Domaine: Lettres Et Langues Etrangères

Filière : Langue Anglaise

Spécialité : Linguistique Appliquée et Sémiotique Sociale

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in English

Title:

The impact of Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis on the Analysis of Political Speech.

Case Study: Barack OBAMA's Speech on Osama BIN LADEN Death

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Dedication:

I dedicate this

humble work to

All those I love and I respect

Acknowledgement:

I would like to express my special thanks and gratitude to my supervisor Pr AMEZIANE Hamid for his endeavor guidance, advice, and his help throughout the stages of this modest work.

My sincere gratitude, thanks and appreciation to the board of examiners; Mrs FEDOUL Malika and Mrs ADAM karima who accepted to evaluate and criticize this work.

I would also to thank our teachers of Department of English for their guidance and help since my first day in Mouloud Mammeri University.

Special thanks for my brother AHCENE BELHADJ and my cousin RAFIK BELHADJ for their help, and to all my friends who took part to fullfill this research and their contribution to its success.

Thank You

Abstract:

This study is corpus-based which analyses a set of texts selected from the speech made by the previous United States president BARACK OBAMA on OSAMA BIN LADEN death, under critical linguistics theories using critical discourse analysis methodological framwork. In the light of Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis theoritical frameworks, the main objective of this study is to describe the informative and persuasive strategies behind the linguistic choices and their intended ideologies in Barack Obama's speech about Bin Laden death. The use of Systemic Functional Linguistics provides us a systemic and functional model to describe the rhetorical strategies, social power and the control of public discourse. Indeed, the elements of transitivity, modality,and textual aspects allow us to discover how Obama relate the eradication of terrorism and the role he makes and the role that he adresses to each of the audiences. Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis framework based on a Hallidayan perspective is used to explore the thetorical strategies: logic, emotions and cultural values which are bound up with the overall political purposes and to determine how mind control (Van Dijk, 2001) is linguistically exerted in Obama's linguistic choices.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, systemic functional linguistics, rhetorical strategies,

social power, mind control, linguistic choices and ideologies.

List of abbreviations:

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency

SFL: Systemic Functional Linguistics

UMMTO: UNiversité MOULOUD MAMMERI TIZI OUZOU

USA: the United States of America

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General

Introduction

General Introduction

Background of the research

Rhetoric is an important element in political discourses in order to increase the interest of the public and gain their support. Indeed, the most successful politicians are those with high skillful use of rhetoric. Therefore politicians try to make their speeches persuasive as much as possible to the aim of effectiveness in exploring the relation between language, power and ideology. In other words, ideologies in political speeches are carried out by the linguistic choices that the speaker selects, and its effectiveness relies with the persuasive techniques of their representation. The analysis of political speeches is one of the crucial elements that critical discourse analysts account for in order to decipher the ideologies of political speeches as an ideological discourses. Critical discourse analysts use critical theoretical framework that account for the hidden ideologies beyond the linguistic choices of politicians in their speeches. In our study, we are going to deal with political speech presented by the previous US president, Barack Obama, about Bin Laden death to account for his rhetorical style and the techniques used to convey a certain ideology in order to make his speech persuasive. The basic theoretical frameworks are Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics theories brought by M.A.K Halliday and Norman Fairclough respectively. Using SFL theory, the analysis will include transitivity system to account for experiential meaning, modality to account for interpersonal meaning and textual meaning account for coherence.

CDA accounts for the relationship between text, processes and social dimensions that is to make connection between linguistic choices with its context to the broader socio-political dimensions. This connection allows us to reveal the hidden ideologies brought in the speech of Obama about the killing of Bin Laden.

Statement of the problem

The killing of Osama Bin Laden on May, 1st, 2011 was a significant event for the world in general and for the Americans in particular. His death can be perceived from positive and negative perspectives. positive for those who consider it as a revenge of Twin Towers collapsing to the ground and as an act of justice for the victims of September, 11,2001 and negative for those who perceive it as a commitment of murder. The analysis of the speech made by Obama in May 2nd, 2011 is an interesting tool by which any perspective can be supported. Thus, this analysis helps us to explore the techniques by which Obama delivers his speech to convey a certain ideology.

Aims and significance of the study:

This study aims at exploring the hidden ideologies beyond the speech on Bin Laden death and to reveal the relationship between language, power and ideology as well as to investigate Obama's rhetorical techniques in persuading the public. This research is expected to contribute to the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis studies; it helps us to decipher and interpret ideological political speeches, As well as is expected to be useful guidance for students who are interested in Systemic Functional linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis studies.

Research questions:

The present research investigates the impact of Systemic Functional linguistic and Critical Discourse Analysis on deciphering ideological aspect of Obama's speech on Bin Laden Death. Thus this research aims to the two following questions:

1-How does Barack Obama organize his speech and what are the techniques that he uses to persuade the audience?

2-Under the light of Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, what are the ideologies of Barack Obama speech?

To answer research questions, we advance the following hypotheses:

H1- Barack Obama, as a political orator, uses rhetorical devices in order to persuade his audience.

H2- based on the rethorical devices and and the discursive in political domain, Obama tried to persuade the public that Osama Bin Laden is a terrorist and he is the responsible for the eradication of September 11,2001 and his killing is not a commitment of a murdre but as a revenge and realization of justice.

Research techniques and methodology:

This research conducted following critical discourse analysis; which consists of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. It is corpus based research, it accounts for the analysis of Obama's speech on Bin laden death. Concerning the data analysis, two techniques are used; quantitative analysis to account for statistics of the classification the linguistic items of the speech in relation to aspects of systemic functional linguistics theory, and qualitative analysis under the light of critical discourse analysis for the interpretation and explanation of these properties in relation to social dimensions of the speech event.

The structure of the study

The structure of this dissertation adheres to the traditional simple model. It is divided into general introduction, four chapter, and general conclusion. Each chapter consists of an introduction, a body and a conclusion. The general introduction presents the scopes of the research and the procedures to follow in order to fulfill this study. Then the first chapter consists of literature review concerning the subject of the study, the previous works of researchers, the theoretical frameworks for conducting this research and the basic concepts which are related to the study, in order to better understand and having good command of the topic. The second chapter is concerned with the field work which presents the explanation of

the research methodology including research design, the corpus, and data analysis. The third chapter shows the results of the analysis of Obama's speech. They are presented both quantitatively and qualitatively. The fourth chapter discusses the findings of the results gathered from the research techniques to provide an answer for our research questions and confirming or disconfirming the hypotheses. Finally, a general conclusion to summarize the research.

Chapter one:

Literature

Review

Literature review

Introduction:

This chapter is a review of literature on the analysis of political speech delivered by the US president Barack Obama about the death Osama Bin laden. Therefore, our aim is to investigate and explore the relationship between language, ideology and power from Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, and Systemic Functional Linguistics.

The first section provides basic and the key concepts in this research; the second section provides an outline about the previous studies that are undertook to fullfill critical studies of political speeches ; and the last section accounts for the basic theoritical frameworks, Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics, under which this research is taken and conducted.

1-Definition of the key concepts:

1-1 Linguistic choices:

refer to the lexical and linguistic feaures or devices which arestematically selected from linguistic knowledge in order to be manifested in social and political context. This selection infleunce and infleunced by discursive power and inequality in a particular gerne (Fairclough,1995). From systemic functional linguistics perspective, The system of linguistic choices is made up by the combination of the shoosing the content words(verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs) in a gererated text that makes the language as a system, and the pragmatic factors for constracting meaning in the target domain (Halliday,1994).

1-2 Discourse: many definitions have been brought to the concept of discourse. In a modified version of taxonomy by Bloor and Bloor (2007:6-7), it is possible to make the following distinctions:

Discourse:

       1) **- is** the highest unit of linguistic description; phonemes, words,

      phases, clauses, sentences and texts.

      2) - is a sample of language usage, written or spoken; That is, a speech.

      3) - refers to the expected communication in one situation context; alongside one

      field and register (such as law and medicine discourse).

      4) - stands for the whole communication even

.

1-3 Political speech:

    Is a speech made by an orator in political spheres, in an attempt at explaining and discussing political issues and problems . It is a form of public discourse in which politicians or political elites speak about or discuss societal problems of ethnic relations and ethnic affairs; systematically using rhetoric strategies, mental models, social knowledge, attitudes and ideologies of the most dominant group at the aim of controlling and manipulating the ideologies of the minority groups(Van Dijk, 1984). Indeed, political discourse can influence the audience through its logical order, through the rhetoric style and mind control that can affect the fact of perception to a certain political issues that correspond to a certain group (Salavastru, 2009).

1-4 Rhetoric:

    Is the act of effective speaking or writing, especially the exploitation of figures of speech and other compositional techniques. *(Oxford English dictionary definition).*

It is the art of discourse or the speaking strategies used by an orator to inform, motivate or persuade particular audiences in specific situation, through public speaking. Political rhetoric concerned with the strategies used to establish persuasive argument in political debate where

an orator aims at erasing an ideology and sustain another ideology in the mind of the audience.

