000 presidential election, the two became the second father–son pair to serve as the nation's president, following John Adams and John Quincy Adams.

George W. Bush

George Walker Bush (born July 6, 1946) is an American politician and businessman who served as the 43rd president of the United States from 2001 to 2009. A member of the Bush family and Republican Party, he previously served as the 46th governor of Texas from 1995 to 2000.



George Bush is associated with Afghanistan invasion, with Iraq invasion, War on Terror, with Taliban, al-Qaeda, with notorious mistakes known as Bushisms when he confused geographical names, phrases, pronunciation, made unconventional statements.

George W. Bush and the Unrhetorical Rhetorical Presidency by David A. Crockett

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41939844>

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bushism>

W.'s Greatest Hits

<https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2009/01/the-top-25-bushisms-of-all-time.html>

“Rarely is the question asked: Is our children learning?”—Florence, S.C., Jan. 11, 2000

“Neither in French nor in English nor in Mexican.”—declining to answer reporters’ questions at the Summit of the Americas, Quebec City, Canada, April 21, 2001

“You teach a child to read, and he or her will be able to pass a literacy test.”—Townsend, Tenn., Feb. 21, 2001

“One of the great things about books is sometimes there are some fantastic pictures.”—*U.S. News & World Report*, Jan. 3, 2000

“Well, I think if you say you’re going to do something and don’t do it, that’s trustworthiness.”—CNN online chat, Aug. 30, 2000

Bill Clinton

William Jefferson Clinton (né Blythe III; born August 19, 1946) is an American politician and attorney who served as the 42nd president of the United States from 1993 to 2001. He previously served as governor of Arkansas from 1979 to 1981 and again from 1983 to 1992, and as attorney general of Arkansas from 1977 to 1979.



A member of the Democratic Party, Clinton became known as a New Democrat, as many of his policies reflected a centrist "Third Way" political philosophy.

Bill Clinton's first 40-minute-long verbose public speech at national level, at the Democratic Party Convention, was dreadful but became the first step to stardom. Later President Clinton developed his individual style as an effective speaker. Scholars believe that his most effective rhetorical strategy was that he managed to become part of the audience he was addressing to. He successfully crafted messages for different audiences taking into account the diversity of the country. Bill Clinton's presidency gave rise to new occasional coinages in English, for examples, *Hillarython*

(Hillary + marathon) to emphasize the role of Hillary Clinton, his wife, as a driving force in pre-election campaigns and electioneering. Another noticeable coinage, *zippergate*, associated with sex scandal with Monica Lewinsky, had negative connotation and negative consequences for Bill Clinton's presidency and his family life. President Clinton has become the second US president to be formally impeached by the Congress.

Bill Clinton inaugural address: Jan. 20, 1993

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qszv668rN20>

Bill Clinton inaugural address: Jan. 20, 1997

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tu33kA83RfoOUS> PRESIDENTIAL SP

Presidential Speeches | Miller Center

<https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches>

When Clinton admitted to the Lewinsky affair

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZmjTMNvH6eI>

President Bill Clinton - Response to Lewinsky Allegations

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gV6yhEbEw9c>

This Day In History: Bill Clinton says "I did not have sexual relations with that woman"

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_aGbdni7QNs

Clinton's Mastery of Rhetorical Styles

<https://www.newswise.com/articles/clintons-mastery-of-rhetorical-styles>

A Rhetorical Analysis of President Bill Clinton's First Term Presidential Rhetoric

https://digitalcommons.wku.edu/stu_hon_theses/861/

10 rhetorical strategies that made Bill Clinton's DNC speech effective

<https://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2012/10-rhetorical-strategies-that-made-bill-clintons-dnc-speech-effective/>

Barack Obama

Barack Hussein Obama II

(born August 4, 1961) is an American politician who served as the 44th president of the United States from 2009 to 2017.

A member of the Democratic Party, Obama was the first African-American president of the United States.¹

He previously served as a U.S. senator from Illinois from 2005 to 2008 and as an Illinois state senator from 1997 to 2004.



Barack Obama's election became a turning point in American politics and history: next morning after his inauguration *Washington Post* published the article *Will we paint the White House black?* Since then the cluster *paint the White House black* has become a new idiom in English associated with Obama-themed debates, reconsideration of new racial reality and possibilities. Barack Obama's presidency paved the way to corridors of power for other politicians – Kamala Harris, Lloyd Austin, Karine Jean-Pierre and others, and for BLM as well. Barack Obama became the first regular user of Facebook among top-level politicians. Other high-ranking politicians, followed suit and opened accounts in social media. Some experts claim his oratorical skills propelled Barack Obama to the highest office.

Barack Obama's Significance for Rhetoric and Composition

By Ira Allen and Elizabeth A. Flynn <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24633889>

Barack Obama 475+ Speeches - Transcripts, Audio, Video

<https://www.americanrhetoric.com/barackobamaspeeches.htm>

Rhetorical Schemes in Barack Obama's Winning Speech by Putu Wahyu

Widiatmika, I Made Budiarsa, I Gde Sadia

<https://ojs.unud.ac.id/index.php/sastra/article/view/55634>

Sanford K. Richmond (2013) Paint the White House black!! A critical discourse analysis look at hip hop's social, cultural, and political influence on the Presidency of Barack Obama

<https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=googlescholar&id=GALE|A384438972&v=2.1&it=r&sid=googleScholar&asid=91bcb957>

For Cartoonists Who Cover Obama: Four More Ears

<https://www.npr.org/sections/itsallpolitics/2013/01/18/169726644/for-cartoonists-who-cover-obama-four-more-ears>

Barack Obama wants your ‘Like’: POTUS now on Facebook

<https://indianexpress.com/article/trending/us-president-barack-obama-launches-facebook-page/>

Donald Trump

Donald John Trump (born June 14, 1946) is an American politician, media personality, and businessman who served as the 45th president of the United States from 2017 to 2021.



Rhetoric of Donald Trump is quite often presented as vernacular rhetorical style with domeneering populist and nationalist themes. On the other hand, some experts do not share the opinion and believe that Donald Trump is the rhetorical genius. Works on Donald Trump's language profile and rhetoric appeared in abundance before his inauguration what was the unprecedented fact. Mass media criticised President Trump much more than his predecessors. Donald Trump was known as a efficient Twitter user.

