Language and Ideology A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Selected Speeches on the Representation of Iraqi's War Against Barack Obama's Daesh

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Abstract

As politics is considered to be a struggle for power in order to put certain political ideas into practice, language plays a crucial role for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language (Horvath, 2015:45). The aim of a critical approach to discourse analysis is to reveal the hidden and out of sight values, positions and perspectives (Paltridge, 2012:186). Depending on Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL), this study attempts to investigate and analyze certain selected Barack Obama's speeches on the representation of Iraqi's war against Daesh. It aims to reveal Obama's implicit meanings, and to make clear how he used language to persuade the audience with his policies. Specifically, from the point of nominalization, transitivity, modality, passivization and repetition, we can learn how language is used to serve ideology and power. Consequently, we can unveil the political purposes of these speeches.

اللغة والأيديولوجية

التحليل النقدي لمجموعه من خطب باراك أوباما حول تمثيل حرب العراق ضد داعش

الخلاصة:

ان الهدف من النهج النقدي لتحليل الخطاب هو الكشف عن القيم والمواقف ووجهات النظر الخفية. فاعتمادا على التحليل النقدي للخطاب (CDA) Critical Discourse Analysis الدي اجراه Fairclough ونظريه Halliday في علم اللغة الوظيفي والمنهجي (SFL) Systemic Functional Linguistics تحاول هده الدراسة تحليل بعض خطابات باراك أوباما حول تمثيله لحرب العراق ضد داعش. وتهدف الدراسة الى توضيح كيفية استخدام أوباما للغة لخدمة الأيديولوجية والسلطة، وبالتالي يمكننا كشف النقاب عن الأغراض السياسية لهده الخطب.

1. Introduction

The way language is used says a great deal about how the ideas have been shaped. Language is a means of presenting and shaping argument and political argument comes from a series of beliefs (Beard, 2000:18). In Fairclough's view the structure of argumentation in political speech answers genuine political questions about the purpose of the speech; what it is designed to achieve, may be to convince an audience that a certain point of view is true or a certain course of action is right(Fairclough,2012:18).Thus, political argument is ideological. Therefore, it is important to look at the way language reflects the ideological positions of politicians when analyzing any political text (Beard, 2000:18). At different levels of discourse, politicians make choices in order to manipulate events in a way that fits their ideologies (Al-Faki, 2014:180).

Fairclough (2012:17) adopts Van Dijk's observation that for critical discourse practitioners the analysis of political discourse is an essential enterprise. Fairclough (Ibid:78) asserts that CDA aims to introduce critical perspectives on language, drawn from critical theory in the social sciences, and to contribute to critical social analysis a focus on discourse. CDA attempts to provide a better understanding of relations between discourse and other elements of social life, including ideologies, social relations (and relations of power), organizations, social institutions, and social identities, and better ways of analyzing and researching these relations. Rogers (2011:1) asserts that critical discourse studies are rooted in the constitutive relationship between discourse and social world.

Within the same token, Paltridge (2012:186) accounts that CDA investigates the connection between the use of language and the social political context in which it occurs. CDA investigates ways in which language constructs and is constructed by social relationships. It explores how issues such as gender, ethnicity, cultural difference, ideology and identity are constructed and reflected in texts. Paltridge (Ibid), also, adds that

A critical analysis may include a detailed textual analysis and
move from there to an explanation and interpretation of the
analysis. It might proceed from there to deconstruct and challenge
the text(s) being examined. This may include tracing underlying
ideologies from the linguistic features of a text, unpacking
particular biases and ideological presuppositions underlying the
text, and relating the text to other texts and to people's
experiences and beliefs.

An ever-present concern in CDA is the idea of power. Fairclough (2012:112) expounds that decisions in politics are not made on the strength of the better argument but on the basis of other reasons. One of these reasons is power: "power provides agents with reasons for action". Fairclough (Ibid: 19) includes Aristotle's view about the power of speech. Aristotle connects between man's political nature and the power of speech. That is, text implies that the purpose of human power of speech is to do with man's political nature. Van Dijk (2003:85) accounts for a much persuasive and manipulative power. Such a power does not involve the abuse of force but more crucially it affects the minds

of people. The dominate groups or institutions, through special access to, and control over the means of public discourse and communication, may influence the structures of the text and talk in such a way that the knowledge, attitudes, norms, values and ideologies of recipients are more or less indirectly affected in the interest of the dominate group. Therefore, it is the task of CDA to study the cognitive structures and the strategies involved in certain specific discourses.

