

A Critical Discourse Analysis of George W. Bush's Fifth Anniversary of September 11th Speech

Abdulmalek Hammed Jassim
General Directorate of Education in Anbar, Ministry of Education, Ramadi, Iraq
malikhj.1974@gmail.com

KEYWORDS: Criticism, Discourse Analysis, Fifth Anniversary, Foreground and Background, Linguistics Features.



<https://doi.org/10.51345/v35i1.854.g432>

ABSTRACT:

Nowadays, methods of justification and satisfactory strategies are very important in social interaction and other spheres of life, particularly when tackling political affairs. In order to convince others to support them on certain subjects, politicians as well as all other people rely on a variety of techniques. Politicians who want to dominate their countries must unavoidably possess some unique linguistic traits or qualifications that allow them to do so and enable them to continue carrying out their objectives. This study, which is a critical discourse analysis, explores the relationship between language and the social political contexts in which it is used. The main two goals of this study are first to expose the way followed by the speaker to make his thoughts and plans seem real, applicable and achievable, and identify the linguistic strategies used by politicians to rally support for what they aim to carry out. Through their speeches, they attempt to gain agreement and support from both allies and opponents. The analysis will be based on T. Huckin (1997) categories and Fairclough (1995) model to qualitatively analyze the political oration of president George W. Bush on September 11, 2001, the fifth anniversary of the assault on the World Trade Center in New York. What can be extracted after analyzing this political oration is that being a good politician required you to be a good speaker. The president depends on a supportive way of exposing his thoughts i.e., telling some heroic stories or situations. The president succeeded in employing some linguistic strategies such as foreground, background, omission ... etc. with connection to the social situation and what improves his success is winning a second presidential election at that time.

REFERENCES:

- Asher, N., Prévot, L., & Vieu, L. (2007). Setting the background in discourse. *Discours. Revue de linguistique, psycholinguistique et informatique. A journal of linguistics, psycholinguistics and computational linguistics*(1).
- Bin, X. (2009). Intertextuality from a critical perspective. *Chinese Semiotic Studies*, 1(1), 104-114.
- Brown, G., & Yule, G. (1983). *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.
- Fairclough, N. (1992a). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1992b). *Discourse and Social Change*. London: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). (1995a) *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press Text*. Routledge.
- Fowler, R., & Kress, G. (2018). Rules and regulations. In *Language and control* (pp. 26-45). Routledge.
- Gray, J. (2004). Joseph Conrad, our contemporary. *Heresies: Against Progress and Other Illusions*, 100-108.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1973). *Explorations in the functions of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Huckin, T. (1997). *Critical discourse analysis. Functional approaches to written text: Classroom applications*, 87-92.
- Huckin, T. (1997). *Critical discourse analysis in Miller, T. Functional approaches to written text: Classroom applications*. Washington: English Language Programs.
- Obeng, S. G. (1997). Language and politics: Indirectness in political discourse. *Discourse & society*, 8(1), 49-83.
- Pilger, J. (2006). Setting the limits of invasion journalism. *New Statesman*, 11, 22.
- Rogers, R., Malancharuvi-Berkes, E., Mosley, M., Hui, D., & Joseph, G. O. G. (2005). *Critical discourse analysis in education: A review of the literature*. *Review of educational research*, 75(3), 365-416.

- Schaffner, C. (1996). Political speeches and discourse analysis. *Current Issues in Language & Society*, 3(3), 201-204.
- Searle, J. R. (1979). *Expression and meaning: Studies in the theory of speech acts*. Cambridge University Press.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse & society*, 17(3), 359-383.
- Van Lier, L. (2014). *Interaction in the language curriculum: Awareness, autonomy and authenticity*. Routledge.
- Wallace, C. (1999). Critical language awareness: Key principles for a course in critical reading. *Language awareness*, 8(2), 98-110.