Articles on Trump rhetoric. How Trump’s language shifted in the weeks leading up to the Capitol riot – 2 linguists explain

<https://theconversation.com/us/topics/trump-rhetoric-33093>

A field guide to Trump’s dangerous rhetoric

<https://theconversation.com/a-field-guide-to-trumps-dangerous-rhetoric-139531>

The Rhetoric of Donald Trump. National Populism and American Democracy by Robert C. Rowland

<https://kansaspess.ku.edu/978-0-7006-3196-4.html>

How President Trump's Rhetoric Has Affected U.S. Politics

<https://www.npr.org/2021/01/19/958472423/how-president-trumps-rhetoric-has-affected-u-s-politics>

Jennifer Mercieca, a historian of American political rhetoric, about how President Trump has changed the way Americans talk about politics, the government and each other.

MERCIECA: First of all, he communicates like a demagogue and not like a president. And what I mean by that is he took advantage of preexisting distrust and polarization and frustration, and he used rhetorical strategies that were designed to make all of those things worse.

...

MERCIECA: Yeah, so one of Trump's rhetorical strategies has been to use *ad baculum*, which is Latin and means threats of force or intimidation. And Donald Trump has wielded language like a cudgel. He does it even in interviews. So, you know, a typical president would sit down with a reporter and answer questions. They might not answer them, you know, as honestly as they could, but, you know, generally they would answer - give some kind of answer. Donald Trump instead attacks, right? So he wants to show his audience how phony the interview is. And so he'll say, you know, that's a dumb question. ...

MERCIECA: And those are ways of, you know, attacking in the moment but also signaling to his followers that no one should trust the media. And that has had great benefit for him because he's allowed to, you know, increase the distrust between his followers and the mainstream media. And he lets them know that they shouldn't trust anyone but him.

MERCIECA: ... So scholars call that stochastic terrorism. And so what that means is that you can't predict who exactly will respond, but you can predict with certainty that someone will respond. And so you saw people sending pipe bombs to the media, you know, saying that Trump told them to do it. You saw people over the last few weeks planning an insurrection and, in fact, invading the Capitol and then later saying, I'm here because my president told me to be. That is the consequence of Trump's war rhetoric. ...

SHAPIRO: When you look in total at the changes that Trump has brought to presidential rhetoric, what do you see as the cumulative effect, especially right now when the U.S. is in a public health emergency, a reckoning about race and an inability to even agree on basic facts, like vaccines work or Biden won a free and fair election?

MERCIECA: Yeah, he's absolutely used the fire hose of propaganda model. You know, in a way, he's like an authoritarian P.T. Barnum, trying to, you know, redirect our attention and yet keep our attention all of the time. I think that it'll be interesting to see what happens next. We'll see. I think that Joe Biden will be a much more responsible communicator than President Trump has been, and so we'll see if that sort of evens things out.

Donald Trump's full inauguration speech transcript, annotated

https://elearning.unipd.it/scienzeumane/pluginfile.php/192247/mod_resource/content/1/Donald%20Trump%E2%80%99s%20full%20inauguration%20speech%20transcript%2C%20annotated%20-%20The%20Washington%20P.pdf

DONALD TRUMP'S CHILLING LANGUAGE, AND THE FEARSOME POWER OF WORDS

<https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2017/01/donald-trumps-chilling-language-and-the-power-of-words>

Donald Trump did a "very good" job: A rhetorical analysis of candidate Trump's campaign speeches

<https://commons.lib.jmu.edu/honors201019/632/>

An analysis of President Donald Trump's use of language

<https://www.firststrand.co.za/perspectives/an-analysis-of-president-donald-trump-s-use-of-language/>

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Donald Trump's Speech: "Trump May Deploy Us Military to Cities"

<https://repositori.usu.ac.id/handle/123456789/37395>

THE USE OF PERSONAL PRONOUN IN DONALD TRUMP'S

SPEECH By Nafilatun Nasuha, Rosyida Ekawati

<http://jurnalnasional.ump.ac.id/index.php/LEKSIKA/article/view/9971>

Donald Trump did a "very good" job: A rhetorical analysis of candidate Trump's campaign speeches <https://commons.lib.jmu.edu/honors201019/632/>

US delivering 'peace through strength': President Trump tells UN

<https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/09/1073002>

Read Trump's Jan. 6 Speech, A Key Part Of Impeachment Trial

<https://www.npr.org/2021/02/10/966396848/read-trumps-jan-6-speech-a-key-part-of-impeachment-trial>

Full text: President Trump's 2020 RNC acceptance speech
<https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2020-election/read-full-text-president-donald-trump-s-acceptance-speech-rnc-n1238636>

Former President Trump Rally in Cullman, Alabama
<https://www.c-span.org/video/?514187-1/president-trump-rally-cullman-alabama>
Donald Trump, Twitter and the messy fight over free speech
<https://www.ft.com/content/78a3ed8c-d930-4bf5-9f6e-1b6b4751090f>

Joe Biden

Joseph Robinette Biden Jr. (born November 20, 1942) is an American politician who is the 46th and current president of the United States. A member of the Democratic Party, he served as the 47th vice president from 2009 to 2017 under Barack Obama and represented Delaware in the United States Senate from 1973 to 2009.



Joe Biden can be described as a professional politician who spent decades in the corridors of power, witnessed many events in American and world politics, made a successful career and finally was elected the President of the United States. His election became an argument in favour of numerous trends in modern world - greying of the population, greying of American politics, attempts of the USA to preserve geopolitical hegemony and remain on the top of world hierarchy. His public speeches and interviews can be studied in terms of language profile, individual style, the speech of the elderly and even... his notorious embarrassing blunders.