There is a need to a theory of language, such as Halliday's (1978, 1958), which sees any text as simultaneously enacting what Halliday calls the "ideational", "interpersonal', and "textual" functions of language (Fairclough, 1995:131). Halliday's SFL is a major substructure of CDA. SFL is a linguistic theory in which language is viewed as a social/semiotic system that provides its users with unlimited choices in the creation of meanings (Visido, 2014:16). In the framework of SFL, grammatical metaphor is one of the crucial contributions (Devrim, 2015:1). The introduction of grammatical metaphor suggests that metaphor can be approached from the point of view of grammar as a way of "reconstructing the relations between the grammar and the semantics (Halliday, 2004:107). Thus, "while in classical (lexical) metaphor one word takes over from another, in grammatical metaphor one grammatical class takes over from another".

In the language, grammatical metaphor is a set of agnate forms having the different mappings between the semantics and the grammatical categories (Halliday & Matthiessen (1999:7). Halliday (2004:589-603s) sets two main categories of grammatical metaphor, i.e Interpersonal grammatical metaphor theorized as consisting of mood metaphor and modality metaphor, and Ideational grammatical metaphor categorized into experiential and logical kind of metaphors. Martin (1992a), as cited in Devrim, 2015:3) maintains that logical metaphors build logical relations within clause, whereas experiential metaphors refer to actions/processes or qualities of things realized as things in text. Further, Devrim (Ibid) asserts that "experiential meanings are packed into nominal groups".

More importantly, CDA adopts the view that the relationship between language and meaning is never arbitrary. The use of certain genre or a particular rhetorical strategy embodies particular meanings, ideologies, and intentions (Kress (1991), as cited in Paltridge, 2012:191). Nowadays, politicians tend to make most of their public speeches to invited audiences of their own supporters. The real purpose for those politicians is to manipulate the audience into agreeing with policies which really serve only their desire to gain or keep power (Beard, 2000:37, 36). By nominalization, transitivity, modality, passivization, this study attempts to make clear Obama's hidden ideologies and policies towards Iraq.

2.   Theoretical Underpinning
2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is one of the influential approaches to discourse analysis. It is a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotic or discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1993:131; as cited in Horvath, 2015:45). CDA takes social

context into account and explores the links between textual structures and their function in interaction within the society (Horvath, 2015:45). Norman Fairclough contributes to the field of CDA most significantly. He (1995:132) defines this field as

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

It should be noted that language use is socially shaped, and it is also socially shaping. CDA recognizes both directions, so it" explores the tension between these two sides of language use, socially shaped and socially constitutive". Simultaneously, language use is a constituent of society on three levels: social identities, social relations and system of knowledge and belief (Fairclough, 1995:131). Fairclough attempts to highlight the role of language in affecting our understanding of issues of social concern. In his work *Language and Power* (1989), he tries to "examine how the ways in which we communicate are constrained by the structures and forces of those social institutions within which we live and function." (1989: vi). Fairclough (Ibid, 26) distinguishes three stages of CDA:

• **Description** is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text
• **Interpretation** is concerned with the relationship between text and
  interaction-with seeing the text as the product of a process of production,
  and as a resource in the process of interpretation…
• **Explanation** is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social
  context- with the social determination of the processes of production and
  interpretation, and their social effects.

An important element adopted by CDA lies in its attribute of "critical". Critical is used in the sense of aiming to show up "connections and causes which are hidden ..." (Fairclough, 1992:9). Fairclough(1989:5) stresses that   "Critical" implies showing connections which are hidden from people- such as the connections between language, power and ideology. Thus, Fairclough believes in "hidden agenda" (Ibid: 41).

2.2. Political Ideologies

When the term *ideologie* was coined in eighteenth-century France, ideology was originally meant as the scientific study of ideas. However, over the last two centuries the meaning of "ideology" has come to refer to "a set of ideas that tries to link thought with action". Therefore, ideologies shape how people think and act: "an ideology is a fairly coherent and comprehensive set of ideas that explains and evaluates social conditions, helps people understand their place in society, and provides a program for social and political action." (Ball et al, 2014:4-5).

Politics cannot be understood without comprehension of political ideas which mobilize people to political activity (Schwarzmantel,2008:4). Political ideologies, thus, seek to mobilize people in support of political projects. A

political ideology is a normative set of ideas, sets out an ideal, aims at arousing support on a mass basis for those ideas and seeks to agitate in their favour. Accordingly, ideologies are projects which give rise to political strategies and tactics, and seek to transform the real world (Ibid:26). This implicates that an ideology is not just an abstract philosophy, but something which links ideas to political action. Ideologies are assemblages of concepts which try to deconstruct and organize political concepts in certain configurations. Much more than that, political ideologies are essentially practical forces used to mobilize citizens to action to arouse support for political leaders drive to power (Ibid:27).