Introduction:

The goal of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is to examine a written or spoken genre (discourse) as an illustration of social interaction and the power dynamics present in that interaction. Then CDA decodes the text's meaning and the underlying ideologies. Instead of "an utterance," as it may be in Conversation Analysis (CA), discourse here refers to the larger concept or macro of social reality and how that reality is created through linguistic use. Fairclough (1992b) "...discourse is socially constituted as well as socially conditioned - it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people." No doubt that it is of great importance to look at a text critically because, as Fowler (1991) points out; "...events and ideas are not communicated neutrally because they are transmitted through the medium that contains certain structural features which in turn are impregnated with social values that form some perspective on events". Thus, when examining corpuses, it is important to consider the larger or macro social context in which they were written or spoken (Fowler & Kress, 2018). According to Huckin (1997), CDA generally adopts an ethical viewpoint, focusing on instances of power disparities, social injustices, and undemocratic practices. This emphasis on societal issues is not a neutral one. Van Lier (2014) stated that CDA "... squarely confronts issues of power, control and manipulation in language use in society". Therefore, the role of those with the ability to influence, including the techniques and strategies they employ, and the manner in which such manipulation is accepted and normalized are two of the fundamental features of CDA (Van Dijk, 2006). Due to the great role that language devices play in making successful politicians, those who don't have such ability to use such language devices fail to gain people by their side and correspondingly fail to be successful politicians.

Research Objectives:

Two objectives are to be achieved throughout the analysis of this study. Thus, the present study aims to:

1. Expose the way the president used to convince his audience of his plans.
2. Identify the linguistic strategies the president used to rally support of the audience.

Research Questions:

The present study aims to answer the following questions:

1. How the speaker exposes his thoughts and plans and make them seem real, applicable and achievable to attract audience attention?
2. What are the linguistic strategies or devices used by president George Bush to rally support for what they aim to carry out?

Methodology:

Rogers et al. (2005) thinks that the three layers of analysis in Fairclough's framework—the text, the discursive practice, and the sociocultural practice—are all present. You can now focus more on the figure in your handouts to better comprehend Fairclough's concept going forward. In other words, there are three proportions to each of these discursive events.

1. It is a written or spoken text
2. It is an instance of discourse practice including the production and interpretation of texts, and
3. It is a part of social event.

Fairclough's Theory:

The study of the linguistic patterns generated during a discursive event forms the basis of the text analysis. In reality, analyzing the discursive activity involves looking at the creation, use, and dissemination of the writings. Finally, the exploration of what is occurring inside a specific socio-cultural context becomes the analysis of socio-cultural practice. Based on Rogers et al. (2005, p. 372) “Fairclough’s second dimension, discursive practice, as mentioned previously, involves the analysis of the process of production, interpretation, and consumption, this dimension is concerned with how people interpret and reproduce or transform texts. The third dimension, socio cultural practice, is concerned with issues of power. Analysis of this dimension includes exploration of the ways in which discourses operate in various domains of society” and the outcome of combining the second and the third dimensions is text that is the first one here.

The exploration of the relationship between two linguistic presumptions—that language use is both socially influenced and socially shaping—is actually the focus of CDA for Fairclough. On Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL), he bases this claim. According to Fairclough (1995, p. 134), he operationalizes the theoretical tenet that texts and discourses are socially constitutive through the idea of the multi-functionality of language in texts. He declares that “Language use is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and beliefs”.

As mentioned by Fairclough himself, his analysis stands on three basis or elements including description, interpretation and explanation.

1. Linguistic characteristics of texts are depicted.
2. The relation between the productive and interpretative processes of discursive event and the text is deduced and
3. What relates discursive practice to social practice is upheld.

Fairclough (1995).

By doing this, Fairclough makes an effort to develop a methodical approach for investigating the connection between a text and its social setting. The dimensions on which the method is based are shown in Figure 1.

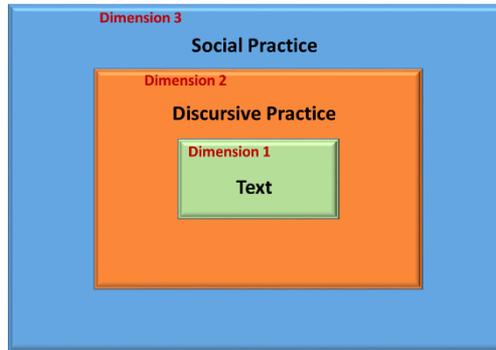


Figure 1. Fairclough's Dimensions of Discourse and Discourse Analysis

Huckin's Categories of Discourse Analysis:

Huckin (1997) provides three text analysis levels: word level, sentence level, and complete text. Within these levels, there are several aspects, such as genre, framing, foreground, background, omission, insinuation and presupposition. While genre examines whether the discourse follows or deviates from the conventional patterns of style, framing examines how the text is presented and the angle taken on the text's specifics. The concepts of foregrounding and backgrounding relate to how specific components are stressed or minimized to create a message that aligns with the producer's worldview, which is the one that the text's intended audience is urged to adopt. Omissions are a severe kind of backgrounding in which certain details are left out, whereas insinuations are suggestive remarks that may be taken to signify something different from what the words actually mean. Last but not least, presuppositions, which are connected to insinuations, refer to implicit world assumptions that are typically presented as unquestionable and never to be contested. The ideas that Van Dijk has concerning what is so called 'manipulation' will also be drawn on for the sake of contextualizing the content of the speech. The data to be analyzed is found on this link: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/09/20060911-3.html>

The critical analysis of this study will base on dual-side base; Fairclough's model and Huckin's categories. Fairclough's model has three interconnected dimensions stated frequently as (micro, meso, macro). The text itself is represented by the first section, "micro", the speech's word choice and logical arrangement of the knowledge. The methods and ideas are represented by the second element, "meso", it stands as a bridge that takes the reader or listener from the first part, Micro to the last part, Macro so it is the chain that links these two parts. The justification for some of the speech is represented by the third portion, "macro". Huckin states some linguistic strategies that a successful politician should follow starting from register and modality, passing through presuppositions and insinuations, agency, foreground, background, Omission, connotation, generalization, and ending in manipulation, as shown in figure 2.

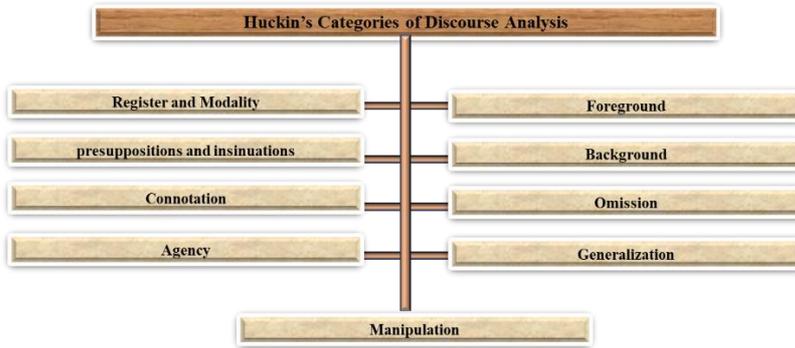


Figure 2. Huckin's Categories of Discourse Analysis

Here, the critical discourse analysis will be carried out on a political genre due to the great role that policy plays all over the world through being the efficient technique used by most governments to persuade their populations of something despite its righteousness. In conducting this study, a number of limitations were tolerated. It was limited to two orations only; the first one is announced by President George W. Bush on September 11, 2001, the fifth anniversary of the assault on the World Trade Center in New York and the second one is presented by President Donald Trump when he became the President-elect of the United States of America. There are so many orations which are not yet analyzed. Accordingly, the findings of the study are limited, too. In addition, the research was taken from the point of view of Huckin and Fairclough. As far as the vital role that policy and political speeches play in directing audience attitudes, the importance of this research lies in exposing the linguistics strategies or tricks that politicians use to qualify themselves and be successful and satisfactory when addressing their communities.

Results and Discussion:

Norman Fairclough's model

As far as Fairclough's model is concerned, the analysis of this oration falls into three proportions or levels; micro, meso and macro. The macro level is the widest among the other two levels which represents the social practice of the discourse while micro level is the narrowest level of the discourse which represents the word level or which words to be used in such discourse. What lies in between is meso which represents the discursive practice or how the discourse is built.

Text level (micro)

This level stands for the first dimension of Fairclough's model in which the analyst focuses on the words used by the president to direct audience attention to the core of this speech. Very early in line 1, the president used the word "September the 11th" which all Americans still remember to attract listeners to the importance of the subject. In line 2 the word "barbarity" is used to refer to the savageness of the attackers who didn't care who the victims are. They didn't distinguish what colors, creeds or nationalities they are, therefore, the war against them would be the task of the entire world. To get Americans' support continue, words like 'safe' but not 'safer' are used. In the second paragraph the word "courage" is used deliberately four times to trigger audience desire to fight against what is supposed to be the