President Joe Biden inaugural address
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wa9KI4dfly4>

7 scathing cartoons about Biden's Afghanistan

fiasco <https://theweek.com/political-satire/1004050/7-scathing-cartoons-about-bidens-afghanistan-fiasco>

Watch Joe Biden's full speech to Congress

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eJHwn9zu8X4>

LIVE: Biden Holds Press Conference to Mark First Year as President | NBC News

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RCp6kZL1BDg>

WATCH LIVE: Biden delivers remarks at the National Association of Counties Legislative Conference

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jajgLkakOso>

'I am a gaffe machine': a history of Joe Biden's biggest blunders

<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/apr/25/joe-biden-2020-public-gaffes-mistakes-history>

PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC EXPERT CAN COMMENT ON BIDEN INAUGURAL SPEECH

<https://news.ku.edu/2021/01/07/presidential-rhetoric-expert-can-react-biden-inaugural>

Rhetorical cleanups pile up for an emotionally undisciplined Biden

<https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/600185-rhetorical-cleanups-pile-up-for-an-emotionally-undisciplined-biden/>

Assignment

Political discourse in the USA

1. Analyze United States presidential election discourse 2020

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020_United_States_presidential_election

2. Analyze United States presidential election discourse 2016

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2016_United_States_presidential_election

3. Analyze gender factor impact in US political discourse. Compare rhetoric, argumentation, individual style of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in the 2016 presidential debates:

Clinton vs. Trump: The second 2016 presidential debate
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7fmzBwnmQJM>

Full video: Trump-Clinton first presidential debate
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s7gDXtRS0jo>

Clinton vs. Trump: The third 2016 presidential debate
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0s4HTZUI2QU>

4. Analyze slogans of United States presidential election in the 20th-21st centuries. Focus on rhetorical, stylistical, pragmatic characteristics, argumentation and persuasiveness.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_U.S._presidential_campaign_slogans#:~:text=%22Ready%20for%20change%2C%20ready%20to,experience%20to%20make%20change%20happen.%22

5. Analyze slogans of United States presidential election in the 19th century. Focus on rhetorical, stylistical, pragmatic characteristics, argumentation and persuasiveness.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_U.S._presidential_campaign_slogans#:~:text=%22Ready%20for%20change%2C%20ready%20to,experience%20to%20make%20change%20happen.%22

6. Analyze gender factor, rhetoric, argumentation, individual style of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton

Secretary Clinton Delivers Remarks on Human Rights

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y033A0woUNU>

Secretary Clinton Welcome Remarks at State Department

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x4zF5My48fw>

Remarks 67th Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eqCHNY1wIJo>

For the first time, Hillary Clinton publicly delivers the victory speech she would have given in 2016

https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/for-the-first-time-hillary-clinton-publicly-delivers-the-victory-speech-she-would-have-given-in-2016/2021/12/08/f40a9370-585c-11ec-929e-95502bf8cdd5_story.html

Hillary Clinton reveals emotional message to her mother in 'acceptance speech'

<https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/hillary-clinton-sends-emotional-message-mother-acceptance-speech/story?id=81623091>

7. Hillary Clinton: FLOTUS, Secretary of State, Candidate for USA President. Analyze rhetoric, content, voice quality, argumentation in public speeches.

8. Analyze gender factor, rhetoric, argumentation, individual style of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright:

2016 Commencement: Secretary Madeleine Albright

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fEQGwaGSryE>

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright Policy Address

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kbed005F4bc>

Madeleine Albright on Democracy in the 21st Century

<https://www.c-span.org/video/?509105-1/madeleine-albright-democracy-21st-century>

Watch: Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright speaks at Colin Powell funeral service

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=omgBVuZQoOw>

9. Analyze gender factor, rhetoric, argumentation, individual style of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice:

Raw Video: Condoleezza Rice's speech at the RNC

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QtaVWSXr8FY>

Speech to National Council of Negro Women

<http://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/blackspeech/crice.html>

SMU Commencement speech by former U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice

<https://www.smu.edu/News/2012/commencement-Condoleezza-Rice-speech>

Press Conference - Secretary Rice - U.S. Department of State

<https://statedept.brightcovegallery.com/detail/video/1808183588/press-conference---secretary-rice>

Press conference by US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice following the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Foreign Ministers session

https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_48261.htm

Secretary Condoleezza Rice in Jerusalem

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HSGNzsn9TtE>

Rice Continues Quest for Peace in Middle East

<https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=9131228>

10. Analyze rhetoric, argumentation, individual style of Donald Trump:

ENGLISH SPEECH | DONALD TRUMP: Never, Ever Give Up (English Subtitles)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2mqQMA7CSLQ>

Donald Trump delivers his last speech as U.S. President | Donald Trump Farewell | Trump last speech

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QOYKnDe_ssl

IN FULL: Former US President Donald Trump hints at 2024 run

11. Analyze Bill Clinton's speeches of his presidency and post-White House life.

12. Analyze Barack Obama' oratory of his presidency and post-White House life.

13. JFK, Ronald Reagan, Barak Obama as the most effective public speakers in the USA.

14. Former US presidents in Post-White House Life (Richard Nixon, James Carter, George H.W.Bush, George W.Bush)

- 15. Joe Biden public performance during presidential campaign and his presidency.**
- 16. Analyze Joe Biden's public speeches in terms of gerontolinguistics. Compare his speech characteristics in the 1980s, 1990s and during his presidency**

When Joe Biden was a young senator at age 30
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cCZ5_XwqchE

Watch Joe Biden's speech when he dropped out of his first presidential run in 1987
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xRxOldhJ7Sw>

Joe Biden makes impassioned speech on apartheid in resurfaced 1986 footage
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0_v00iGJCLY

How CBS News covered Joe Biden's first run for president in 1988
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GQaayo2Oed8>

- 16. Kamala Harris rhetoric during presidential campaign and as the Vice President.**
- 17. Henry Kissinger as a key figure in US politics and diplomacy.**
- 18. Analyze non-verbal communication in the US political discourse.**
- 19. Select one of the quotations of prominent American politicians and give your arguments and counterarguments.**

5. Political discourse within Critical Discourse Studies

In the last decades of the 20th century discourse analysis became one of the most popular, fruitful and perspective trends in world Linguistics. Political discourse was a very important, trend-setting issue in discourse analysis. Political discourse studies became a pattern for the discourse analysis of communication in other fields.

The term “*discourse*” was first used in modern Linguistics by Zellig Harris in 1952 but it can be traced back to works of Ferdinand de Saussure and Emile Benveniste. Zellig Harris was interested in the analysis of connected speech and writing beyond the level of the sentence and the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour what was quite close to present-day rendition of communication and discourse.