Ideology is taken to be something akin to perspective, representing a particular interpretation of the way things ought to be. When language is used to promote one perspective over another, language, then, is ideological (Hart, 2014:2). Fairclough (1995:71) argues that language is invested by ideology in various ways. He (Ibid:72) adds that an ideology is a property of structures and events: " Ideology is located, then, both in structures which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures.". Hart (2014:2) asserts that in text and talk, a grammar serves as a guide to the particular sites of ideological reproduction. A grammar compares what is expressed in discourse with what is suppressed. Hart (Ibid:5) points out Martin's (2000) assertion that grammars provide critical discourse analysts with a technical language to look very closely at meaning, to be explicit and precise, and to engage in quantitative analysis where this is appropriate. As a most well known and appropriate model of grammar in CDA is Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar which I now turn to discuss.

2.3. Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics

Halliday's Systemic Functional grammar or Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a theory of language based on purpose and choice (Hart,2014:1). The term "systemic" views language as "a network of systems, or interrelated sets of options for making meaning" (Halliday,1994:15). For SFL, language is a (social) semiotic system and its users have unlimited choices in the creation of meanings which are influenced by the cultural and social context of their exchange (Viscido,2014:16). On this account, language is regarded as a system which exists as meaning potential. The system is organized into three strata related by realization as such semantics (the system of meaning) is realized by lexico- grammar (the system of wording), and lexico-grammar is realized by phonology (the system of sounding) (Hart,2014:20).

Halliday (1999:7) argues that, in the structure of language, three distinct modes of meaning are used: ideational, interpersonal and textual. These highly generalized functions of the linguistic system are also known as metafunctions. The clause functions are integrated in these three metafunctional perspectives. Sensitive to metafunction is the phenomenon of grammatical metaphor (GM). Halliday (Ibid) defines GM as a set of related forms having different mappings between the semantic and the grammatical categories, for example:

alcohol's dulling effect on the brain

        alcohol has a dulling effect on the brain
        alcohol has the effect of dulling on the brain
        alcohol affects the brain by dulling it
        the effect of alcohol is to dull the brain
        the effect of alcohol is to make the brain dull
        if one takes/drinks alcohol it makes the brain dull
        if one takes/drinks alcohol the one's brain becomes dull

This study focuses on Halliday's two main types of GMs in the clause: ideational grammatical metaphor and interpersonal grammatical metaphor.

2.3.1.   Ideational Grammatical Metaphor

   Ideational grammatical metaphor (IGM) is concerned with construing experience as a resource for reflecting on the world. It is language that constructs a theory of reality (Halliday,1999:7). It incorporates two systems: Nominalization and Transitivity. Halliday (2014:729) argues that nominalization "is the single most powerful resource for creating grammatical metaphor". Accordingly, processes and properties (linguistically realized as verbs and adjectives) are transferred metaphorically as nouns. Nouns function as Things in the nominal group instead of functioning in the clause as process or attribute. For example:

Is impaired by alcohol   alcohol impairment
They allocate an extra packer   the allocation of an extra packer
Some shorter, some longer   of varying length
They were able to reach the computer   their access to the computer
Technology is getting better   advances in technology

   Besides, Halliday (Ibid:730) points out that a metaphorical piece of wording has a metaphorical and a congruent dimensions of meaning. Thus, *impairment* in *alcohol impairment* is a noun functioning as Thing to take on the status of an entity participating in some other process, as in:

Because alcohol impairment effects are well established and documented, alcohol impairment can be used as a benchmark for other forms of driving impairment, such as fatigue, or in comparison to the effects of other drugs.
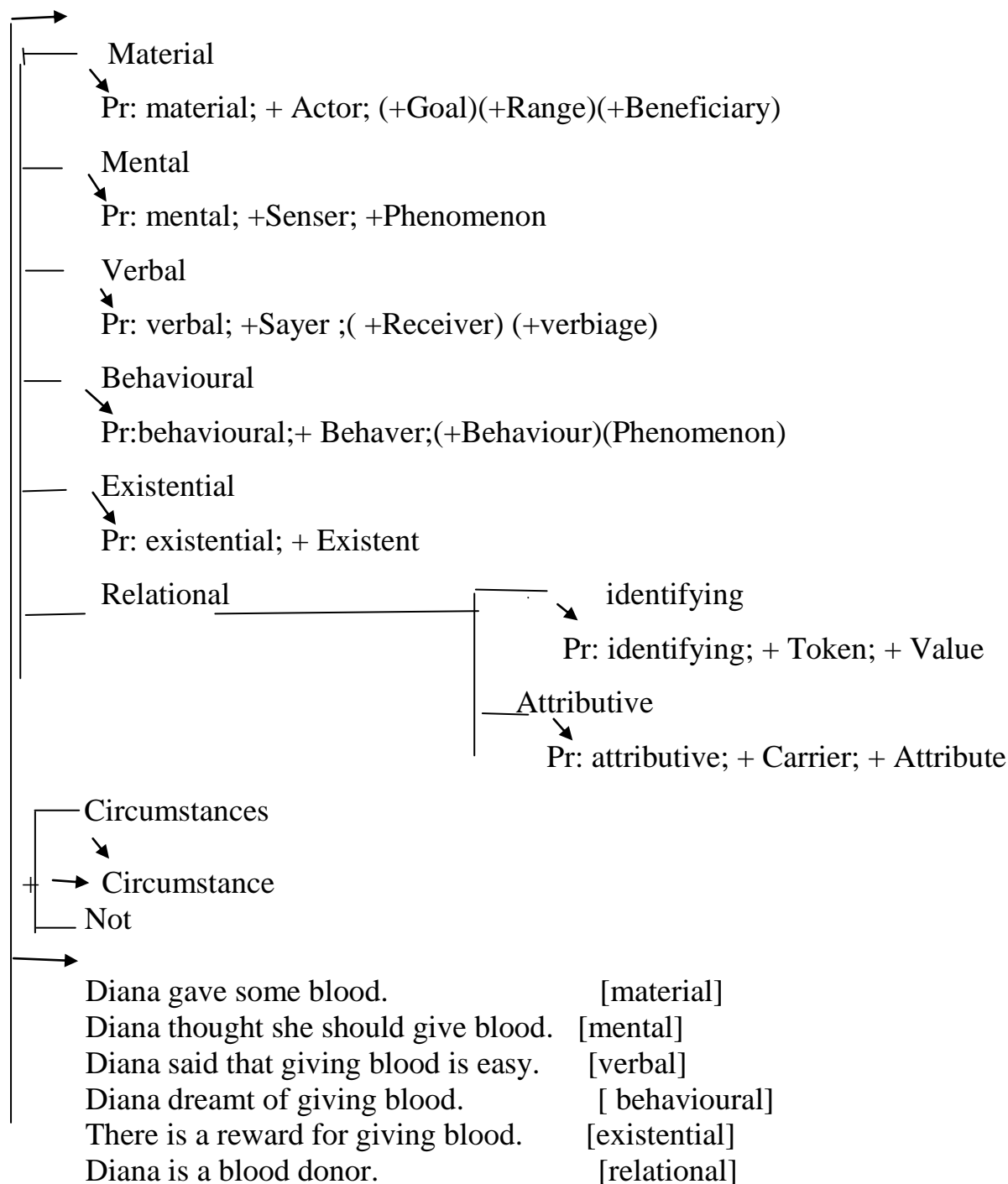
Thereby, impairment acquires an additional semantic feature by becoming a noun; and it does not lose its own semantic character as a process, which it has by virtue of the fact that congruently it is realized as a verb. Carolyn (2004, as cited in To, et al, 2013: 17) accounts that heavy nominalization makes a text sound formal, authoritative, impersonal and prestigious. Carolyn (Ibid) highlights certain characteristics of nominalization:

Nominalisations shorten explanations and effectively organize known information, building on it to develop new knowledge. Nominalisations help to reorganize much expository writing rhetorically instead of in the real-world's time and location sequence. Nominalisations construct abstracts and generalizations in humanities, interpret changes in social sciences and name processes, classifications and measurements in physical sciences.

   As ideational metafunction deals with how reality is represented in language, transitivity is a major component in the experiential function of the clause. It deals with the "transmission of ideas representing 'processes' or 'experiences': actions, events, processes of consciousness and relations" (Halliday,1985:53). In the transitivity system, the process is the core component of the clause. The

process is the product of our perception of the world. It is socially and culturally constructed with participants and circumstances (Ibid:101-102). Six process types are distinguished: material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential. The following paradigm depicts the process type system followed by certain examples:

Material

Pr: material; + Actor; (+Goal)(+Range)(+Beneficiary)

Mental

Pr: mental; +Senser; +Phenomenon

Verbal

Pr: verbal; +Sayer ;(+Receiver) (+verbiage)

Behavioural

Pr:behavioural;+ Behaver;(+Behaviour)(Phenomenon)

Existential

Pr: existential; + Existent

Relational ──────────────── identifying

Pr: identifying; + Token; + Value

Attributive

Pr: attributive; + Carrier; + Attribute

Circumstances

Circumstance

+ Not

Diana gave some blood.   [material]
Diana thought she should give blood. [mental]
Diana said that giving blood is easy.   [verbal]
Diana dreamt of giving blood.   [behavioural]
There is a reward for giving blood.   [existential]
Diana is a blood donor.   [relational]

The above paradigm and examples adopted from Eggins (2004: 214-215).

A central insight of Halliday's is that transitivity is the foundation of representation. Transitivity refers to "the way the clause is used to analyse events and situations as being of certain types" (Fowler,1991:71). Following Fowler (Ibid) transitivity

has the facility to analyse the same event in different
ways,….Since transitivity makes options available, we
are always suppressing some possibilities, so the choice
we make-better, the choice made by the [D]iscourse-
indicates our point of view, is ideologically significant.