1-5 Ideology:

Refers to the way in which person's beliefs, opinions and value system intersect with the broader social and political structure of society in which they live. This term associated with Karl Marx; particularly which he treatises on the german ideology. Thus concept has been adopted more widely to refer to the belief systems; either individually or collectively. The German philosophers; Karl Marx and Friedrich Angel defined ideology in terms of the ideas of ruling class are in every epoch. The class which has the means of material production as its disposal has control at the sometime over the means of mental productions.

It is the conceptual and ideal form of the actual and social relations between any ideational production and social structure. Ideology refers to the way in which person's beliefs, opinions and value system intersect with the broader social and political structure of society in which they live. This term associated with Karl Marx; particularly which he treatises on the german ideology. Thus concept has been adopted more widely to refer to the belief systems; either individually or collectively. Hamilton (1987) defines ideology as follows:

" a system of collectively held normative and reputedly factual ideas and beliefs and attitudes advocating a particular patterns of social relationships and arrangements and/or aimed at justifying a particular pattern of conduct, which its proponenets seek to promote, realise, pursue or maintain"(Hamilton 1987:39).

1-6 Language power

Is about how language works to maintain and change power relations in contemporary society. It is concerned with two different usages of language; as interpersonal

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communication which refers to influencing the interaction with others, stemming from their mastery of linguistic skills, and language as public discourse, which refers to language authority in public institutions. These institutions include legally definite entities such as government, political parties, companies…etc; which have mind control over the subgroups (Fairclough, 1994).

1-7 Mind control

Having mind power of someone or the ability to control/ influence someone's thought and actions. *(Oxford English Dictionary definition).*

Ph.Zimbardo (2002) defines mind control as follows : *"process by which individual or collective freedom of choice and action is compromised by agents or agencies that modify or distort perception, motivation, affect, cognition and/or behavioral outcomes"* Mind control refers to the concept of enslaving people that is altered by psychological techniques, including : cognitive manipulation, thought reform, mental control, coercive persuasion ; and systematically infleuncing their identical issues ; such as :beliefs, prejudices, preferences, ideologies, relationships…etc.

2- Previous political studies .

Political genre analysis has been,for a long time, the focus of attention for many scholars for the aim of understanding the mechanism of language thanks to their organized and well-established structure. With the emergence of critical linguistics, which takes a critical stance to pure linguistics and sociolinguistics, CDA tries to sort out the relationship tha texists between discourse structures and social structure; that is, to explain the linguistic properties in terms of properties of social interaction, rather than discourse structure (Baker and Ellece,

2011). Subsequently, the interaction between discourse and power become the central point in critical discourse analysis. According to Faireclough and Wodak (1997), The motivation for this assumption comes from one of the main arguments that discourse is socially effective and determined, that affects and is affected by discourse. As it has been mentioned in the Journal of Applied Linguistics and Language Research Volume 2, Issue 7, 2015, pp. 228-246, most of researchers commenced to evaluate speeches of different powerful political figures all over the world; particularly, those of the previous US president, Barack Obama.

From critical linguistic perspectives, many scholars investigated the rhetorical strategies that are manifested in the linguistic choices of Obama's different speeches to persuade the public;. The victory and inaugural speeches are analyzed by different scholars: Alvi and Abdul Baseer (2002), Horvath (2009),and Wang (2010). Under the light of systemic functional linguistic and critical discourse analysis theoritical backgrounds, and by using critical discourse analysis as a methodological framework, they tried to design the rhetorical strategies of Obama that are manifested in his linguistic choices to convey a certain loaded ideology and how he controls the mind of his audience by his language. Indeed, by applying systemic functional linguistics, the linguistic choices of Barack Obama are described and analysed in terms of transitivity, grammar, semantics, cohesion and coherence for the construction of the reality and the relational identities. From critical discourse analysis, under the concept of language, power, and ideology,they investigated the loaded ideologies of Obama which are submitted to diverse interpretation in relation to the contextual, social and historical dimensions of the text (pragmatism, inclusiveness, religion, ethnic diversity, liberalism…etc.).

Following mentioned researches, this study, which has not yet been delt with in the UMMTO, English Departement, sets out to explore the relationship between language, ideology and power in the speech of Obama about Bin Laden death by making connection

between linguistic choices and broader social dimensions relying on the procedures of stylistic analysis including analysis, interpretation and evaluation, on the base of Hallidayian Systemic Functional Linguistics from critical perspective of Norman Fairclough.

3- Critical theories:

3-1 Systemic Functional Linguistics:

  An approach to critical analysis developed by MAK.Halliday; which requires a view of language and grammar as a meaning making resource in social context. As Halliday puts it*:'' A discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text''*(1985,p.17). Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a framework which views language as a resource for making meaning: ideational, interpersonal and textual. Systemic linguistics is functional rather than formal which sees language as a resource for communication rather than sets of rules ; it does not separate language and society , which implies that text does not have "intrinsic" meaning since they emerge according to the way texts are used in social context. Looking at language from a SFL point of view, we understand how speakers express meaning through the use of linguistic items and how these affected by contextual factors (Halliday, 1997).

3-1-1 The metafunctions:

   According to Halliday (1994), language serves three primary functions as metafunction.

 a- The ideational metafunction:

     In Halliday's view, The ideational metafunction refers to the representation of the logical reality in form of experience; by its conceptualization at the cognitive and perspective level, and the experiencial meaning of speaking, behaving, and understanding at the reaction level, where the communicators express meanings in form of linguistic act

of language (Halliday,1994) . The ideational metafunction mainly consists of transitivity and voice, in which transitivity includes six processes called : material, relational and mental processes as primary processes, and verbal, behavioral and existential are classified as secondary ones (Halliday,1994).

a-1 Transitivity system:

From transitivity perspective, according to Halliday (1994), in the ideational meaning in which clause is named as the **"***Representation***"**, the meaning refers to the conceptualization of the reality in the form of ideas and organised in semantic system of language , expressed through its grammatical system (Halliday,1994).. In the representation of reality, the participants are talking,reasoning, behaving, doing or they exist in a certain and a given circomstances to represent the inner and the outer world, dependently on the type of the verb expressed in the clause in which six processes are desinged (Filho, 2004), . These six processes are: material, relational and mental as primary processes, and verbal, behavioral, and existential processes as secondary one (Halliday,1994):

Material processes:

Material processes are process of doing in the physical world or about concrete or tangible actions. They have two participants involved in them which are realised by nominal groups. They express the notion that some entity does something, undertake some action – to be applied to some other entity. The first is the actor which is an obligatory element and express the doer of the process (Halliday & matthiessen,2004). The second is the goal which is an optional element, and expresses the person or entity whether animate or inanimate, affected by the process. eg: "The boy hits the ball". In this example the participants are the boy as an "actor" and the ball as the "gaol" whereas the verb hits is the "material process" (Halliday & matthiessen,2004).

Relational processes:

According to Thompson (2004), Relational processes refer to the description of the state of being in the world relatively to the participants of the clause; which are the entity or the one that is described and by which it or he is described at the clause level. Dependently on the function of the adjective, relational processes can be classified into two types; attributive and identifying Attributive relational process expresses what attributive a certain object has. This type of relational process basically suggests the relationship of X carries the attribute Y, where a qualifiying adjective is assigned to participant, the carrier. The relationship between the attribute and the carrier is expressed by the verb *be;* eg: he(carrier) is handsome(attribute). The identifying relational process provides an information about the identity of the participant. This process contains two independent participants: a Token that stands to be defined, and a Value that defines the token by giving its identity: meaning, referent, function, status, or role (Halliday, 1994). eg: he (token) is a doctor (value) (Thompson, 2004).

Mental process:

According to Halliday and Mattheissen (2004), Mental processes express the meanings of feeling or thinking when people talk about what they think or perceive and asking about mental reactions and perception. They are internalized processes that related to the human mind; whether as cognition, affection or perception. (Halliday and Mattheissen,2004) observe that, unlike material process, mental process always involve at least one human participant who has the mind in which the process occurs. The participant involved in the mental process is known as the sensor. The phenomenon is the entity which is felt, thought or perceived by the sensor. Eg the students (sonsor) sustain the ideas (phenomenon).

Verbal processes:

According to Thompson (2004), Verbal processes refer to the act of of saying, speaking and talking. They occur by making the combination of the mental processes in which the ideas are constructed and their manifestation in the form of utterances. It contains two participants; the participant who is speaking and the responsible for the verbal process is called "Sayer", and the addressee to whom the processes directed is called "Target", and what is said as nominalized statement of the verbal process is Verbiage. Eg the church man(the sayer) pronounced (verbal process) them(target) as husband and wife(verbiage) (Thompson, 2004).