Now the term “*discourse*” is used widely in many disciplines and encompasses a wide variety of social and communicative practices. “...discourse is a mass noun only, and in its rather strict linguistic sense refers to connected speech or writing, occurring at levels bigger than a sentence” (*The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics 1994*). Discourse is speech viewed as a component of life/ reality. Discourse is a cognition and communication process that spans verbal and non-verbal means of communication with social and cultural interpretation. The term “*discourse*” acquired much broader interpretation: “The power of discourse works through a multitude of social forms and has a myriad of effects” (*The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics 1994*). “*Discourses*” are different ways in which we humans integrate language with nonlanguage “stuff,” such as thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, believing, and using symbols, tools, and objects in the right places and at the right times so as to enact and recognize different identities and activities, ...make certain sorts of meaningful connections in our experience, and privilege certain symbol systems and ways of knowing over others (i.e. carry out all the building tasks above).

Numerous definitions of discourse show that rendition of discourse varies in modern linguistics. Discourse can be viewed as

- speech/ parole (Ferdinand de Saussure)
- unit bigger than a phrase
- impact on the addressee
- conversation/ dialogue
- speech which becomes a property of the speaker VS narration (authorship is anonymous)
- actualized virtual signs
- an utterance opposed to a sentence

- set of restrictions depending on the field (feminist discourse, business discourse, academic discourse etc.).

Discourse is often viewed as oral conversation or a piece of written communication, off-line or on-line including non-verbal/ paralinguistic components of communication and extralinguistic factors. Thus, discourse can be rendered as communication process, as a communication event, as a system, as a text.

Teun van Dijk, one of the founders of Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Studies, related discourse to power and viewed it as “communicative event” that is realized in society not only in a textual form but between social agents in the form of communication. Discourse is always the background of all communicative events, it is the basis from which all these events arise, and the destination where all these interactions terminate. Discourse for van Dijk is a form of social action and interaction in social context when the participants are social actors who are members of groups and cultures.

Academic biography of Teun A. van Dijk is revealing for the evolution of critical discourse studies, of the role of political discourse for discourse analysis progress, of social context in discourse analysis:

Brief Vita of Teun A. van Dijk

Teun A. van Dijk (1943) was professor of Discourse Studies at the University of Amsterdam until 2004. Since 1999 he is visiting professor at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona.

He took degrees in French language and literature at the Free University (VU) of Amsterdam, and in Theory of Literature at the University of Amsterdam (UvA), and received a doctorate in linguistics from the University of Amsterdam. He also studied in Strasbourg, Paris and Berkeley. His early research was about the linguistic study of literature, but soon changed to the development of "text grammars" and discourse pragmatics, later followed by research (partly with Walter Kintsch) on the cognitive psychology of discourse processing.

His work in the 1980s focused on two major areas, viz., the study of the structures, production and comprehension of news reports in the press, and the analysis of the expression of ethnic prejudices in various types of discourse (textbooks, news reports, conversations, parliamentary discourse, corporate discourse), with special

emphasis on the relations between discourse structures, (prejudiced) social cognitions about ethnic minority groups and Third World peoples, and the ways "elite racism" is reproduced in (Western) societies. In the 1990s this work is being extended towards a more general study of the role of power and ideology in discourse and the reproduction of socio-political beliefs in society. His current projects are about discourse, knowledge and context. He also directs an international project (with teams in Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Peru) on discourse and racism in Latin America.

This research has been published in some 30 monographs and edited books, and in more than 200 scholarly articles. He holds two honorary doctorates and his work has been translated into a dozen foreign languages (including Russian, Arabic, Chinese and Japanese). Teun A. van Dijk founded the journal *TTT* (a Dutch linguistics journal) and six international journals, *POETICS*, *TEXT* (now called *Text & Talk*), *Discourse and Society*, *Discourse Studies*, *Discourse and Communication*, and the internet journal in Spanish *Discurso & Sociedad* of which he still edits the latter four. Teun A. van Dijk has lectured widely in Europe, the Americas, and other countries. He speaks Dutch, English, Spanish, German, French and Portuguese, and understands (and speaks more or less) Italian, Catalan, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian.

Teun A. van Dijk lives in Barcelona, Spain, since 1999.

His major books in English are:

Some Aspects of Text Grammars (The Hague: Mouton, 1972)

Text and Context (London: Longman, 1977)

Macrostructures (Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1980)

Studies in the Pragmatics of Discourse (The Hague: Mouton, 1981)

Strategies of Discourse Comprehension (with W. Kintsch; New York: Academic Press, 1983)

Prejudice in Discourse (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1984)

Discourse and Communication (Ed.)(Berlin: de Gruyter, 1985)

Handbook of Discourse Analysis (Ed.)(4 vols., London: Academic Press, 1985)

Communicating Racism (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1987)

News as Discourse (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1988)
 News Analysis (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1988)
 Discourse and Discrimination (Detroit: Wayne State U.P,
 1988)(with Geneva Smitherman, Eds.).
 Racism and the Press (London: Routledge, 1991)
 Elite Discourse and Racism (Newbury Park, CA: Sage,
 1993).
 Discourse Studies, 2 vols. (Ed.). (London: Sage, 1997).
 Ideology (London: Sage, 1998).
 Racism at the Top (Klagenfurt, Drava Verlag, 2000)(with
 Ruth Wodak, Eds.).
 Communicating Ideologies (with Martin Pütz & JoAnne
 Neff-van Aertselaer, Eds.)(Frankfurt, etc.: Lang, 2004).
 Racism and discourse in Spain and Latin America.
 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2005).
 Context. A Multidisciplinary Theory. (In preparation)
<http://www.discourses.org/Minivita%20Teun%20A%20van%20Dijk.html>

Generally, discourse analysis was growing popular due to the interest in longer-than-sentence segments of speech and, on the other hand, due to sensitivity to social context in Linguistics. In the end of the 20th century Speech Act Theory was described as an independent trend in Linguistics not as a department of Pragmatics. This theory is considered a significant resource of modern Discourse Analysis as well.