2.3.2.   Interpersonal Grammatical Metaphor

A major exponent of the interpersonal function of language is *modality* which refers broadly to the speaker's attitude towards, or opinion about, the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence (Simpson, 2005:43). Fairclough (1989:126-127) accounts that modality is to do with the speaker or writer's authority. He refers to two dimensions of modality. Firstly, relational modality is a matter of the authority of one participant in relation to others. Secondly, expressive modality is a matter of the speaker or writer's authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality. Halliday (1994:362) maintains that modality is expressed by different modal operators within each of the values high, median and low:

High: must   ought to   need   has to   is to
Median: will   would   shall   should
low: may   might   can   could

Based on Halliday's categorization, must, ought to, need, have to are modal verbs of high standard, will, would, shall, should are modal verbs of median standard, and may, might, can, could are of low standard. Model auxiliaries are different ways of claiming probability or obligation, certainty or necessity (Ibid:363). For example:

Your library books are overdue and your library card may not be used until
they are returned. If the books are not returned within a fortnight, you
must pay the cost of replacing them before you borrow more books.

(Fairclough, 1989:127)

In the above text there are two modal auxiliaries, 'may not" and 'must". As a relational modal "may not" signals the meaning of "not permitted" while "must" signals "obligation". On the basis of authority and power relations, producers of this text withhold permission from, or impose obligations upon, the people it is send to. It is specifically implicit authority claims and implicit power relations that make relational modality a matter of ideological interest (Ibid).

3.   Methodology

3.1. Sampling

Five political texts of Barack Obama are selected to constitute the sampling of the current study:

1.   Remarks by President Obama and Prime Minster Al- Abadi of Iraq after Bilateral Meeting
 April 14, 2015.

2.   Chuck Todd's exclusive interview with President Barack Obama for NBC's Meet the Press
 September 7, 2014.

3.   Barack Obama on Authorizing Airstrikes and Humanitarian Aids in Iraq".

August 9, 2014.

4.   Statement by the President on ISIL
 September 10, 2014.

5.   Barack Obama on Force Authorization Request Against ISIL
February 11, 2015

3.2.   Method of Analysis

In CDA, it is essential to adopt a method of analysis. In my study, M.A.K Halliday Transitivity Model is used as an analytical tool. The linguistic elements analyzed are italic

3.3.   Data Analysis and Discussion

Since "it is not possible to read off ideologies from the text" (Fairclough, 1995: 71), nominalization is of a particular importance in political discourse evaluation. By expressing actions and events as things or concepts, nominalization conveys different ideological functions. With regards to Obama's selected speeches, most of Daesh brutal processes against Iraqi people are nominalized, for example:

1.   And the *incursions* of ISIL, also known as Daesh, into Iraq pose not only a humanitarian *threat*, but a strategic *threat* to the country. (President Obama's Speech, April 14,2015)

The processes "incur" and "threat" are used as entities and Daesh does not occupy the grammatical position of a subject. Although, as readers and hearers, we know there is an actor and an affected in these material processes, but certain information are left unspecified. There is no mention about how do these incursions occur? And how do they create a humanitarian and a strategic threat in the country? Nominalization helps Obama to cut off the process and so, suppresses a lot of information in the text: " . . . when clause patterns are replaced by nominal ones, some of the information is lost" (Halliday, 2014:730).

Woods (2006:73) explicates that nominalization helps to establish remoteness effect, through which: our attention is diverted from the process that is actually occurring and directed instead to the product of the process". The process, then, is backgrounded and the effect is foregounded, for example:

2.   And part of that success is Prime Minster Abadi's *commitment* to an inclusive government where Shia, Sunni and Kurds and all the peoples of Iraq are unified around that nation's sovereignty and its ability to control its own destiny.

3.   And in recognition of the terrible hardships that so many Iraqis have gone through as a consequence of ISIL's brutal *activities* and the *displacements* that have taken place. . . . that there are individual families and children who have suffered as a consequence of ISIL's *activities*. (President Obama's Speech, April 14,2015)

4.   And we have seen the savagery not just in terms of how do they dealt with the two Americans that had been taken hostage but the *killing* of thousands of innocents in--in Iraq. . . . *the kidnapping* of women the complete *disruption* of entire villages (President Obama's Speech, September 7,2014).

Within the above examples, there are six processes rendered in concepts: "commitments", "activities", "displacements", "killing", "kidnapping", "disruption". They are no longer used as actions. In example (2), Obama applies the verb " commit" as a noun "commitment". Thus, he directs the audience attention to what is present away from what is no longer there, i.e, the acts that Abadi performs to push back Daesh attacks. Concerning the other examples (3 and 4), the more congruent versions might be: *ISIL acts brutally and displaces. . . . of what ISIL has been acted. How do they kill. . . kidnap. . . disrupt the entire villages.* By changing such processes into nouns, the actual suffering of Iraqi people is eliminated, while the meaning of brutality is highlighted and Daesh is presented as a serious threat:

5.   . . . we deal with a *threat* from ISIL.