evil. The word "fresh" in the first line of the third paragraph is metaphorically used to denote that the event happened five years ago is still remembered by all American citizens. The first line of the third paragraph contains the word "horror" which the president used to refer to the brutality of the attack against America. The verb "torn down" in line 87 which is used as if we are handling something physical declares that the president opens a channel of cooperation without any limitation to defeat terrorism. The word "terrorist" is repeated 14 times when talking about the attackers to portray them as deviants and murderers whom they should be fought by all means. To gain a continuous support for going on in this war against terrorism even after five years of fighting, George Bush used the expression "extremist ideology" to tell the audience that this war will take much more time since it represents an ideology. It is not a mere attack but it is beliefs and ideas in individuals' minds. Paragraphs 14 and 15 raised two contrary terms "tyranny" and "freedom" or "terrorism" and "peace". Thus, the Americans have two options, not a third. They have to choose one, either to stand with and support the policy of their presidency or live without unpeacefully. The pronoun "our" is mentioned 46 times in this speech. By the repetition of this pronoun, George Bush threw the ball into the people's court, as if he divides the responsibility of defeating the enemy half by half between his government and the American citizens.

Discursive practice (Meso)

The form of our discursive practice is a speech not a piece of writing. It falls into three aspects as follows:

Force of utterances

Words or utterances said by the president are not random, rather they are presented to achieve a function and direct audience attitudes towards accepting the president's thoughts. The president employed most of his speech to reach a specific result which is gaining audience's support. Therefore, most of his speech is embodied with or going around a hidden intention which is the goal behind this discourse. What the president aims to get from audience is support for his plan to on fighting against terrorism, thus he devoted his speech to reach that goal. This way of interpretation is stated by Searle (1979) "to perform an illocutionary act is to express an illocutionary intention". From the early beginning, in the first paragraph, reminding audience with the events of September the 11th is a directive way to gain their support. Depicting terrorists as evil "On 9/11, our nation saw the face of evil" can be interpreted as request from the president to the audience asking for their support to fight evil. One more example is when the president told the story of RoseEllen, an American woman. Although she lost her husband in 9/11 events but now her two sons are doing the military service to get revenge and defeat terrorism. This story is presented to be an incentive for others to follow suit in supporting the fight against terrorism. So, everything in the president's discourse is devoted to direct audience thinking towards the main goal of this oration which is proving the rightness of the president's attitude to defeat terrorism and as a result obtaining support from audience to achieve that goal.

Coherence of text

One of Fairclough's beliefs is that coherence of any text should be considered as a "property of interpretations" rather than a "property of texts"(1992a, p. 83). The contribution of coherence lies in the linguistic mechanisms to establish internal connections between the text's parts, on the one hand, and between the text and its context, on the other hand. Thus, it

serves as a director to guide the listener/reader towards an intended discourse interpretation (Brown & Yule, 1983).

In this study, president George W. Bush succeeded in imposing a kind of interpretation for his speech and getting allies' support to go on fighting what is so called terrorism. Firstly, he refreshed audience's minds through recalling what have happened five years ago when 'terrorists' bombed the trade Tower and Pentagon with hijacked airplanes. This step prepared their minds to be filled with thoughts and directions that serves his plan. Next to that, he made obvious that these attacks did not distinguish whom the victim would be, it did not matter whether the victim is American or not, Christian or Muslim, white or black and this is a hint that terrorism is universal. Then he told some stories about firefighters who lost their lives there and children whom they miss their fathers' embracement to get listeners sympathy. At the high point of this action, the president transferred the idea that this ideology, terrorism ideology, must be fought and defeated in advance therefore and this is the justification of sending American troops to Afghanistan and Iraq. To assure that he is on the right direction, he focused on the idea that the preventive measures and preemptive strikes were fruitful and therefore United States were not subjected to terrorist attacks since 9/11. After that introduction, the situation is appropriate to ask their support through an indirect way when he said "We are now in the early hours of this struggle between tyranny and freedom". Side by side with the idea of fighting terrorism, he presented the idea of an inevitable victory when he reminded the audience with a past event that ended with a victory "America has confronted evil before, and we have defeated it". This is employed to give an impression of confidence in this administration. For more encouragement, the president told stories like that of RoseEllen Dowdell who sent her two sons to military service despite that she lost her husband in 9/11 events to get him a revenge. It is clear that George Bush succeeded, at least from my point of view, in pulling his audience gradually to the point where they be ready to accept and support the thoughts and the plans he wanted to achieve.