The approaches to discourse analysis differed since discourse was analyzed as language in use, as a set of utterances, as a number of speech acts, as a text, as a combination of verbal and non-verbal elements of communication with extra-linguistic factors which make impact on communication. Introduction of discourse into linguistic research helped to bridge the gap between communication and speakers who generate communication. Interest of discourse analysis in social factors triggered multidisciplinary research. Discourse analysis made it possible to analyze communication not as a verbal language (what I said in words) only but as a paralinguistic (how I said what I said) unity and kinetic (how I moved while speaking) unity. Discourse analysis made it possible to involve many other factors and facts into linguistic analysis which was unthinkable previously, thus, to broaden the limits of Linguistics, to dive into interaction aspects of communication, namely, discourse type (to study varieties of communication in modern world), interpersonal and social relationships and their impact on communication, communication standards, change of communicative roles, interaction predetermined by institution type and many other factors.

In their works many prominent scholars enumerated the contributory disciplines and the theoretical background of discourse analysis. Teun

van Dijk stated that some groups of disciplines contributed to discourse research:

1. Semiotics, Structuralism, Ethnography
2. Microsociology with its interest to everyday communication, colloquial speech
3. Philosophy of language, Pragmatics with Speech Act Analysis
4. Social Linguistics
5. Psycholinguistics, Cognitive Psychology, Artificial Intelligence
6. Text Linguistics

Some scholars specified the contributory theories and disciplines in discourse analysis in a more detailed way:

- Analytical philosophy (Speech Act Theory, Principles of information exchange)
 - Linguistics (Structuralist linguistics, Register studies and stylistics, Text linguistics, Pragmatics, Presuppositions, Face and politeness, Reference)
 - Linguistic anthropology (Ethnography of speaking, Ethnopoetics, Indexicality, Interactional sociolinguistics, Natural histories of discourse)
 - New literacy studies
 - Poststructuralist theory
 - M.M. Bakhtin and theory of genres
 - Semiotics (Communication studies, Cultural studies)
 - Social theory (Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, Jürgen Habermas)
 - The sociology of order in interaction (Interaction order, Frame analysis, Footing, Face, Conversation analysis, Ethnomethodology)
- (Slembrouk 2006).

In 1972 Prof. Hymes presented discourse analysis as a *speaking* model that covers communication fields, changeable communication elements, discourse types, contextual/ extralinguistic changeables:

S (setting) – combines location/ place, time, environment and stage of communication, i.e. communication situation in the communication dimension. Setting includes 1) time and location of the communication; 2) scene (cultural characteristics of the speech act, its role in the communication).

P (participants) include Speaker, Addressee, Audience

E (ends) include Expected results, Individual and common goals of the participants, Acts sequence - patterns of culturally and socially determined actions, culturally specified sequence of communicative steps

K (key) psychological, emotional background and line in the communication situation;

I (instrumentalities) presuppose channels of communication (oral VS written) and forms of speech (language, dialect, subdialect, sociolect, lect)

N (norms) are patterns of interaction and interpretation and cover interaction standards

G (genres) cover speech genres, models of speech organization.

The attempt to squeeze the interpretation of some phenomena into one word has become a popular pattern during the last decades, in political discourse as well. Another example of this kind is **PACKAGED** what promotes much broader vision of discourse:

P – pragmatic level/ pragmatic purpose

A – attitudinal level/ emotions and beliefs

C – cognitive level/ mental processes

K – knowledge-fed level/ knowledge & memory

A – artistic level / creativity

G – grounded level / contextual situation

E – experiential level / experience

D – discourse-driven level/ linguistic knowledge

Werth P. **PACKAGED formula** (*Werth P. Text worlds: Representing Conceptual Space in Discourse 1999*) reveals the role of the author /speaker in communication and discourse.

Discourse Analysis as a new trend was implemented to the fiction text research. In the 1970s the terms “discourse” and “text” were synonymous due to the fact that English did not have an equivalent for French *discourse*. However, text and discourse are never 100% synonyms as text is perceived as a smaller unit compared with the discourse. Text is defined as a verbal part of discourse, text is generated in linear way only, text is characterized by coherence, unlike text discourse comprises heterogeneous elements. Literary text, fiction text is deprived of spontaneity characteristic of an oral dialogue/ polilogue - an ideal example of discourse.

Spoken discourse

can be classified as

- spontaneous spoken discourse (unplanned and semi-planned)
- non-spontaneous spoken (semi-scripted or scripted)
- spontaneous written discourse (unplanned and semi-planned)
- non-spontaneous written discourse (polished scripts),
and the borders between one category and another are blurred.

The following description of the rules of **spoken grammar**, in the wider sense of lexis, syntax and disfluency, is taken from McCarthy (1999), Cuttin (2000), Carter and McCarthy (2006) and Thornbury and Slade (2006).

The **lexical** features are:

- Vague words

general nouns: superordinate nouns, empty-semantically, dependent on the context for meaning, for example ‘I brought that *thing*’, ‘I’ll never get this *stuff*’, ‘work with one other *person*’, ‘crummy *places* that I’ve been working for’, ‘I haven’t got my *thingymajig*’

general noun clusters: fixed vague expressions, for example ‘I brought *the what’s-a-name*’, ‘ask *what’s-her-face*’

general verbs: superordinate verbs (‘do’, ‘happen’), empty-semantically, dependent on the context for meaning, for example ‘I’ve *done* my thing’, ‘They *did* all the stuff’

general extenders: vague endings, referring to the rest of a category or just a filler, for example ‘With a little heading here *or something*’, ‘Look it up under insert table *or something like that*’, ‘hedging and surveying *and so on*’, ‘You don’t have to sort of phone and make arrangements, *and things*’

vague quantifiers: non-specific expressions of quantity, for example ‘She’s got *lots of* things to tell you’, ‘They’ve got *loads of* money’

- Informal words

short names, nicknames and informal forms of address: for example

‘we got to one that Dave and I usually go to’, ‘Morning, *Tootsie!*’, ‘You get me, *blood?*’

delexical verbs: common verbs (‘give’, ‘have’, ‘make’) that combine with nouns to describe an action, for example ‘*take* a break’, ‘*have* a bath’

basic adjectives and adverbs: high-frequency, everyday words, for example ‘It’s a *nice* place’, ‘Are you shutting out this *lovely* sunshine?’ ‘*Basically* we’ve finished’, ‘Anyway *eventually* after walking round the pubs, we gave up’

colloquial and swear words: ‘*pretty* warm’, ‘You’re an absolute *dosser!*’, ‘*Bloody hell* – is it eleven already?’