6.   . . . this is a serious *threat.*

7.   . . .it's a *threat* to friends, partners in the region and is causing all kinds of hardships. (President Obama's Speech, September 7,2014).

8.   ISIL is a terrorist organization. . . . And it has no vision other than the *slaughter* of all who stand in its way.

9.   And in *acts* of barbarism, they took the lives of two American journalist. . . (President Obama's Speech, September 10,2014).

Employing severity is not limited to the use of nouns. It is more effectual to deploy it within the domain of doing:

10.   So ISIL *poses* a threat to people of Iraq and Syria, and the broader Middle East including American citizens, personnel and facilities.

11.   They *execute* captured prisoners. They *kill* children. They *enslave*, *rape* and *force* women into marriage. They *threatened* a religious minority with genocides. They *took* the lives of two American journalists. . . (President Obama's Speech, September 10,2014).

12.   ISIL *poses* a broader threat because of its territorial ambitions in Iraq and Syria. (President Obama's Speech, September 7,2014)

Closer inspection of the above examples indicates that ISIL is the actor of all these material processes. The use of such material processes foregrounds the role of the actor. Daesh is directly the actor of such ferocious actions. They "poses" a broader threat to people of Iraq, Syria and many other countries. Daesh "excute", "kill"," enslave", "rape", "forces women into marriage", "threaten religions" and "took the lives". By highlighting the severity and the cruelty of such a group, Obama attempts to convince his audience about the necessity of war against them.

Explicitly, then, Daesh is a terrorist organization causing all kinds of hardships. Despite all that, it does not show any serious threats to the US ". . . we have not seen any immediate intelligence about threats to the homeland from ISIL" (President Obama's Speech, September 7,2014). It means that America is the greatest power that can defeat such an enemy. To display such a meaning, Obama focuses on the use of different material processes through which he foregrounds the American military power and symbolizes her leadership role and responsibility in controlling terrorism:

13.   We are *making* serious progress in pushing back ISIL out of Iraqi territory.

14.   I emphasized that the United State's prime Interest is to *defeat* ISIL and to respect Iraqi sovereignty, and that will *continue* to be our policy.

15.   . . . the United States is *doing* what's ultimately best for the Iraqi people. . . .

16.   So our coordination I *think* has consistently *improved*. . . . As the training efforts and equipping efforts that we're *engaged* in *continue* to *improve*, coordinating how air power can *support* and *expand* into a more effective Iraqi security force deployment is *going* to *continue* to be critical. *(President Obama's Speech, April 14,2015)*

17.   So what I have done. . . *make* sure that we *got* eyes on the problem, that we *shifted* resources, intelligence, reconnaissance. We *did* an assessment on the ground. . . . That included *taking* air strikes to ensure that towns like Erbil were not overrun. . . .

18.   . . . we will be *able* to *deal* with it.

19.   We are *going* to be as part of an international coalition, *carrying out* air strikes in support of work on the ground by Iraqi troops, Kurdish troops. We are *going* to be helping to *put* together a plan for them, so that they can *start* retaking territory that ISIL had taken over. (President Obama's Speech, September 7,2014)

        Surely, Barak Obama tries to convince his audience of the supreme ability to fight terrorism and defeat it through using action verbs like: making, defeat, paying, doing, improved, engaged, support, expand, going, continue, shifted, got, taking, deal, carrying out, put, able. For more material processes see Appendix (1). Furthermore, he uses other material processes to highlight the humanitarian efforts of America in helping others:

20.   We are *committing* an additional &200 million in humanitarian aid to *help* stabilize communities, and to *help* those who have been displaced from their homes, have lost their jobs, have seen their property destroyed.

21.   And we need to *make* sure that we're *paying* attention to them, as well.

22.   Our men and women in uniform have *made* to ensure a sovereign Iraq to *make* its own decisions and *shape* its own destiny.

23.   We can be helpful in *making* sure that as security *improves* inside of Iraq that we are *paying* attention to the economy of Iraq. . . (President Obama's Speech, April 14,2015).