Existential processes:

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), Existential processes represent the existence of a given person, something or happening of a given phenomenon; which are evidently begin by the expression "*there is*" or "*there are*" or "*there*" with any verb that denotes: occur, or exist. The object or the event that is being said to exist called "Existent". An Existant can be any kind of phenomenon, such as thing, person, object, institution or abstraction, action or event.eg: there are many races in North Africa (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

Behavioral processes:

In Halliday and Matteissen view , Behavioral processes refer to the results of the reaction between the the psychological behavior of the inner world at the cognitive level and its manifestation in the form of physiological behavior in the outer world. In the other words,

Behavioral processes represent the projection of inner workings in the form of physiological behavior and the acting out of processes of consciousness and psychological states. They are partly material and partly mental.. The participant who is behaving is called "behaver (Halliday& Mattheissen), 2004)".

b- The interpersonal metafunction:

According to Halliday (2000), the interpersonal metafunction is concerned with establishing and maintaining the interaction between the speaker and the hearer. From this perspective, language is responsible for the construction of social interaction. It sees the clause as exchange. This indicates that language is used by the speaker as a means of his own intrusion into speech event, including his comments, attitudes and evaluations, and even the relationship that he sets up between himself and the listener that is to say the role of each participant in the speech event(the role of the addressee and the audience), due to the changes of social activities and its own complexity; either directly or indirectly. Modality and mood are the main principles under which interpersonal metafunction is suggested to be analysed.

b-1 Modality system:

Modality is the system by which the language user accounts for his role in speech event, and the system which focuses on the nature of the interaction; attitudes, opinion, views, and judgements. It is expressed by modal verbs and other parts of predicator. According to Halliday, modality associated with the degrees of probability and usually as modalisation, is expressed by a finite modal operator and mood adjunct. In a proposal, the positive and negative poles mean prescribing "do it" and proscribing "do not do it" (Halliday, 2000). The modality system is concerned here by the degree of obligation and inclination, known as modulation, is expressed by finite modal operator, a mood adjunct, and a predicator expanded

by a passive verb or an adjective. According to Halliday, modality system is made up of four sub-systems: type, orientation, polarity and value.

1/ Type: modalization probability or frequency and modulation obligation or inclination.

2/ Orientation: subjective orientation or objective orientation.

3/ Polarity: positive or negative.

4/ Value.

b-2 Mood system:

The moods system is the element which makes the clause as exchange in the interpersonal metafunction . It is made up of subject and finite (Thompson, 2000, p.41). depending on the exchanging of the information during the interaction, as for the role of the speaker and the audience, the most fundamental types of speech roles are : (1) giving, and (2)-demanding. Giving refers to the speaker who is providing something to the listener or the speaker is inviting the listener to receive. Demanding refers to the speaker who is requiring something from the listener or the speaker is asking the listener to give. In other words, the speaker is not only doing something himself; he is also demanding something from the listener, e.i the exchanging can be grouped into two kinds: (1) goods and services; (2) information (Halliday, 2000). The speech roles and the mood choice can make for speech functions, which are statement, question, offer and command. All the four primary speech functions are related with grammatical structure. Statement can be realized by declarative clause; problem is related to the interrogative clause, and command is associated with the imperative clause.

b-3 Personal pronouns:

According to Halliday (2000, p.191), personal system, including pronouns and possessives, can be employed to realize interpersonal meaning of language. There are three type of personal pronouns; the first personal pronoun includes "I" and" we". The second one includes "you", and the third includes "he" and "they". In politics, the interpersonal meaning exist in the communication between the speaker and the audience when one is going on address; the communicative purpose is to inform, suggest and communicate. The choice of personal pronouns can clearly make the audience know the attitude of the speaker. It can

reflect the social relationship between the speaker and the audience.

c- Textual metafunction:

Textual metafunction is described by Thompson as:

"In using language, we organize our message in ways that indicate how they fit the other messages around them and with the wider context in which we are talking or writing" (2004:30).

Textual metafunction creates a cohesively structured and coherently meaningful texts. In the other words, textual metafunction accounts for the organization of the information within individual clauses and through this, with the organization of the larger text, for the realization of textual cohesion and coherence respectively. Concerning the structural frame in textual metafunction, the clause as message is organized into theme and rheme, cohesion and coherence(Leeuven, 2006).

c-1 The system of Theme and Rheme:

The system of theme organizes the clause to show what its local context is in relation to the general context of the text it serves in. the system is concerned with the current departure point in relation to what has come before. This local context or departure point is called *theme*, and the rest of the clause message is what presented against the background of the local context (where the clause moves after the departure point) called *Rheme*.

c-2 The concepts of cohesion and coherence in textual metafunction:

Cohesion: (explicit) grammatical and lexical links with which link the text together. It is achieved by speaker's relating their utterances to previous ones through the use of cohesive relations or features(references, substitution, ellipsis, and conjunction….etc).

Coherence: (implicit) is the structure and the organization of the text in terms of discourse function.

3-2 Critical Discourse Analysis:

"*CDA is a type of discourse analytical framework that firstly deals with the way power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and by text in the social and political context*" (Van dijk,1985). CDA is a form of language that takes critical stance towards how language is used. It analyzes discourse types with the intension to identify the loaded ideologies and values underlying them. In this regard, CDA investigates the relationship between language and society. It assumes that language plays a crucial role in the affecting society; that is, creating, maintaining and legitimating inequality, injustice and oppression in society (Norgard, et al,2010:69). The most important aims of CDA are to raise awareness of the igeologies that are carried out in linguistic choices and manifested in rhetorical strategies of the speakers and its sharpened impact for change

3-2-1 Language and Critical Discourse Analysis:

Language is historically and situationaly determined. As Norman Fairclough puts it:"*viewing language use as social practice implies, first, that is a mode of action and secondly, that is historically situated mode of actions, in a dialectal relationship with other facets of the society (its social context). It is socially shaped, but also shaping or constitutive".* (1995:131).

The analysis of discourse in political spheres,"political arena", is approached from critical perspective as the text plays a crucial role for the struggle of power (Faireclough, Van Dijk,1985,1993,2001,2005). By paying attention to all levels and dimensions of discourse, CDA allows the analyst to articulate the ideolodies of those with more authority, who control the mind of members of other groups, in order to serve their group's interests (the interest of the most powerful) .

3-2-2 Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Discourse:

The focal point for Critical Discourse Analysis of political discourse is to relate the details of linguistic properties to political aspects. In other words, Critical Discourse Analysis should take into account the analysis of the process at macro level. From this perspective,the formal features or the linguistic choices of the text are affected by social and political dimensions (Bayram,2010). According to Fairclough (1996:287), from political perspective, CDA is a perspective which is concerned with the complex relashionship between language and other aspects of society and culture. In this regard,Van Dijk (1993) proposes examining the rhetorical style and techniques of a text to identify the strategies in order to reveal social power relations and power manipulation. Furthermore, political discourse analysis deals with the emergence of political power , and how such power can be abuse and how language could control people's ideologies and thoughts (mind control) (Bayram,2010). Thus politicians use

language mainly to affect their audiences and to persuade them about their political claims, by their knowledge of informal influence that can be achieved through using presuppositions and implicatures as a tool for making the audience meaning which is not said explicitly in the words of the politicians (Jones & peccei,2004).

3-2-3 Language, ideology and power: a critical approach to political discourse:

A critical approach to analyze written discourse is intended to take the explanation and interpretation of ideological relationship to the more applied spheres of language in political discourse. It is of a great significance for the user of the language to be aware of ideological relationships in sociopolitical context, in which language positioned and functions, and the multiple meaning that are manifested in each. To be more specific, critics try to find out which ideological categories are used in different speeches to manifest the mental representations of ideologies in discourse of politics.

In this regard, Fairclough 1995, brought an analysis model which is based on three aspects description, interpretation and explanation. Description deals with discribing the formal features or linguistic properties of texts (text analysis), interpretation accounts for the relationship between the productive and interpretative processes of discursive practice, and explanation accounts for the relationship between discursive practice and social practice (Fairclough, 1995a). In doing this, Fairclough attempts to elaborate systematic method for investigating the relationship between text and its social context. The dimensions on which the method is based are shown in Figure

Figure 1. Dimensions of discourse and critical discourse analysis (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000, p.152) (based on Fairclough's 1992a, p.73)