- Interactional word chunks

discourse markers: words marking boundaries between topics and stages; opening, closing, sequencing, for example ‘*Right*, let’s get started’, ‘*Anyway* I decided to, so that was that’.

fillers and hedges: words and sounds filling pauses, marking hesitations, delaying words, for example ‘*um – er*, OK’, ‘*Like* I didn’t even know what he wanted’, ‘It’s *a bit* abstract’, ‘*Kind of* scary *actually*’,

'lots of you know *sort of* pushing and shovelling around', 'But *at the end of the day*, it doesn't matter', 'like I didn't even know what he wanted'

communication checks, confirmations and backchannels: expressions that keep the channel of communication open, for example 'She's just lazy, *do you know what I mean?*', 'Oh *I see* yeah', 'Mhm, aha'

expressions of politeness: 'Yeah *thanks*', 'Could you get me a tuna and sweet corn one *please?*'

The **syntactical** ones include:

Vague reference ◦ **indefinite pronouns:** for example 'she'll look for *something* else', '*nobody's* going'

deixis: determiners ('this', 'those', 'here', 'then') and personal pronouns ('I', 'we', 'him', 'us') pointing to a referent in the situational or background context, for example '*That* was yesterday', 'Probably a bit late *now*'

general noun clauses: vague expressions, not fixed, empty-semantically, for example 'Are you going to do *what you thought you'd do?*'

- Incomplete utterances

initial clausal ellipsis: omission of subject and or verb, for example 'Perfect', 'Been there. Done that'

stand-alone subordinate clauses: subordinate clause expressed as a separate utterance, for example 'We went to the Tron. *Which is that square*'

unfinished utterances: omission of the end of the utterance, for example 'And I knew I was going to do one essay *so . . .*'

Informal grammar

short clauses: joined by 'and', 'but', 'then' and 'because'.

headers: fronted adjuncts, objects and complements, and noun phrases before the pronoun, for example '*The film* I liked', '*John, the man I lived with, the Scot,* he played blues guitar'

tails: noun or prepositional phrases cohering with the pronoun, after the clause, for example 'They're slow, *these traffic lights.*', 'It's lovely, *Blackpool is.*'

vernacular grammar: systematically used spoken grammar that breaks written grammar rules, for example 'He vowed *to boldly go*', 'Give it to Sue and *I*', 'He wanted to know *why was I* there', 'They *usually always* eat out on a Sunday', 'I didn't do *nuffink*, like, *innit*'

The **disfluency** features are:

repetitions – for example 'She just couldn't remember if we were on *the –the* right track.'

recasting – repairs and reformulations mid-utterance, for example 'Actually – in it – and one guy – there was three guys on the stage.'

pauses – unfilled hesitations of half a second or more, for example ‘It was

in em – where was it (*l*) in em in em (*0.5*) George Street.’

overlaps – (often indicated with =) simultaneous speech when the first speaker completes their utterance, for example Speaker A: ‘Olivia Newton John and em = whatever the character’s called. John Travolta.’

Speaker B ‘=(heh heh) Hang on. Where did you see this?’

interruptions: (often indicated with //), simultaneous speech when the first speaker does not complete their utterance, for example Speaker A: ‘Um. Well what happened is // that’ Speaker B: ‘// I mean when you wake up are you sitting on the bench?’

Dialogue can be analyzed via many other parameters

Space – Time relations

- tete-a-tete communication, simultaneously and close to each other
- distanced communication (simultaneous but via telephone)

Conversation genre

- natural (spontaneous, unprepared, prepared/ preplanned)
- imagined, from fiction
- dramatized

Participants set

- dialogue –interpersonal
- conversation within small or large group

Formality degree

- informal conversation, colloquial
- neutral, non-formal
- semi-formal
- formal

Social relations of the participants

- symmetrical
- asymmetrical

Direction of communication actions

- directive, imperative
- narrative, declarative
- discursive, argumentative

Closeness of the participants

- close
- on friendly terms
- familiar
- slight/ nodding acquaintances
- unknown

Preparedness of the participants

- non –prepared

- prepared due to experience or habit
- specially prepared for the dialogue

Fixed topic

- unlimited issues
- fixed theme issue
- specific fixed issue

Communication VS practice

- included into practice
- non-included/ non-related to practice

Spoken discourse is considered within

- **Speech Act (SA)** theory (Austin 1962, Searle 1969)
- the **Cooperative Principle (CP)** (Grice 1975)
- the **Politeness Principle (PP)** (Brown and Levinson 1987)
- **Conversation Analysis (CA)**
- **Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)** (Fairclough, Wodak).

Conversation analysis (CA) –

the study of talk-in-interaction – became a significant contribution to discourse analysis. It was first developed within sociology in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s by Harvey Sacks and his collaborators, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson (e.g. Sacks et al. 1974). It is an interdisciplinary field spanning, in particular, sociology, psychology, linguistics and communication studies. Object of research of CA is oral dialogue discourse within everyday communication with the core elements such as *conversation, topic, sequence, adjacency pair, turn* [Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson 1974].

Other scholars viewed *interaction, transaction, exchange, move* act as elements of Discourse [Sinclair, Coulthard 1975, Sinclair, Brazil 1982]

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), Critical discourse studies (CDS)

Critical linguistics (CL) was first mentioned in 1979. CL was described as socially directed application of linguistic analysis using mainly concepts and methods associated with systemic-functional linguistics of Prof. Halliday. Essential characteristic of CL is a vision of language as a social practice, as linguistic usage of codes, ideological patterns, discursive structures and strategies that mediate representations of the world in the language. The crucial component of CL is analysis of

ideologies wrapped in the language. Different usages of languages code different ideologies.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) cropped up in the early 1990s and has turned into a well-established field in the social sciences in the 21st century (Fairclough et al. 2010; Wodak and Meyer 2009a). Most generally, CDA can be defined as a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research with a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods and agendas. The terms Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) were often used interchangeably. What unites them is a shared interest in the semiotic dimensions of power, identity politics and political-economic or cultural change in society. Later, another term became preferable - Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) that provided much broader research of communication.