Intertextuality of text

Fairclough (1992) asserts that texts are inherently intertextual and are parts of other texts. As stated by Kitaeva and Ozerova in (2019) Politicians use this strategy in their speeches to strengthen it and relate it to religious, sociocultural, and historical contexts. In politics, antecedent texts and names play a vital role in rhetoric, particularly in presidential speeches, as leaders must adhere to various traditions and conventions, including historical, state, moral, and ethical ones; referencing previous texts helps them become acquainted with these traditions to increase the credibility of the text and as a consequence get the audience's attention to believe in the speaker's words (Obeng, 1997).

One of these texts that George Bush quoted is that of Osama bin Laden when he depicted the fight as "the Third World War" and also said that the victory for the terrorists in Iraq is a signal for America's "defeat and disgrace forever". Inserting Osama's words here is used to refresh audience's minds and remind them of the terrorists' goals to defeat America. One more example of intertextuality is the speech of a mother of two young men called RoseEllen. Although she lost her husband in the bombing of the Trade Tower, she was still proud of her two sons to serve in military service. She said "As a mother, I cross my fingers and pray all the time for their safety -- but as worried as I am, I'm also proud, and I know their dad would be, too". As a result, the president can get audience's support to go on fighting against evil forces to make America safe. Moreover, the president leans on some historical hints that trigger audience's minds to remember the past when Franklin Roosevelt

"vowed to defeat two enemies across two oceans" and when Harry Truman "promised American support for free peoples resisting Soviet aggression".

Social practice (Macro)

Language as an ideology is not only a means of communication but also an instrument of control by which a discourse maker can direct audience thinking and change their biases (Bin, 2009). When describing discourse as being a social practice, one can conclude that language and society have a kind of dialectical relationship. This means that discourse constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the identities of people. In his speech, president Bush intensified the attack using hijacked aircraft, progressively and logically creating justification for the subsequent retaliatory action that the US government will launch. Combating the attackers equates to combating evil since they are evil. The military's actions are therefore morally right and appropriate. Little evils like restricting individual liberties, sacrificing the interests of certain countries, and so on are quite acceptable and tolerable under the cover of fighting evil because they are all required to realize a noble ideal: holding those responsible for evil accountable and eliminating the worst aspects of human nature. Thus, the president creates an atmosphere of attractiveness by which he can obtain some kind of support for the events that follow from that incident. He generalizes an idea that the implications of attacking America entail sever defense to protect the American society. Thus, the president repeated words like "protect" (4 times) referring to the Americans and its counterpart, "defeat" (5 times) referring to the attackers or the terrorists. He parted the world into two contradictory halves. Those who represent good on the contrary of those who represent evil. Therefore, through the notion of multifunctionality of language in texts, texts and discourses are socially constitutive: Language use is always simultaneously constitutive of (1) social identities, (2) social relations and (3) systems of knowledge and beliefs "The ideational function of language constitutes systems of knowledge; the interpersonal function creates social subjects or identity and the relationship between them; and the textual function creates discourse". The situation the world lived at that time shaped or imposed a specific kind of speech and this speech constituted the community identity or bias with the president procedures and against terrorists.

Thomas Huckin's categories:

Register and modality

The average American is the target audience for this presidential address. It was created in accordance with the general standards of the political speech genre and belongs to that genre. Bush quickly makes his argument and commands the audience's attention. Additionally, he engages the audience by implying that all Americans are affected by the issue. There is no opportunity for question or ambiguity because the speech is presented in the indicative mood, which as Huckin (1997) notes is the same style as historical discourse. Everything is stated as fact. Despite using a lot of emotionally charged language, Bush avoids using big words or lengthy, intricate sentences in order to make his views concise and understandable regardless of the use of slang or idiomatic language. The speech is organized into three distinct sections; beginning, middle or center and end and is focused on two main themes; the ninth of September and the so-called "war on terror". Political speech, according to Schaffner (1996), is not a uniform genre. This speech fits into a very specific subgenre of Bush's speeches concerning the "war on terror" and 9/11. In term of word frequency, the word "freedom" appears 11 times and is combined with words that are either the subject of the attack or the perpetrators of the attack (e.g., "hate," "fear"), as well as with positive words

when America is the subject. 'Terror' or 'terrorist' appears 17 times, 'world' 15 times, and 'America' 25 times; as a result, America fights the terrorists for world freedom.