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                              │
│  ┌───────────────────────────────┐    Description (text analysis)
│  │                               │
│  │  Process of production        │    Interpretation (processing analysis)
│  │                               │
│  │      ┌──────────────┐         │
│  │      │    text      │         │
│  │      └──────────────┘         │
│  │                               │
│  │  (Process of interpretation)  │
│  │                               │    Explanation (social analysis)
│  │  Discourse practice           │
│  └───────────────────────────────┘
│                                              │
│  Sosiocultural practice                      │
│                                              │
│  (situational, institutional, and societal)  │
│                                              │
│                                              │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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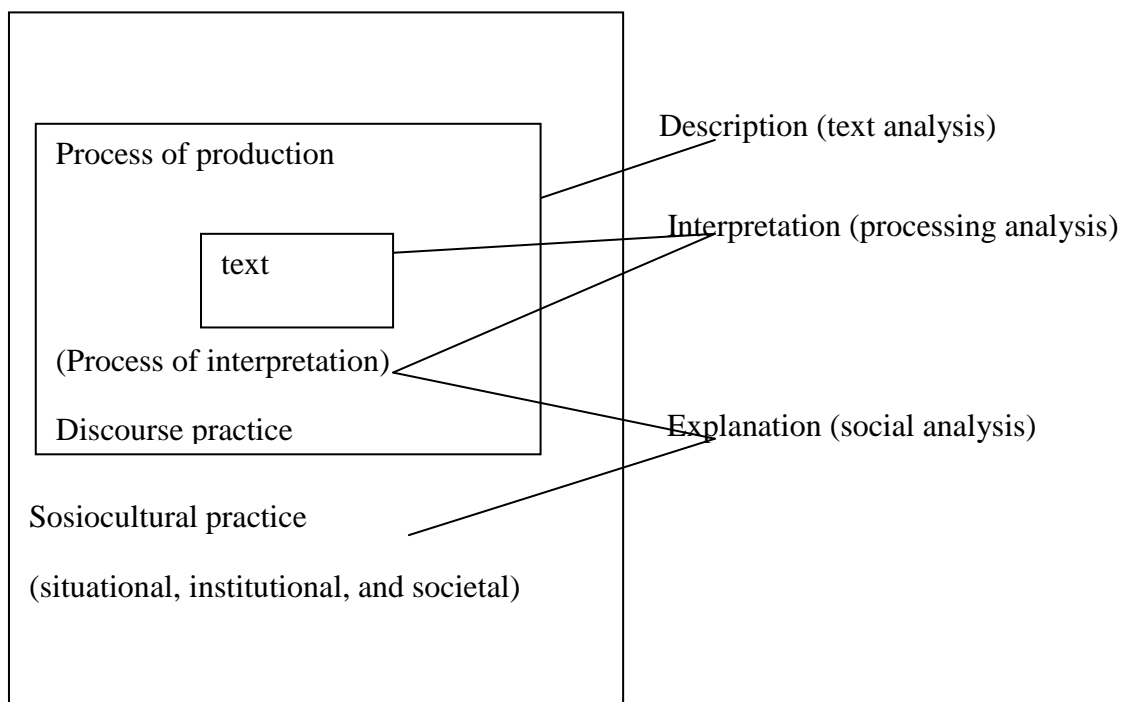
Conclusion:

In this chapter, we have discussed three main elements related to this research topic; an overview of previous critical studies of the USA president Barack Obama political studies; then the different theoretical frameworks, under which political studies are submitted to be analyzed, and their role in deciphering the hidden ideologies in political context, and finally, we have dealt with the main aspects that contributed and account for linguistic realization.

Chapter two:

Research Design

And

Methodology

Research design and Methodology

Introduction

This methodological chapter deals with the research design of the study about the analysis of Obama's speech on the death Bin Laden. It is based on Critical Discourse Analysis methodological framework which consists of both quantitative and qualitative research methods under the theoritical frameworks;Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis respectively. It describes and provides an explanation for the research methodology which incldes both procedures of data collection and data analysis, research design, , the corpus, and instruments of the analysis; this, in order to provide an answer to the research questions and to reach the aim of the study.

1-Procedures of data collection:

1-1 The corpus: **the sample speech**

Our work is corpus based which consists of a set of texts from political speech said publically by the USA president, Barack Obama. Then these texts are going to be analyzed in a systemic way in the light of Halliday SFL from critical perspective of Norma Faireclough.

The sample will include materials from Obama's speech about Bin Laden death, delivered in May 1st, 2011, at white house in Washington. On that day, president Barak obama made a televised address from the white house, announcing Bin Laden death to the world in general and to the Americans in particular.

This speech is a political one. It consists of about seven texts.

1-2 Introducing Barack Obama

Barack Obama is the first African-American president of the United States of America; he was born on august 4ᵗʰ, 1961, in Hawai. Obama attended Columbia University in New York and earned a law degree at Harvard University in Massachusetts. In August 2008, Barack Obama defeated Hillary Rodham Clinton, the former first lady, and became the

presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. And during the following months in 2008, he defeated McCain, the Republican Party's presidential candidate, and won the all three television debates held in Oxford (Mississippi), Nashville (Tennessee) and Hempstead (New York). And finally he relying on 333 electoral votes won the final success and became the 44th American president and the first African-American president in American history. Obama's youthful presence was exciting to the American people. He represented a new age of American politics. There were high expectations as he was supposed to bring a new charismatic and substantive voice to the nation.

1-3 Why Barack Obama?

"Talk force" has been carefully studying Obama's speaking techniques over the past year. This is why we have decided to use his speech as a powerful example in our study. Obama is a gifted orator; he does not speak just to persuade people, he speaks from his heart. Indeed, the first thing that impresses in an Obama speech is his steady and measured delivery that exudes confidence and a sense of purpose. His voice is strong and clear. He uses the power of the pause to draw in the audience and to give them time to absorb important points. He speaks in short, strong sentences in simple, everyday words.

2- Procedures of data analysis techniques:

2-1 Research design: Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodological framework:

   In order to undertake this analysis, we will use as the research method critical discourse analysis. According to Van Dijk (2015), Critical Discourse Analysis represents a "*multidisciplinary and account of intricate relationship between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture*". This instrument allows us to analyze a speech from both qualitative and quantitative perspective. While undertaking the analysis, we will take into consideration the aspects that concern the ideological part of the discourse, the main themes that are presented, the aspects of political discourse; the most frequently used words and connotations….etc.

2-2 Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods:

   Investigating a given research question about a given research topic, related to social sciences, needs to have data to be analysed. Quantitative and Qualitative methods are tools for the interpretation of the findings; that is breaking down the raw data into specific categories. Research topic in the quality of data collection and data analysis. In the case of the present study, we opted, as we mentioned it earlier for mixed method research in analyzing the speech of Obama by classifying the linguistic features quantitatively and interpreting them in relation to the social processes qualitatively.

2-3 Quantitative and qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis:

   In this study which is based on discourse analysis technique, the data from the speech texts, which are related to the important points and inclusive language, are analyzed relying on the speaking techniques. Under the light of Systemic Functional Lingistics,Those

techniques are analyzed by using quantitative critical discourse analysis shown via tables, including different processes, and via statistics about the words' choice and process types, including numbers, percentages,using the rule of three, statistics…etc. In order to present the linguistic feature of Obama's speech. However, under the light of Critical Discourse Analysis theory, the answers related to the open ended questions are interpreted and grasped inclusively using Critical Discourse Analysis method, by making connection between these linguistic features that are presented quantitatively, and the broader social dimensions to sort out Obama's ideology.

2-4 Data analysis techniques:

Data analysis techniques refer to the steps by which a corpus to be examined; in our study, relying in research objectives and the method of the study, the following steps are used to analyze data in this research:

1/ Reading the whole text carefully for several time in order to understand the content of the speech

2/-Identifying the important speech elements to be analyzed; the elements over which Obama focused in addressing his message, by the interpretation and the description of the relationship between the texts and discursive process(productive and interpretive processes) in order to reveal Obama's attitudes.

3)-Finally, classifying these elements in the light of Systemic Functional Linguistics from critical perspective. In this stage we provide an explanation about the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes, by relying on linguistic features to social dimensions, basing on the theoretical frameworks.

Conclusion

This chapter provided the general design on which the research is based. It starts by highlighting the type of the research, which is discourse analysis research, conducted with quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method research, then it provides with the general information about the sample speech. In addition, it shed light on the research techniques for data analysis.

Chapter three:

Presentation of

the Findings

Presentation of the Findings chapter

Introduction:

This chapter provides the results of our study. It presents the findings of linguistic features of Barak Obama speech on Bin Laden death. In this section, we try to show how discourse is employed by Obama to convince his audience by his ideology. Therefore the quantitative data are presented in tables, numbers and percentages by using the rule of three. The qualitative data are presented by using qualitative content analysis for the interpretation of the linguistic characteristics of the speech to be studied. It accounts for the description of the data. Then, the results obtained in relation to SFL analysis, including transitivity, modality, coherence, theme and rheme. Finally, it treatises the results obtained from CDA in relation to language, power and ideology.

1-The description of the results of Obama's speech in the light of Halliday's SFL:

The speech consists of about 1387 words, 141 clauses, 67sentences, and 19 paragraphs. The language is easy and colloquial. The audience of the speech is usually various, including the rich, the poor, the black, the white and so on. In order to shorten the distance between the president and the audience, we can find Obama used a lot of spoken English. The data are collected based on the problem which is limited in the objectives of the research. Then, to make the analysis of the speech clear, the data are classified in tables. Later, the data will be classified based on Halliday's SFL and critical discourse theories in relation to Transitivity, modality and mood systems, as well as cohesion and coherence.

Table 1: Statistics of sample speech:

Statistical item	Statistics of the sample
Words	1387
Clauses	141
Sentences	67
Paragraphs	19

Obama employed words which serve his thesis of the speech, that is to inform his audience about the event. He tries to make use of rhetoric by highlighting his vocabulary. Indeed, he used strong expressions to describe the hardest event in American history (worst images, vicious attack, cloudless September sky…etc).

1-1 The presentation of the results of Transitivity system:

The transitivity analysis of processes followed the following three steps: (1) the text was parsed into its constituents clauses, (2) processes were then isolated, and we determined which participant is doing each process; finally (3) we determined what sorts of processes they are, and which participant is engaged in which type of process. The table below illustrates the process types and their frequencies.