Teun A. Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak can be considered major contributors to CDS.

Norman Fairclough explored the connection between language and social institutional practices and of "wider" political and social structures. Though his views were influenced by Mikhail Bakhtin and Michael Halliday, his line of research can be characterized as *textually oriented discourse analysis* (TODA), the titles of his books prove that language and power were focal points of his CDA:

- Fairclough, Norman (1989). *Language and Power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, Norman (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, Norman (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Fairclough, Norman (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Boston: Addison Wesley.
- Fairclough, Norman (2000). *New Labour, New Language?* London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, Norman (2001). *Language and Power* (2nd edition). London: Longman.
- Fairclough, Norman (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, Norman (2006). *Language and Globalization*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, Norman (2007). (Ed.). *Discourse and Contemporary Social Change*. Bern.
- Fairclough, Isabela and Fairclough, Norman (2013) *Political Discourse Analysis: A Method for Advanced Students*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, Norman (2014). *Language and Power* (3rd edition). London: Longman.
- Fairclough, Norman (2014). *Critical Language Awareness*. London: Routledge.

For Norman Fairclough discourse was just one of the aspects of any social practice. Discourse is being shaped and influenced by other social practices and structures. The investigation of change, the role of language in verbal packaging is the central point of his research.

Interdisciplinarity, combination of textual and social analysis, is one more distinctive characteristic of CDA as Fairclough rejected the study of language as independent from social studies. CDA is a method of research on social and cultural change. The notions of “power”, “ideology,” “class,” “social structure,” and “social order” are of crucial importance for CDA.

Ruth Wodak is one of the major theoreticians of Critical Discourse Analysis in the modern world. Her definitions of basic notions give idea about about theoretical provisions of CDA:

Discourse can be understood as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts that manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action. Texts are materially durable products of linguistic actions. Genre is a conventionalized, more or less schematically fixed use of language associated with particular activity:

Field of action: Law making, political procedure etc.

Genres: laws, declarations of bills, parliamentary speeches and questions, speeches of MPs, prescriptions etc.

Field of action: political executive/ administration

Genres: decisions (approval), rejection, inaugural speeches, coalition papers

Field of action: political advertising, propaganda

Genres: election programs, slogans, speeches in election campaigns, posters, fliers, direct mail advertising

Ruth Wodak published and edited a number of books on CDA:

- Wodak, Ruth (2015). *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean*. London: Sage.
- Wodak, Ruth (2011). *The Discourse of Politics in Action: Politics as Usual* (2nd revised edition). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Reisigl, Martin & Wodak, Ruth (2001). *Discourse and Discrimination*. London: Routledge.
- Wodak, Ruth, & Forchtner, Bernhard (Eds.) (2017). *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Wodak, Ruth, Mral, Brigitte, & Khosravini, Majid (Eds.) (2013). *Right Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Wodak, Ruth (Ed.) (2013). *Critical Discourse Analysis: Four Volumes*. Sage.
- Wodak, Ruth & Meyer, Michael (Eds.) (2009). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2nd revised edition). London: Sage.
- Wodak, Ruth & Reisigl, Martin (Eds.) (2009). *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*. Edinburgh: EUP.
- Wodak, Ruth & Koller, Veronika (Eds.) (2008). *Handbook of Communication in the Public Sphere*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Wodak, Ruth & Chilton, Paul (Eds.) (2005). *New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Weiss, Gilbert & Wodak, Ruth (Eds.) (2003). *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Wodak, Ruth (Ed.) (1989). *Language, Power and Ideology: Studies in Political Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

was developed by Ruth Wodak and other scholars in Vienna working in the traditions of Bernsteinian sociolinguistics and the Frankfurt school. The approach is particularly associated with large projects in interdisciplinary research teams focusing on sexism, anti-Semitism, identity politics, organizational discourses and racism. The concepts of intertextuality, interdiscursivity and recontextualization are inherently tied to interdisciplinary discourse-historical approaches. A broader framework for examining intertextuality, offered by Bazerman (2004), includes six techniques of intertextual representation:

- (1) direct quotation;
- (2) indirect quotation;
- (3) mention of a person, document or statements;
- (4) comment or evaluation on a statement, text or otherwise invoked voice;
- (5) using recognizable phrasing, terminology associated with specific people or groups of people or particular documents; and
- (6) using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communicating.

Socio-cognitive Studies within CDS

Teun Van Dijk is the leading figure in cognitive approach to critical discourse studies. His work has highlighted the cognitive dimensions of how discourse operates in racism, ideology and knowledge (e.g. Van Dijk 1993). The seminal book *Strategies of Discourse Comprehension* (Van Dijk and Kintsch 1983) set the agenda for interdisciplinary and critical research on discourse and cognition.

Further strands to his research include the systematic study of the relations between knowledge, context and discourse, developing a typology of knowledge and a contextually grounded definition of knowledge as a shared consensus of beliefs among social groups (Van Dijk 2008). Behavior of participants, their choice of verbal means and strategies are relevant to socio-cognitive approach.

Discursive strategies

There are *referential strategies* or *nomination strategies*, by which social actors are constructed and represented, for example, through the creation of in-groups and out-groups. This is done through a number of

categorization devices, including metaphors and metonymies, and *synecdoches* in the form of a part standing for the whole (*pars pro toto*) or a whole standing for the part (*totum pro parte*).

Social actors as individuals, group members or groups as a whole, are linguistically characterized through predications.

Predicational strategies can be realized as evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicates. These strategies aim at labelling social actors in a more or less positive or negative manner. They cannot be neatly separated from the nomination strategies.

There are *argumentation strategies* through which positive and negative attributions are justified. For example, it can be suggested that the social and political inclusion or exclusion of persons or policies is legitimate.

One may focus on the *perspectivation, framing* or *discourse representation* by means of which speakers express their involvement in discourse, and position their point of view in the reporting, description, narration or quotation of relevant events or utterances.

There are *intensifying strategies* on the one hand and *mitigation strategies* on the other. Both of these help to qualify and modify the epistemic status.