For the second oration, Donald Trump

Presuppositions and insinuations

Presumptions are made that America is "free," "innocent," and "good," that the attackers are "evil," that they despise freedom, and that they are isolated, among other things. As stated in line (3), America is positioned with all right-thinking people and the "free world," in contrast to the attackers' isolation. This is, of course, a partial truth at best, as the attackers undoubtedly have some Arab and Muslim world support, and America has consistently undermined any international consensus it may have had in the wake of 9/11 through its unilateral actions.

Line (3)'s use of "all colors, creeds, and nationalities" casts the entire world in opposition to these 19 men and everything they stand for and in support of America. He then declares that the attack on the symbols of US militarism and capitalism constitutes "war against the entire free world" (line 3). The use of the term "free world" relies on the "presupposition" that Western democracy represents freedom and, as a result, suggests not only a literal attack on life and property but also a metaphorical attack on a way of life that everyone is supposed to aspire to and which is implied to be good and wholesome. The term also implies that the assailants stand for "other world," one that is not free, one populated by "freedom-haters."

Beginning with a reminder that the hijackers were not "humans" in the traditional sense of the word, the second paragraph goes on to describe them as the "face of evil," a phrase that has no actual meaning but packs a significant emotional punch. Bush took care to repeatedly place America in the global perspective in the first paragraph. Now, catering to the domestic audience, he speaks of "something distinctly American" and "extraordinary acts of courage" (line 9), evoking images of the attack victims and humanizing them by emphasizing their last acts.

In line (14), Bush makes an implicit comparison between the bravery of some victims and the savagery of the hijackers while drawing attention to their Christianity. It has been widely reported that those hijackers are not Christians. Bush attempts to draw the audience's attention to the bravery of those who "gave their lives so others might live" in line (14) by contrasting it with the hijackers' self-serving actions, which only caused destruction.

An insinuation is made to the freedom that women have in the West while those terrorists try to prison them at homes "women are prisoners in their homes". Therefore, it is a call for defending this freedom against enemies of freedom. There is a hint to the idea that this war will last long and this is just the beginning of it when the president said "We are now in the early hours of this struggle". Although this speech comes after five years of the 9/11 events, he presupposed that war against terrorism it still at the beginning.

Agency

In line 2 the passive "us" refers to America, the target of the attack. In lines (2 and 3), the hijackers are topicalized and emphasized as the agents of action, this time the action is murder people. The implication here is that America was a victim who did not deserve to be hurt.

Instead, the American actions are neutral and topicalized; in the second and fourth paragraphs, for instance, Bush talks about witnessing the events of that day and learning about the enemy's strategies and goals. This leaves out any mention of US actions that might be viewed negatively, whether they occurred before or after 9/11.

In line three, Bush once more isolates the attackers rhetorically by placing America with "her allies". Line 7 (where America is grouped with "the world") contains another instance of this. As a result, a recurring theme in this speech is how America is constantly equated with the global community and that all free-thinking, American citizens share American ideals. Referring back to line (4), Bush implies that although the American course of action was correct and effective, more work needs to be done and it must be continued by saying, "We are safer, but not safe".

Foreground

In discourse, a number of strategies, like foreground, are used to divert our focus to particular events or viewpoints. Such attention magnets have the power to affect what we pay attention to and, as a result, what is ignored or relegated to the background. Foregrounding is a linguistic technique used in literary analysis and stylistics to draw the reader's attention away from spoken language and toward particular linguistic nuances. Systemic functional linguistics uses the term "foregrounding" to describe a prominent textual element that contributes meaning as contrasted to the background, which provides the foreground with its relevant context. According to (Halliday, 1973), foregrounding is "the phenomenon of linguistic highlighting, whereby some features of the language of a text stand out in some way."

George W, Bush deliberately has reminded the audience of the 11th of September. He foregrounded that day about 11 times, approximately one time each five lines. In this way, he fixed the image of that day in their minds and ignored or backgrounded any mentioning of the reasons that led to the events of that day. Consequently, they were completely ready to accept the justifications he presented to punish whoever responsible of these terrible events.