24.   . . . and that we were *able* to *engage* in key humanitarian assistance programs that have *saved* thousands of lives. (President Obama's Speech, September 7,2014)

25.   Our humanitarian effort *continues* to *help* the men, woman and children stranded on Mount Sinjar. American forces have so far *conducted* two successful airdrops--*delivering* thousands of meals and gallons of water to these desperate men, women and children. (President Obama's Speech, August 9, 2014)

        On the whole, America, as an actor of the above processes, identifies a

human formula in which the American noble aims are to defend the human rights, develop their abilities and reform their economic and political systems. Obama attempts to emphasize that America is a country which seeks peace:

26.   We *welcome* our responsibility to *lead*. From Europe to Asia-from the far reaches of Africa to war- torn capitals of the Middle East-we *stand* for freedom, for justice, for dignity. These values have *guided* our nation since its founding. Tonight, I ask for your support in carrying that leadership forward. (President Obama's Speech, September 10,2014)

Again with material processes, it is the American responsibility to 'lead' the war against terrorism. It is America which 'stands' for freedom, justice and dignity. The United president tries to convince the world with his policy to gain a legitimization for ruling out boots on ground. Because that legitimacy needs an international support, he asks the American people and the parliament to support him in starting a war on Daesh:

27.   Tonight, I *ask* for your support in carrying that leadership forward. (President Obama's Speech, September10,2014)

 Away from the material processes, the verbal process ' ask' reflects a hidden thought into word.

        Together with the material processes, Obama makes use of different kinds of processes in which all of the above discussed meanings are symbolized. With the relational verbs 'be' and 'is' he tries to convince the world that the American's target is to eradicate terrorism and secure Iraq. For example:

28.   I *emphasized* that the United State's prime interest *is* to defeat ISIL and to *respect* Iraqi sovereignty, and that will continue to *be* our policy.

29.   Our men and women in uniform have made to *ensure* a sovereign Iraq. . . .That *is* our primary goal. (President Obama's Speech, April 14, 2015)

Additionally, Obama provides descriptive information about the American strength to lead a war against Daesh by the use of 'are' and 'have':

30.   I *said* that we *are* strongest as a nation. . . (President Obama's Speech,February 11, 2015).

31.   We *have* the capacity to deal with it. (President Obama's Speech, September7,2014)

These meanings are voiced through the use of the verbal processes "emphasized" and "said" (see 28,30). To clear the American policy, Obama uses the mental processes *"respect", "ensure" and "think"* for highlighting the American efforts in fostering freedom, dignity and assisting others (see 28, 29, 16). The mental verbs "*know"* and "*believe*" are used to convince the audience with his faith in the American power:

32.   . . .this is something that we *know* how to do it. (President Obama's Speech, September7,2014)

33.   I *believe* we are strongest as a nation when the president and congress work together. (President Obama's Speech, September10,2014)

    As has been noted, different material, mental, verbal and relational processes are used by Obama to satisfy the audience with many ideologies hidden in words. Identically, the strategy of repetition is employed in the hope

of mesmerizing the audience with the American power and ability to fight terrorism, to help others and assist the needy. Consider the following examples in which many structures are repeated:

34.   So what I have done over the last several months is, first and foremost, make sure that *we got* eyes on the problem, that *we shifted* resources, intelligence, reconnaissance. *We did* an assessment on the ground. . . . *we protected* American personnel.

35.   *We are going to be* as part of an international coalition, . . . *we are going to be* helping to put together a plan for them, . . .

36.   *we are going to have* to work with our regional partners to attract back Sunni tribes that many have felt. . . .   And so *there's going to be* an economic element to this. *There's going to be* a political element to it. *There's going to be* a military element to it.

37.   . . .*We are going to* be able to not just blunt the momentum of ISIL. *we are going to* systematically degrade their capabilities. *We're going to* shrink the territory that they control. And ultimately *we're going to* defeat 'em. (President Obama's Speech, September7,2014)

38.   *It is America that has* the capacity and the will to mobilize the world against terrorists. *It is America that has* rallied the world against Russian aggression, . . . *It is America that* helped remove and destroy Syria's declared chemical weapons. . . . And *it is America that* is helping Muslim communities around the world. . . (President Obama's Speech, September 10,2014).

In most of his speeches, Obama uses the active voice. With active structures, he focuses the audience attention on the actors and emphasizes their actions. Thus, many active structures are used to draw the terrible picture of terrorism in the mind of the American and people around the world. With the same voice he shows America as a super powerful country that wield enough military, political and economic abilities to fight terrorism and defeat it. In certain situations, he uses the passive voice to serve certain purposes:

39.   . . . to help those who *have been displaced* from their homes, *have lost* their jobs, *have seen* their property destroyed. (President Obama's Speech, April 14,2015)

40.   This counter—terrorism campaign *will be waged* through. . .(President Obama's Speech, September 10,2014).

In (39) he directs the attention towards violent actions while the actor (Daesh) of these actions is deleted. He wants to make the actions more salient. With (40) Obama tries not to be in an aggressive position.

To keep the American and the nations in his thoughts, Obama widely uses modality to serve different ideologies. He uses 'must' to express conviction and determinations:

41.   And that's why we *must* remain vigilant as threats emerge.

42.   We *must* strengthen the opposition as the best counterweight to extremists like ISIL. . (President Obama's Speech, September 10,2014).