Table 2: Frequency of Occurrences of the Process Types Used in the speech

Process type	Frequency	percentages
Material process	122	69,32 %
Relational process	26	14,77 %
Mental process	15	8,52 %
Verbal process	9	5,11 %
Behavioral process	2	1,11 %
Existential process	01	0,57 %
Total	176	100 %

As can be seen from the table, the total number of processes used in the speech of Obama on Bin laden death is 176. The process types that appear to be used the most predominantly are material processes with a frequency of 68 representing 69,32% of the data analyzed. The second most frequently used in the address are relational processes with a frequency of 26 representing 14,77% of the data analyzed. The third most frequent used process type is the mental group with a total frequency of 15 representing a percentage of 8,52 % of the total data analyzed. The mental process type is followed by the verbal process with a frequency of 15 representing 8,52% of the corpus analyzed. The behavioral processes are with a frequency of 2 representing 1,11 %. The existential process type follows with an insignificant frequency of 01 representing 0.57%. The three major processes form about 93% of the corpus analyzed,

affirming what Halliday and Matthiessen say that, "Material, mental and relational are the main types of process in the English transitivity system" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.171); whereas, the verbal, existential and behavioral types represent the minor process types in the transitivity system.

Material process:

Material process is a process of "doing". The process is usually indicated by a verb expressing an action, either concrete or abstract. There are usually two participants in the process: Actor and Goal. Actor is comparable to the Subject and Goal is comparable to the Object and both of them are usually realized by noun phrases. When the participants both exist, the clause can be either in active voice or in passive voice.

Table 3: Transitivity analysis of sample speech (material process).

Actor	process	Goal
I	, directed, met, determined, have made, have to sign,	Leon Panetta, national security, actions, a letter.
We Americans each of us	Conducted, killed, saved, developed, offer, protect, bring, committed, removed, worked, carried out , continue, started, achieve, serve, stand up	Operation, Bin Laden, heartbreak and destruction, our nation, those, information, this vicious attack, the operation, attacking,

From the above table (Table 3), we can see the Actors of the sample speech are I and we /Americans/each of us/all. Material process, as a process of doing, is a good choice in the speech to inform what the government has realized as a revenge of the twin towers collapsing to the ground in September 2001day, what they are doing and what they will do in order to

fight al Qaeda, terrorist organization, and to protect all who believe in peace and human dignity and, in home or abroad. And it can also arouse the American people's confidence toward the president and CIA and to get their support in policies or measures in the following years. For example:

"Today, at my direction, the united states (actor) launched (material process) a targeted operation (the goal) against that compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan. A small team of Americans (the actor) carried out (material process) the operation (the goal) with extraordinary courage and capability. No Americans (the actor) were harmed (material process). They took care to avoid civilian casualities. After a firefight, they (the actor) killed (material process) Osama Bin Laden (the goal) and took (material process) custody (the goal) of his body."

Relational process:

Relational process is a process of being. It can be divided into two modes: attributive relation and identifying relation. The first means what properties an object possesses or what category it can be put into. And the other means that an entity and another is uniform. It is used widely in describing people and objects. Look at the following table:

Table 4: The classification of relational process in relation to its function in the clause.

Attributive	identifying
We will be relentless	A terrorist who is responsible
We will be true to the values	Who we are

Relational process, as a process of being, is appropriate to explain the complex relationships between some abstract items because it sounds definite. As a result, the process accounts for a large proportion in this speech to elaborate the relationship between traditional ideals and their beliefs. In the address, we identify 28 relational processes. The underlined expressions

indicate the relational process of the clause, whereas the words between brackets refer to the functional names assigned to the components. The various participant roles are illustrated in the following clauses as used in the speech:

"…a terrorist who (carrier) _is_ responsible (attributive) for the murder of thousands of innocent men, women and children.

"…we (token) _will be_ relentless (value) in defense of our citizens and our friends and allies. We (token) _will be_ true (value) to the values that make us who (attributive) we (carrier) _are_. And on night like this one, we can say to those families who have lost loved ones to al-Qaeda terror: just has been done."

3- Mental process:

Mental process is a process of feeling, thinking and seeing. Actor is not the real subject of doing, but the feeling. It represents inner experience, such as "perception", "reaction" and "cognition". We call the two participants are Senser and phenomenon. For example:

"The images (the phenomenon) of 9/11 are seared (mental process) into our (the Senser) memory…"

"And yet we (Senser) knew (mental process) that the worst images are those (the phenomenon)…"

"But tonight, they (the Senser) feel (mental process) the satisfaction (phenomenon) of their work…"

"So Americans (the Senser) understand the costs of war (phenomenon)…"

"Let us (the Senser) remember (mental process) that we can do these things (the phenomenon)…"

1-2 Results of Modality analysis of Obama's speech:

Modality refers to a speaker's attitudes towards or opinion about the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence. It also extends to their attitude towards the situation or event described by a sentence.

Table 5: Modality analysis of sample speech (modal verbs).

Modal verbs in the speech	Total number	Low politeness	Median politeness	High politeness
	Number/ percentage %	Number/ percentage %	Number/ percentage %	Number/ percentage%
Positive	23	05 / 21,74%	06 /26,1%	03 /13,04%
negative	100%	04 /17,4%	05 /21,74%	/

By statistics, 23modal operators are employed in Barack Obama speech, the most frequent appeared ones are modal operator of positive median politeness turns up 06 times, accounting for 26.1%, modal operator of positive low politeness, mostly "can", is used 05 times, taking up 21.74%, the same thing with negative median politeness. Then negative low politeness of the operator appears 04 times, covering 17,4%. The last number is within the operators of positive high politeness with just 03 and a percentage of 13,04%. However, the negative high modal operators are not used in the speech.

The high percentage of the use of modal verbs is appropriate to the speaking since the addresses are delivered in spoken form. Compared with other verbs, modal verbs are more easily identified and understood and then accepted because at the time of listening to the speeches, there is no time for the audience to reflect.

For example:

*"To night, I **can** report to the American people and to the world…"*

*"There is no doubt that al-Qaeda **will** continue to pursue attacks against us. We **must -**and we*

will- remain vigilant at home and abroad."

*"We **will** be relentless in defense of our citizens and our friends and allies.   We **will** be true*

to the values that make us who we are.

1-3 Tense in the speech of Obama:

Tense is the time of a clause. Halliday (1994) points out that primary tense means past, present or future at the moment of speaking; it is the time relative to "now.

Table 6: The classification of the verbs of the speech in relation to their tense.

Past tense	Present perfect tense	Present simple tense	Future tense
Killed, was, were forced, came offered, reaffirmed, prayed, were united, committed, learned, carried out, went, removed, avoided, escaped, directed, took, …etc.	Has conducted, have made, have disrupted, have strengthen, has been, have made, has continued, has slaughtered, have done, has spoken,…etc.	Are seared, know, are, does not, remain, reaffirm, believe, lead, agree, continue, weigh, look, understand, make, give, feel, exemplify, serve, takes, let, do, remember, …etc.	will continue, will remain, will never be, will never tolerate, will be, …etc.

Table 7: the frequency of tense of the sample speech.

Tense of the verbs	total	past	Present perfect	Present simple	future
Number.	129	58	21	43	07
percentages	100%	44,96%	16,28%	33,33%	05,43%

On the basis of the statistics of tenses, we can see that the tense of past is most frequently used in the speech; the average percentage being 44,96%. Present simple ranks second with an average percentage of 33,33% and is followed by present perfect with an average percentage of 16,28%. The use of simple future is slightly less than present perfect and ranks the fourth with an average of 05,43%. The tense facilitates the creation of a close relationship between the president and his audience and the easy identification and acceptation of the validity of the assertions contained in the speaking.

he used present simple to revival story of twin towers collapsing to the ground. He also used present perfect aspect to make people feel the event as if it were happening now. And he mostly used the past, when he spoke about the eradication of terrorism and about the carried steps toward the capturing of the terrorist Bin Laden.

1-4 Pronouns in the speech of Obama:

Personal and possessive pronouns also have the interpersonal function in discourse. They establish a certain relationship between the addresser and the audience in a speech. The choice of the first personal pronouns *I* and *we* and, and possessive pronouns *my* or *our* the second personal pronoun *you* may provide different meanings in the interpretation of the text.

The table bellow accounts for the destribution of pronouns in the speec

Table 8: The frequency use of pronouns.

	The pronouns	The numbers	The percentages
First person	I (me)	12	9,30 %
	We (us)	46	35,65 %
Second person	You (you)	2	1,55 %
Third person	He (him)	5	3,87 %
	She (her)	0	0%
	It (it)	3	2.32 %
	They(them)	3	2.32%
Possessive pronouns	My (mine)	3	2,32 %
	Our (ours)	45	34,88 %
	Your(yours)	1	0,77%
	His (his)	2	1,55%
	Her (hers)	0	0%
	Its (its)	1	0,77 %
	Their(theirs)	6	4,65%
Total		129	100%

Data analysis has revealed a total of 129 pronouns used in the speech. First person singular pronoun *I* is used 12 times, accounting for 9, 30%, relying to the actions that are realized by the president Obama. Pronoun *we* which marks first person inclusiveness is

discovered to be by far in majority used 46 times 35,65%,and its possessive pronoun *our* with the number of 45and which presents 34,88%. Second pronoun *you* was sparsely used, only twice with a marginal percentage of 1, 55% throughout the speech.