Background

Backgrounding is one of the linguistic strategies that is frequently employed in several fields to construct discursive genre. It regularly occurs in both written and spoken corpora and plays a crucial role in speech. In each genre, the content that counts the most is seen as the "foreground" of the discourse, or that which moves it along. The background or backdrop, on the other hand, is less crucial material for the speaker that doesn't advance the dialogue. Backgrounding plays a crucial function in discourse because it creates space or opens the way for its opposite, foregrounding, to unveil and control the events. Events that serve as the discourse's central theme will therefore be isolated and have a larger geographic scope. When represented by the foreground in a text's sequence, the most significant moments or lines will be simple to identify and straightforward to sum up (Asher et al., 2007).

The 19 men's deeds are highlighted throughout the speech, along with the terrible repercussions for Americans. Any background information about the circumstances surrounding those actions is either hidden or ignored. It is possible to argue that the attacks have two main contexts: the United States' unwavering support for Israel, particularly with regard to the Palestine issue, and its support for the Saudi regime in exchange for cheap and abundant oil (Gray, 2004).

Omission

Line 2's description of the hijackers as "nineteen men" is an example of omission because it withholds information from the audience. Bush is unable to mention the nationalities of the attackers because the vast majority of them were Saudis, and this would Embarrass Bush because he firmly has extensive business ties to and is considered to be an ally of the United States. Mentioning any information about the nationalities of the terrorists as he called them, would put him in a critical situation because it would require him to take an action against their countries and this is what he didn't like, therefore, he resorted to this linguistic strategy 'omission' to avoid mentioning this crucial information. "Taken the offensive" in line 4 is a meaningless phrase that minimizes America's involvement in the bombing, invasion, and occupation of parts of Afghanistan as well as the ongoing conflict in Iraq. "War unlike any [other]" in line 5 refers to the "war on terror," another phrase that minimizes America's actions in the wake of 9/11.

Connotations

The use of the verb "seared" in line (1) alludes to an incident that left a mark on society's collective psyche, one that was painful and non-consensual. More strongly emotive language, "barbarity," is used in line (2), implying that the men were less than human or civilized. This language can be contrasted with the words "protect", "build", "hopeful", and "peace" used to describe American actions in lines 6 and 7, which portrays America in a completely positive, constructive, and compassionate light in contrast to her enemies.

The word "discuss" in line (5) implies some sort of negotiation, as if the audience, the American people, will participate in the decision-making process in some way and act as actors when, in reality, they are being used as passive objects of manipulation.

Bush uses the words "evil" and "awful" in the first line of the second paragraph to emphasize the terrible action that occurred. The remainder of the sentence emphasizes how each American reacted differently that day: "extraordinary," "courage," "comfort," "love," "innocent," "tribute," in contrast to the attackers' actions that left them "trapped," "burning," and "flames."

Bush uses the word "horror" once more in the fourth paragraph of his speech to emphasize to his listeners how awful the events of that day were. He keeps using extremely negative language to describe the attackers, such as "evil," "kill," "extremists," "perverted," "hates," and so on.

The metaphorical use of the word 'fresh' in "the wounds of that morning are still fresh" has an important denotation through which the president wanted to tell people that even after five years of that miserable day, we still keep in mind the imagery of victims' blood as if it is just bled.

Another example of using this way of expression is "They will follow us". The message behind saying these words is to tell audience, especially opponents, that if we pulled out from this war, you have to face terrorists here in America because they would not stop, rather they would follow us to our country.

Generalization

According to Van Dijk, the process of generalization involves extrapolating an idea or set of attitudes from a single concrete example of an occurrence. He writes "The most striking

recent example is the manipulation of US and world opinion about terrorism after 9/11, in which very emotional and strongly opinionated mental models held by citizens about this event were generalized to more abstract, shared fears, attitudes and ideologies about terrorism and related issues. This is also a genuine example of massive manipulation, because the resulting social representations are not in the best interests of the citizens when such attitudes are being manipulated in order to dramatically raise military spending, legitimate military intervention and pass legislation that imposes severe restrictions on civil rights and freedoms (such as the Patriot Act)." (Pilger, 2006).