Current Approaches and Developments in CDA

The context of an increasingly globalized research community, one of the key challenges facing CDA is to address its tendency toward culturecentrism:

- a) Analysing, understanding, and explaining the impact of the Knowledge-based Economy (KBE) on various domains of our societies; the recontextualization of KBE into other parts of the world and other societies ('transition');
- b) Integrating approaches from cognitive sciences into CDA; this requires complex epistemological considerations and the development of new tools.
- c) Analysing, understanding and explaining new phenomena in political systems, which are due to the impact of (new) media and to new transnational, global and local developments and related institutions; more specifically, phenomena such as 'depoliticization' and 'participation' need to be investigated in detail.
- d) Analysing, understanding and explaining the impact of new media and new genres which entails developing new multimodal theoretical and methodological approaches; our concepts of space and time have changed, and these changes interact in dialectical ways with new modes and genres of communication.
- e) Analysing, understanding and explaining the relationship between complex historical processes, hegemonic narratives and CDA

approaches; identity politics on all levels always entails the integration of past experiences, present events and future visions in many domains of our lives.

f) Avoiding ‘cherry picking’ (choosing the examples which best fit the assumptions and theory) by integrating quantitative and qualitative methods and by providing *retroductable* (i.e. transparent and explicit analyses so that they are repeatable if needed), self-reflective presentations of past or current research processes.

Due to the intensive use of mass media, political discourse has become more dynamic, it looks much sharper and tougher than in previous decades. Political communication is growing multimodal due to ICT impact. Therefore multimodal analysis, multimodal semiotics might be widely applicable to political discourse studies. Multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) is an emerging paradigm in discourse studies which extends the study of language per se to the study of language in combination with other resources, such as images, scientific symbolism, gesture, action, music and sound. Multimodality can be rendered as a response to the demands to look beyond language in a rapidly changing social and technological landscape. The use of digital technologies for communication radically changes the relationship between communication resources, channels of communication and a new type of interaction.

‘Multimodal transcripts’ used to study multimodal communication, however, are still not the most multimodal means we have at our disposal to represent our data. The biggest difficulty came in the process of resemiotization, the challenge of translating the rich, multidimensional display of videotape to the still-dominant two-dimensional medium of the written transcript.

Discourse analysts could no longer ignore nonverbal behaviour, which played so demonstrably an important role in most social interactions. By the 1970s, analysts like Birdwhistell (1970) had begun to develop transcription systems for non-verbal features of social interaction. The ‘gaze’ of the camera turned out to be much more intrusive than the ‘ear’ of the tape recorder, giving rise to new layers of language and communication data. Video made selecting and summarizing the data much more complex, as nearly every aspect of non-verbal communication from gesture to gaze to body movement and posture could be considered potentially communicative, as could a whole host of other non-verbal cues like dress and built environment.

Discourse as huge communication domain is subdivided into smaller structures – genres. In modern dynamic communication we can observe *blending of genres, embedding of genres or genre-mixing*, in other words, *hybridization*. Genres can, without losing their identity, vary from context to context, thus helping interlocutors construct those very

contexts. Similarly, genres vary through time and across cultures. In other words, they are blends of several different genres, whose prototypical characteristics can combine and co-occur in various ways in actual texts. As Fairclough (1992) observed, we can view this state of things in the light of interdiscursivity, which we in this context see as the process of matching genres with other genres. A number of virtual genres may be actualized in one and the same text. As Briggs and Bauman (1992) put it, “all genres leak.”

Assignment
Political discourse within Critical Discourse Studies

Multimodality of political discourse

- 1. Analyze official websites of political parties in Great Britain**
- 2. Analyze official websites of political parties in the USA**
- 3. Analyze UK parliament website**
<https://www.parliament.uk/>

- 4. Analyze multimodality and content of the United States Senate website**
<https://www.senate.gov/>
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Congress

- 5. Analyze multimodality and content of United States House of Representatives website**
<https://www.senate.gov/>
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Congress

- 6. Compare websites of the parliaments of the United Kingdom and India**
- 7. Analyze symbolism in British politics**
- 8. Analyze symbolism in US politics**
- 9. Analyze posters and other printed materials during election campaigns in Great Britain, USA, Canada, Australia.**
- 10. Politics and politicians in Cover Stories. Analyze front covers of periodicals (*Time*, *The Economist* etc.) devoted to politicians and political events.**
- 11. Political cartoons. Analyze political cartoons in Great Britain, in the USA.**

Political discourse in social media

- 12. Analyze Barak Obama's communication in Facebook.**
- 13. Analyze Boris Johnson's communication in social media.**
- 14. Analyze Joe Biden's communication in social media.**
- 15. UK parliament in social media**

Political discourse in Canada, Australia, New Zealand

16. Analyze discourse of Justin Trudeau discourse

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ujyq-OtUBJE>

PM Justin Trudeau speaks with reporters after invoking Emergencies Act – February 14, 2022

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pDQkyqxhqPc>

PM Trudeau and ministers discuss convoy protests and Emergencies Act – February 21, 2022

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7uClwzozqw4>

Justin Trudeau Holds Presser Amid Truckers Protest I LIVE

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o9gmv8TTzIo>

17. Analyze discourse of Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison (speeches, addresses, social media)

WATCH LIVE: Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison speaks at 2021 U.N. General Assembly

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=88_pi03bNPg

Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison says no Christmas lockdown

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YKrzvKGP0yk>

Special Address by Scott Morrison, Prime Minister of Australia

<https://www.weforum.org/events/the-davos-agenda-2022/sessions/special-address-by-scott-morrison-prime-minister-of-australia>

Address to Asialink “Where we live”

<https://asialink.unimelb.edu.au/stories/australia-and-the-indo-pacific-an-address-by-prime-minister-scott-morrison>

<https://www.pm.gov.au/>

https://www.aph.gov.au/Senators_and_Members/Parliamentarian?MPID=E3L

<https://www.weforum.org/events/the-davos-agenda-2022/sessions/special-address-by-scott-morrison-prime-minister-of-australia>

Spontaneous communication

18. Analyze spontaneous communication during debates.

19. Analyze spontaneous communication in political TV shows.

Discourse of Conflict and Manipulation

20. Analyze reflection of conflict in political discourse.

21. The factor of fear in political discourse.

22. Facts of manipulation in political discourse.

23. Re/reading the past in geopolitical discourse.

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Навчальне видання

А.Д. БЄЛОВА

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