The other pronouns, being personal or possessive, are used with low degree since the topic of the speech accounts for an event that is relied to the story of American history and which is addressed by the United States president

1-5 Results of textual analysis of Obama's speech:

The textual function refers to the fact that language has mechanism to make any stretch of spoken or written discourse into a coherent and unified text and make a living passage different from a random list of sentences. Although two sentences may have exactly the same ideational and interpersonal functions, they may be different in terms of textual coherence. (Hu Zhuanglin, 1988: 315).

1-5-1 Theme and Rheme in the speech of Obama:

In this study we are dealing with the theme, as the focus of the idea, and the rheme as the new information to be brought, as well as the coherence between the ideas that form the whole text.

Theme and rheme from the sample speech:

"...the worst images are those (Theme) that were unseen to the world

  (Rheme)."

"Children who (Theme) were forced to grow up without their parents

  (Rheme)".

 "Parents who (Theme) would never know the feelings of their child's embrace

  (Rheme)."

"We (Theme) offered our neighbors a hand (Rheme), and we (Theme) offered the wounded

  our blood (Rheme)."

"We (Theme) reaffirmed our ties to each other and our love of community (Rheme)…"

"And we (Theme) went to war against Al-Qaeda to protect our citizens,   (Rheme)..."

"In Afghanistan (Theme), we removed the Taliban government (Rheme), which…"

"And around the globe (Theme), we worked with our friends and allies (Rheme)…"

"The American people (Theme) did not choose this fight (Rheme)."

"These efforts (Theme) weigh on me every time (Rheme)…"

"Yet as a country (Theme), we will never tolerate our security (Rheme)…"

"The cause of securing our country (Theme) is not complete (Rheme)."

"Let us remember (Theme) that we can do these things not just because of wealth (Rheme)…"

From the results obtained in relation to the theme and rheme, the main theme is centered over the topic of word "we" because Obama focused on the works of the American military and the reaction of the American people in general.

1-5-2 Coherence in the speech of Obama:

From the sample speech, in relation to coherence aspect, Obama organized his ideas as follows:

1-salutation (good evening).

2-an overview about the event to be discussed (the death of Bin Laben)

3- Describing the event of September 11, 2001.

4- Providing an explanation about how American military try to do the operation and its struggles to capture Bin laden.

5- Displaying and explaining the successful and admirable event and thanking the men behind the killing of Bin Laden.

6- Closing: resort to God for help and blessing

2-The discription of the results of the Obama's speech in the light of Fairclough's CDA:

According to Faireclough (2001), discourse is analyzed in three dimensions: text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice. These dimensions will be made through three stages respectively description, interpretation and explanation, especially, is to make the connection between syntactic devices and the context in which the speech is made, relying to the aspects of social dimensions that make it as it is. That is systematically linking structures of discourse with the hidden ideologies. Based on the critical discourse analysis, this study tries to show how discourse is employed by Obama to inform his audience about the event in relation to his ideology. Vocabulary, transitivity and modality are discussed in the following lines to make the connection between language, power and ideology.

Obama employed strong words which serve his thesis of the speech, that is, to inform his audience of the event of killing Bin Laden.Therefore, he attempts to use his ability of using rhetoric and speech to convince his audience

The main objective of Obama is to provide information. In fact he wants to depict the reality with its own live features since the things are concrete. Obama shows the power and ability to take influential actions by making the main actor as the Americans and the goal as Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda (transitivity system). An example which indicates the use of transitivity to show power is: "*the united states launched a targeted operation against that compound Abbottabad, Pakistan*". Sometimes, Obama used transitive verbs to show the danger of enemies and their direct impact. For example, he said: "*there is no doubt that Al-Qaeda will continue to pursue attack against us.*" Modality is widely used in Obama's speech to provide degrees and scales about the validity of the propositions. Indeed, Obama used "must" three times to express certainty and determinedness. "Will" is also widely used to express ability to take free decision, and that every action is taken by Americans is voluntarily, by power and by self confidence, and not by obligations from others. The choice of pronouns is also

assumed to be ideologically driven. Obama often uses pronouns to reflect his membership in both dominant in-group and minority out-group, highlighting both similarities and differences. In fact, the use of "I" and "Me" refers to the personal contribution of Obama; these pronouns makes him the subject as an individual and the leader of the complain by separating him from his team and the audience. He is the only person who lead, gives orders and directs the team and the audience (showing his power by making himself the representative of the whole Americans). The use of "we" and "our" is to show commonality. Obama used rhetoric to highlight the American role and inclusiveness in making decision and taking actions. In many statements, and using the pronoun "we", he highlights and once again underscores the American role as a country that seeks peace .as well as to shorten the distance between the speaker and the audience, regardless of their disparity in age, social status and professions...etc. Furthermore, they share the same feelings when they are reminded of the victims of September 11th events and what the Americans have been suffered. And the death of Bin laden was the aim of the Central Intelligence Agency and the dream of the Americans in the whole since September 11th, 2001.

Conclusion:

This chapter has provided the results of the analysis of texts of Obama speech about Bin Laden death. The results obtained have been presented through different forms in terms of quantitative and qualitative results. Therefore, the results highlight some linguistic features included in the speech. Thereby, a detailed information and interpretation of the findings are provided in the discussion chapter.

Chapter four:

Discussion

of the Findings

Discussion of the findings chapter

Introduction:

This chapter aims to discuss the main results obtained from the analysis of data. Its aim is to provide an answer to the research questions addressed previously in the general introduction on the extent to which Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis impact on deciphering the hidden ideologies of political genre. Therefore, the discussion is made up relying on the data obtained from the sample speech of the previous chapter and interpreting them using the concepts tackled literature review chapter.

Discussion of the results of Obama's speech in the light of critical theories:

1-Discussion of the results of Obama's speech according to SFL approach:

The results obtained in the previous chapter show that SFL is implemented and used as part of decoding the meaning of the formal features of language by making connection with aspects of the context in which they are constructed relying on the metafunctions brought by M.A.K Halliday.

1-1 Discussion of Transitivity results:

According to Halliday (1994), language mainly serves three primary functions which are termed as metafunctions. The ideational metafunction considers the clause as a representation of reality. This means that the speaker or writer embodies in language his experience of the phenomena relating to the real world. This includes his experience of the internal world of his own consciousness, his reactions, cognitions and perceptions and also his linguistic acts of speaking and understanding.

In the speech under study, transitivity aspect can be explained in terms of the conceptualization of the world. Therefore Obama mainly presents the world of doing

evidently in the presence of material processes (69.32%), for which "we" or "the American people" comprise 35.65% of the actors. By describing the actions, Obama distinguishes the participants into "we" which refers to the governments, the Americans and those who fought in battlefield, the speaker and the citizens, friends and allies, and "they" to present the organization and the Americans affecting by the events of Twin Towers collapsing to the grounds .throughout the texts, Obama tries to establish a concept that the american nation as the heror and a source of innecence in the speech events and Bin Laden as the respensible murderer of the victims of September,11, 2001. The interpretation of these ideas makes the audiences conceptualize the reality in world in terms of counterparts of things including the concepts of good and evil. Farther more; the linguistic choices made by Obama systematically construes that the killing of Bin Laden as realization of justice, and that the Americans have the right to react for justice in their own manner for any threat against their capitalist model and the countries that support them.

1-2 Discussion of Interpersonal meaning:

Concerning the interpersonal metafunction, the language serves as the interpersonal exchange. According to Halliday (1971), when using language, the speaker intrudes into the speech event to express his comments, attitudes and evaluations, and also of the relationship that he sets up between himself and the listener; in particular, the communication role that he adopts of informing, questioning, greeting, and persuading. Modality and Mood are often used to express the interpersonal function. According to Hu Zhuanglin (1988), Modality refers to the intermediate ranges between the extreme positive and the extreme negative. Mood accounts for role the speaker in the speech situation and what role he assigns to the addressee (Hu Zhuanglin,1988). In the speech of Barack Obama, the interpersonal

metafunction investigated in the role that Obama adressed to each participant. Therefore, modality is investigated through modalizing operators which influence his audience. Indeed, 26.1% of the clauses involve some kind of modalization where the operator "will" is the most used to express high probability. The examples; "there is no doubt that Al-Qaeda *will* continue to pursue attacks against us» and "we *must* and we *will* remain vigilant at home and abroad" imply Obama's determination and commitment to defend his nation and the world against terrorism; particularly, friends, allies and those who believe in peace and human dignity.Here Obama design his role, the role of the government and the role of the Americans in order to defend their nation. This implication indicates that Obama is certain and sure about the actions to be carried in the future, which makes the propositions very persuasive to the audience. There is also where modality is used to express ability with the operator "can", which is presented in 21.74% of the clauses of the speech. In the example "America *can* do whatever we set our mind to" Obama implies that the Americans are able to do anything for anyone who puts his hand on America, even sending him to the cemetery. They believe in the slogan which is brought by Malcolm X: "*be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery*". Obama threatens that the Americans are not just capable to kill Bin Laden but they can do anything against terrorism in order to make the world a safer place. The use of modality from ability perspective in the speech allows us to recognize that the strategies made by Obama create an image that Americans are powerful and threatening in the minds of the listeners.