Manipulation

Therefore, Bush's speech is merely the most recent in a continuous process that Van Dijk refers to as "multi-modal" because it necessitates the cooperation of a wide range of media outlets in order to be successful. Fairclough explains that there is "...increasing difficulty in demarcating the political. For instance, politics increasingly overlaps with media, and through the mediation of media, with everyday life". Pilger (2006) emphasizes how corporate media works to uphold the good standing of western governments, a position that is frequently driven by business interests. One of the largest corporations in the world, General Electric, for instance, owns 80% of the NBC television network. According to the website CorpWatch, since the start of Bush's war on terror, General Electric has seen a significant increase in the revenue from defense contracts. This type of information is regularly pushed to the background or left out during the manipulating process. When it comes to providing a very limited view of events and portraying American actions as above reproach, this speech then functions in a manner that is essentially similar to all other texts on the subject from various media.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, one can say that using a variety of methods and disciplines in CDA draws attention to the implicit or hidden meaning that lies behind a text. In a world where media manipulation is becoming more common, this can be a very helpful tool. The act of analysis itself, as Wallace (1999) notes, can be subject to the same biases as the creation of any text. He stated that CDA "tends to end up being expert exegesis in the hands of a single interpreter, the lone armchair critic". Regarding EFL, one may question the potential value of CDA in all but advanced courses. As George W. Bush tried to hide the real causes that led the attackers carry out the events of the ninth of September, he relied on these linguistic tricks. These tricks were lately depended to justify what happened in Afghanistan and Iraq. We find that the speaker depends on a supportive way of exposing information, that is using stories of past events like that of RoseEllen or stories about the bravery of firefighters to encourage audience follow suit. It is also obvious that George Bush succeeded in directing audience thinking towards accepting the idea of pushing forward the American government to defend Americans in their war against terrorism even if this war requires fighting out of America. He successfully devoted Huckin's categories (register and modality, presuppositions and insinuation, agency, foreground and background, omission, connotation, generalization and manipulation) to reach his goals. What proved his success is reelecting him for a second term of judging America.

تحليل خطابي نقدي لحديث جورج بوش الابن في الذكرى السنوية الخامسة لأحداث الحادي عشر من

سبتمبر

عبدالمالك حامد جاسم

المديرة العامة للتربية الانبار، وزارة التربية، الرمادي، العراق

malikhj.1974@gmail.com

الكلمات المفتاحية | النقد، تحليل الخطاب، الذكرى السنوية الخامسة، الاظهار والاختفاء، الصفات اللغوية.

<https://doi.org/10.51345/v35i1.854.g432>

ملخص البحث:

في الوقت الحاضر، تعد طرق التبرير والاستراتيجيات الاقناعية مهمة جدا في التفاعل الاجتماعي ومجالات الحياة الأخرى، لا سيما عند تتعلق الامر بالقضايا السياسية. من أجل إقناع الآخرين بدعمهم في مواضيع معينة، يعتمد السياسيون وكذلك جميع الأشخاص الآخرين على مجموعة متنوعة من التقنيات. يجب على السياسيين الذين يريدون السيطرة على بلدانهم أن يمتلكوا بعض السمات اللغوية الفريدة أو المؤهلات التي تسمح لهم بالقيام بذلك وتمكنهم من الاستمرار في تنفيذ أهدافهم. تكشف هذه الدراسة، وهي تحليل نقدي للخطاب، العلاقة بين اللغة والسياقات السياسية الاجتماعية التي تستخدم فيها. الهدفان الرئيسيان لهذه الدراسة هما أولاً: توضيح الطريقة التي يتبعها المتحدث لجعل أفكاره وخططه تبدو حقيقية وقابلة للتطبيق، وتحديد الاستراتيجيات اللغوية التي يستخدمها السياسيون لحشد الدعم لما يهدفون إلى تنفيذه. من خلال خطاباتهم، يحاولون الحصول على موافقة ودعم من الحلفاء والمعارضين على حد سواء. سيعتمد التحليل على فئات (1997) T. Huckin ونموذج (1995) Failclough لتحليل نوعي للخطبة السياسية للرئيس جورج دبليو بوش في 11 سبتمبر 2001، الذكرى الخامسة للهجوم على مركز التجارة العالمي في نيويورك. ما يمكن استخلاصه بعد تحليل هذه الخطبة السياسية هو أن كونك سياسيا جيدا يتطلب منك أن تكون متحدثا جيدا. فقد لجأ الرئيس إلى استخدام طريقة تدعم افكاره من خلال سرد بعض القصص والمواقف البطولية. كما نجح الرئيس جورج بوش بتوظيف بعض الاساليب اللغوية كالاظهار والاختفاء والحذف... الخ مع ربطها بالواقع الاجتماعي، وإن ما يثبت نجاحه انه فاز بدورة انتخابية ثانية في ذلك الوقت.