He uses 'can' to express the American power, dominance and ability on taking

actions and supporting others:

43.   American power *can* make a decisive difference. . . .

44.   We *can* best support Iraqi security forces. (President Obama's Speech, September 10,2014)

45.   We *can* conduct air strikes. . .

46.   We *can* help in all those efforts.

47.   We *can* assist and our military obviously *can* play an extraordinary important role in bolstering efforts of an Iraqi partner. . . (President Obama's Speech, August 9, 2014).

48.   . . . and we discussed how we *can* be helpful. . . (President Obama's Speech, April 14,2015).

49.   We *can* occupy every country where there's a terrorist organization. (President Obama's Speech, September 7,2014)

The idea of ability is highlighted through the use of the model verb 'will' to emphasize that America is the global power:

50.   … America *will* lead a broad coalition to roll back this terrorist threat.

51.   We *will* degrade, and ultimately destroy, ISIL through a comprehensive and sustained counterterrorism strategy.

52.   We *will* conduct a systematic campaign of airstrikes against these terrorists.

53.   We *will* continue to draw on our substantial counterterrorism capabilities to prevent ISIL attacks. (President Obama's Speech, September 10,2014)

54.   America *will* continue to stand free and tall and strong. (President Obama's Speech, February 11, 2015)

For more examples see appendix (2).

4.   Conclusions

   This study has to explored how Obama plays with language and uses it to captivate audience to accept and support his policies and actions. Thus, while emphasizing the brutality of Daesh, Obama highlights that America has the greatest power to fight terrorism. He wants to convince the public about the necessity of ruling boots on the Iraqi ground to fight terrorism and defeat it.

   His tendency in applying more nominalization, transitive verbs, passivization, repetitive structure and model verbs is a rhetorical strategy for making his language powerful and persuasive. Transitive verbs dominate his speech. The material process is heavily relied on. Obama uses this type of transitivity to show the American ability of doing things and to reflect its responsibility to boast peace and eradicate terrorism.

   In short, through language, Obama attempts to emphasize ideas and make them memorable. He tries to keep people in a belief that the United State is the world leader, and that the American power sweeps the world.

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Appendix (1)
Other Material Processes used by Obama

1.   We are going to be able to not just *blunt* the momentum of ISIL. We are going to be systematically *degrade* their capabilities. We are going to *shrink* the territory that they control. And ultimately we're going to *defeat* 'em.

2   . . . we will *hunt* down ISIL members and *assets* wherever they are. (President Obama's Speech, September 7,2014)

3   . . . American pilots and crews have *served* with courage and skill in the skies over Iraq.

4   . . . American forces have *conducted* targeted airstrikes against terrorist forces outside the city of Erbil to *prevent* them from advancing on the city and to *protect* our American diplomats and military personnel.

5   . . . these strikes have successfully *destroyed* arms and equipment that ISIL terrorists could have used against Erbil.

6   And American aircraft are positioned to *strike* ISIL terrorist around the

mountain to *help* forces in Iraq break the siege and *rescue* those who are trapped there.

7   So we're going to be *pushing* very hard to encourage Iraqis to get their government together. (President Obama's Speech, August 9, 2014)

Appendix (2)
Other Examples about Obama's use of the Model Verb "Will"

1.   We *will* expand our efforts beyond protecting our own people and humanitarian missions.

2.   I *will* not hesitate to take action against ISIL in Syria, as well as Iraq.

3.   We *will* increase our support to forces fighting these terrorists on the ground.

4.   We *will* send an additional 475 service members to Iraq.

5.   We'*ll* also support Iraqi's efforts. . . .

6.   We *will* redouble our efforts to cut off its funding. . . .

7.   I *will* chair a meeting of the UN Security Council to further mobilize the international community around this effort.

8.   We *will* continue to provide humanitarian assistance. . . .

9.   This counterterrorism   campaign *will* be waged through a steady. (President Obama's Speech, September 10,2014)

10.   I'*ll* continue to urge them to join us in this humanitarian effort. (President Obama's Speech, August 9, 2014)

11.   . . . that *will* continue to be our policy. . . .

12.   . . . ISIL was an enemy and we *will* make sure that they do not threaten the United States and we *will* go after them wherever they are. (President Obama's Speech, April 14,2015).

13.   . . . I *will* not allow these terrorists to have safe haven.

14.   I *will* only send our troops into harm's way when it is absolutely for our national security. (President Obama's Speech, February 11, 2015)

15.   . . . that we'*ll* be able to deal with it.

16.   We *will* hunt down ISIL members . . . .

17.   I *will* reserve the right to always protect the American people and go after folks who are trying to hurt us wherever they are. (President Obama's Speech, September 7, 2014)

18.   We *will* protect our American citizens in Iraq. We *will* take action to protect our people.

19.   We *will* continue to provide military assistance and advice to the Iraqi government and Kurdish forces as they battle these terrorists. . .

20.   We *will* continue to work with the international community to deal with the growing humanitarian crisis in Iraq. (President Obama's Speech, August 9, 2014)