Concerning the mood system, according to Fairclough (1992), in public discourse, mood choices are for the sake to create a kind of conversationalization of political discourse. In the speech to be studied, Obama's role is more than to conversationalize his speech; but it is formed and constructed interpersonally with his rhetoric style and as an authority with great power.

personal pronouns:

Fairclough (1989) asserts that pronouns contain certain values which are encoded within the language and which reflect the relationship between the speaker and listeners. In the speech of Obama, based on the results obtained, Obama uses the first personal pronoun "I" and "me" with the percentage of 9.30% and the possessive pronouns "my" with low frequency presenting just 2.32% to illustrate his ideas and his commitment to them(the ideas). In combination with the verb "can" he represents ability to adopt his ideas into actions. Furthermore personal beliefs and opinions show the individual responsibility of Obama. Obama also uses the personal pronoun "we" and "us" frequently, presenting 35.65% and the possessive one "our" with the percentages of 34.88%. The purpose of using the personal pronoun 'we' is to shorten the distance between the speaker and the audience and to show commonality of the Americans, regardless of their difference in age or social status or professions…etc; because he is speaking about a subject which is related to the American history; the events of September 11th,2001, the building collapsed and the thousands of lives have been taken away, and which touches the American dignity. Due to the fact that the speaker includes the audience in this speech the listeners feel close to the speaker and his arguments. By doing so, Obama can persuade his listeners more intensely of his intentions. This is a very strong part of the speech act in association with societal security.

1-3 Discussion of textual analysis results:

As it has been mentioned in the literature review, textual metafunction concerned with the organization of the information within individual clauses and through this, with the organization of the larger text, for the realization of textual cohesion and coherence respectively (Thompson, 2004). Based on the findings obtained in the previous chapter about the sequences by which Obama organized his speech, textual analysis refers to how Obama's speech hang together and how individual linguistic units; words, phrases, sentences and ideas, relate with one another to make the whole bundle. Coherence principle investigates how the sub-topics form the larger topic of the speech. In his speech, Obama first introduces the topic; then, he refers to the history in order to revive the events of 9/11. After that he provides an outline about the heroic operation that the government pursuits to fight terrorism. At the end he describes the triumph that the US government has achieved with thanking and appreciating all the ones who contribute to this operation. The coming back to describing the events of 9/11 is to inform and persuade his audience about the killing of Bin Laden death from positive perspective and as a revenge to the Twin Towers collapsing to the ground, and to attain justice of the victims of 9/11; and the description of the heroic operation indicates the nationalism and patriotism of the Americans. This hierarchy shows a high degree of topic coherence and signaling as he moves from one idea to another. The topic is therefore interpreted as a complex entity having a number of topic related elements contributing to it.

2- Discussion of CDA results of Obama's speech:

As it has been mentioned in the first chapter, literature review chapter, Critical Discourse Analysis deals with the relationship between language use, social and cultural structures. Fairclough's analysis is based on three components—description, interpretation and explanation. It makes the connection between linguistic items as the process of

production to the process of interpretation. Then to the broader societal dimensions. Description refers to the analysis of the linguistic properties of texts (text analysis), the interpretation refers to the relationship between the productive and interpretative processes of discursive practice (pragmatic meaning), and the explanation makes the relationship between discursive practice and social practice (Fairclough, 1995). In doing this, Fairclough attempts to establish a systematic method for exploring the relationship between text and its social context. That is, to rely between language, power and ideology.

Based on the critical discourse analysis, this study tries to show how discourse is employed by Obama to inform his audience about the event in relation to his ideology through fairclough analysis; that is, description, interpretation and explanation. Rhetorical aspects are discussed in the following lines to make the connection between language, power and ideology. In other words, our analysis and interpretation of the ideological aspect of Obama's speech on Bin Laden death attempts to link the discourse with the social processes and to decipher covert ideology of this text. On May 1st, 2011, President Barack Obama used these words to reveal to the world that a United States military operation had located and killed the terrorist Osama Bin Laden. He delivered a short, nine-minute speech. Although the speech was short, it will probably be regarded as one of the best speeches of President Obama's career. In his speech, the president used powerful rhetorical tools to effectively

deliver different, and powerful message to multiple audiences. An analysis of the president's use of rhetoric can provide insight into its message and into its effectiveness that focused mainly on its political implications. In this analysis,from the speech, we state that the president was perceived as modest and weak due to the fact that he thanked others and credited others with most of the success of the operation. Although this is true, President Obama also made it clear that, in fact, he was the one who directed Leon Panetta, the director

of the Central Intelligence Agency at the time, to make the capture or killing of Osama Bin Laden the "number one priority" of the United States counter-terrorism initiative.

2-1 The notion of power in the speech of Barack Obama:

The notion of power is associated with the notion of control groups that have an authority over the sub-groups. According to Van Dijk (2001), social power is defined in terms of mind control of the powerful groups that have to manipulate and direct the acts and the minds of other groups. This power manifested in the privileged access to social resources; such as: force, money, status, fame, knowledge, culture… etc; and indeed, various forms of public discourse and communication. Their power derives from control over public discourse (Lukes 1986,Wrong 1979). In the speech, obama as the president of the United States of America, a representative of an institution (US government), as well as one of the international leaders has strong power and authority in terms of mind control, which carried out by linguistic choices. This can be manifested in his speech as a public discourse with high formality, using rhetorical devices, as well as his controlling of the role that each participant plays. Indeed, throughout the speech, Obama's role as the president of the USA, establishes a principle about the serious stance of the subject that makes the persuasive ideas to construct the truth in the mind of his audience about the killing of Osama Bin Laden as an act of justice.

2-2 Mind control of Obama through his language and power:

Based in the data obtained in the previous chapter, our analysis and interpretation of the ideological aspect of Obama speech on Bin Laden death attempts to link the text of discourse with the social processes and to reveal the covert ideology of the text. In his speech Obama used rhetorical devices that measure the effectiveness of his words. The first rhetorical tool that we discuss is the most important of all of the forms of rhetoric used in President Obama's speech is the fundamental values of the speech,. The history of the events of the

speech which is related to the attacks to the heart of Manhattan, symbol of Capitalism as one of the identificatory elements of the Americans and economic world power, labelled Bin Laden as a terrorist from the United States of America and western civilization and provided Americans justification to start war with Iraq under the presidency of George Bush. And on 2001, the killing of Bin Laden to fight against terrorism is revenge to what Bin laden and Al-Qaeda have done. But this commitment does not put emphasis on the fact of killing, but to the broader socio-political dimensions; as an act of what the country needs at national level; that is, the recognition of American patriotism and nationalism and sacrifices in serving their country, and as a revenge for justice for victims of 9/11. This ideology is manifested in his rhetorical devices. One of the forms of rhetoric that are presented in his speech is logic. Obama's logic is the system under which his ideas are established that it is all directed towards clarifying the details of the War on Terror. And the objective stance of his critics of each aspect of the events of the speech. Indeed, the president gives an outline about the sequences of operations on terror since the events of September, 11, 2001. After that, Obama describes how Osama Bin Laden escaped the United States despite its successes in the War on Terror. Then he explains that the War on Terror is not the "War on Islam" and that Osama Bin Laden was a mass murderer of Muslims. This sentence makes the audience to constuct the idea that the stance of Obama is neutral and that the nature of his critical treatment of political issues is not built upon the identificatory elements of the Americans but upon the principles of humanity. And finally, he expresses the pleasantness of Pakistan about the death of Bin Laden, and its support for doing so, and to remain a US ally. This explanation is to illustrate for the audience that the killing of Bin Laden does not satisfy only the westerns but also the community to which Bin Laden belongs. This logical explanation of the War on Terror has three aspects: to convince the American people that the United States achieves its goal, to gain foreign sympathy, support, and understanding, and to create a sense of peace and unity

among the countries which believe in human dignity and human rights in general, and between the mostly Christian American community and the Muslim community to which Bin Laden pretends to belong in particular. The reason that this logical progression was the best oriented for those subjective and relative subjects is because Obama was trying to make points in subjects that are full of emotions. The best way to sustain an ideology and make convincing arguments to a multi-ideological audience is to use a non-emotional, logical argument style that everyone can follow without becoming subjectively oriented.

However, Obama's speech as a whole is meant to make the audience emotional. Because when people speak, they adress either the mind or/and the heart of their audience. In fact, Obama opens his speech with the death of terrorist who was one of the terrorist that CIA pursuits over years. He follows that statement with a hardest story in the history of the USA, the story of the destruction of September 11th, 2001. President Obama does this to make the American people unified and become "one American family" once again. He also evokes emotions of pride and chivalry when he states that no Americans were harmed in the operation. He creates the feeling of hope as he calls the death of Osama Bin Laden the "most significant achievement to date" for the War on Terror. Here Obama does not adress the mind of his audience, and does not speak in objective manner, but rather subjectively describes the events to make the audience feel sometimes bad and sometimes happy, but this contradiction of the feeling is to strenghten persuasive strategies and to support his ideas. Indeed, the president uses powerful words and phrases in this speech, each inspiring an amount of emotions. He says that "bright September day" was "darkened by the worst attack on the American people in our history," and that the "images of 9/11 are seared into our national memory." Later in his speech his assures the American people that they "know well the costs of war." He builds up all of these emotions when he delivers the most significant line of his speech: "Justice has been done." At that moment, all Americans, whether they liked Obama or

hated him, were all united in their emotions and their sense of community. President Obama calls Americans to reflect on that sense of unity and closes his speech with the promise of fidelity, reaffirming that sense of unity by using a slogan that every American knows, stating that they are "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

The last rhetorical component that we examine is the audience to whom Obama adresses his speech.The speech was directed at two groups in the form of a direct audience and an indirect audience. The former is the American people, whose mostly Obama adreesed their heart ; since they belong to the community that Osama Bin Laden harmed by the events of september 11th, 2001. His intended message for this group in simplest terms: "I killed Osama Bin Laden for you.." Meanwhile, his indirect audience is all of the rest world, especially those that are not friendly to the United States.Here Obama adresses the mind of his audience , in which he established a persuasive strategy of the killing of Bin Laden by making a logical system of his ideas. His goal in regard to this group was to prove to them that the US is still an international leader and the powerful military adversary to be afread of and respected. His message to this group is along the lines of: "Do not test American resolve. We are strong; we are relentless; we are not tolerated. President Obama's "Justice Has Been Done" speech affects the conscience and touch the sensibility of the Americans.

Answers to the research questions:

From what have already mentioned above, relaying to the research questions and the aim of this study, we can deduce that Obama is the effective and gifted orator that the United States presidency has ever known, because not of his reputation as the president of the greatest country of the world, but because of his rhetoric that can touch his audience. Indeed, Obama is the one who exhibits masterful of logic, with using fundamental values to affect the conscience and the emotions of the audience. In other words, He speaks in short, strong

sentences in simple, everyday words. This study has demonstrated how Obama, as a political leader, consciously or subconsciously makes use of rhetorical devices to load his political speech/discourse/text in order to give sufficient evidence of his political ideology about the evaluating the fact of killing Bin laden as a specific event to fight terrorism and to attain for justice with his nation, sub-region and the international community as a whole. This ideology is deciphered: (1) by using Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) through transitivity, modality, and textual analysis, in order justify the linguistic choices to be selected; transitivity is investigated mostly through material process to present the world of doing and the actions that the American carried. Modality is investigated through modal operator, pronouns (mostly "we") to describe the role each participant plays and American ability, determination and commitment to the defense of their nation. And the textual analysis realized with the coherence and cohesion by which Obama hangs together his ideas with one other to make the effectiveness of assimilation, accommodation and equilibration steps in the mind of the audience, and to persuade them about the killing of Bin laden as the realization of justice, and a fight against terror. (2) by using CDA, In his study, Obama as a political leader, gifted orator, uses his rhetorical devices to combine lexical items to convey message loaded with ideologies to the broader socio-political aspect so as to eventually achieve and deliver his objectives; that is, informing the Americans about the death of Bin Laden and persuading them, with making logic, cultural values and emotions, that is not a murder but as a pledged allegiance to show patriotism and nationalism for the Americans and as an act to fight terrorism in the world.

Conclusion:

In this chapter, we have discussed the main results of the analysis of the findings about the analysis of Barack Obama speech on Bin laden death. Thus, we adopted CDA and SFL frameworks to our study to investigate their impact on the speech of Obama as a political speech. Therefore, these theoretical frameworks provide us as a modal to investigate the rhetorical style of Obama speech in order to affect the mind of the audience and to persuade them about the killing of Bin laden as to attain justice and show nationalism and patriotism for the American and to fight against terrorism in the world; this is carried out by making the connection between the properties of the text with their context to the broader socio-political dimensions, that is to make a connection between language, power and ideology. Therefore, these results confirm our hypothesis about the impact of SFL and CDA on the analysis of political speech through investigating rhetorical devices presented in linguistic choices which are affected by mind control, to bring, to sustain or to remove a certain ideology. Therefore, our study highlights that CDA and SFL take a critical stance to political discourse that is ideologically loaded through using different methods and strategies to decipher these ideologies.

General

Conclusion

General conclusion

Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse analysis have a crucial critical stance to political discourses, since they are by no means of innocent with their loaded ideologies. Obama's speech about Bin Laden death, as a political discourse, is brought to the interest of analysis.

This present research has investigated the informative and the persuasive techniques of Obama's rhetoric to inform and to persuade the public. Its objectives are to analyze how Obama organized his speech in terms of rhetoric and persuasion under the light of Systemic Functional Linguistics and to investigate the relationship between his language power with his ideology from Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. According to Halliday"s Systemic Functional Grammar, we can summarize the features of Barack Obama"s speech as follow. First, he speaks in short, strong sentences in simple instead of difficult ones, everyday words and sentences. His language is easy and colloquial. Thus, it can easily shorten the distance between him and the audience. Second, from transitivity analysis, we can see material process, a process of doing, has been used most in his speech. From this process, Obama showed us what the government has conducted against terrorism, what they are doing and what they will do. As well as he tried to arouse the American people's confidence toward the president and his government for the defense for their nation (America). Third, modality refers to a speaker's attitudes towards or opinion about the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence. From this perspective, we can find that Obama made his audience more easily to understand and accept his political ideas by means of modal verbs, tense and first person pronouns. He used past simple tense to recount for the events of 9/11 and when he spoke about the eradication of terrorism and about the carried steps toward the capturing of the terrorist Bin Laden.

He also used present perfect aspect to make people feel the event as if it were happening at the moment. And then depending on simple future tense, he expended the determination and certainness about their future actions. In this way, the persuasion is realized and at the same time, the audience's confidence is built. Moreover, by using first person pronouns, he successfully shortened the distance between him and the audience. So it can help him persuade the public to accept and support his policies. Concerning the textual organization of the speech which accounts for the arrangement of the ideas (coherence), Obama made his ideas as a bundle; he first provided an outline about the events of 9/11 and the heroic operations to fight terrorism until the killing of Bin Laden; finally he appreciated and thanked all those that have contribution in the act of killing. This coherence has contributed to the effect of judging the fact of killing positively as being the act of justice.

Under the light Critical Discourse Analysis, through Fairclough analysis; description, interpretation and evaluation, we have explored the relationships among language, ideology and power by making connection between the linguistic choices of the text ant their context to the broader socio-political aspects. In this study we have investigated the intended ideology of Obama; that is , we have demonstrated how Obama, as a political leader (power), made use of rhetorical devices to load his political discourse in order to sustain his political ideology to evaluate the fact of killing Bin laden as a solution to fight terrorism at home and abroad. Indeed, Obama, as an orator, used his rhetorical devices to combine the formal textual features of the text with their context to the broader socio-political aspects. In this regard, he used logic, cultural values and emotions, to inform the American about the fact of killing Bin Laden and to persuade that it is not a murder but as a pledged allegiance to show patriotism and nationalism for the Americans and as an act to fight terrorism in the world.

In short, this present study is about investigating political ideologies which are transmitted in the speech of Obama on Bin Laden death, under the light of Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. We hope that this dissertation will be beneficial for discourse analysis in applied linguistics studies and can be useful for students who are interested to carry out the same research, especially Applied Linguistics and Social Semiotics students; those who want to conduct discourse analysis research, using different speech or corpus or from different theoretical frameworks or different methodology.

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Appendix

The appendix

OSAMA BIN LADEN KILLED:

BARACK OBAMA'S SPEECH IN FULL

"Good evening. Tonight, I can report to the American people and to the world that the United States has conducted an operation that killed Osama bin Laden, the leader of Al-Qaeda, and a terrorist who's responsible for the murder of thousands of innocent men, women, and children.

"It was nearly 10 years ago that a bright September day was darkened by the worst attack on the American people in our history. The images of 9/11 are seared into our national memory - hijacked planes cutting through a cloudless September sky; the Twin Towers collapsing to the ground; black smoke billowing up from the Pentagon; the wreckage of Flight 93 in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, where the actions of heroic citizens saved even more heartbreak and destruction.

"And yet we know that the worst images are those that were unseen to the world. The empty seat at the dinner table. Children who were forced to grow up without their mother or their father. Parents who would never know the feeling of their child's embrace. Nearly 3,000 citizens taken from us, leaving a gaping hole in our hearts.

"On September 11, 2001, in our time of grief, the American people came together. We offered our neighbours a hand, and we offered the wounded our blood. We reaffirmed our ties to each other, and our love of community and country. On that day, no matter where we came from, what God we prayed to, or what race or ethnicity we were, we were united as one American family.

"We were also united in our resolve to protect our nation and to bring those who committed this vicious attack to justice. We quickly learned that the 9/11 attacks were carried out by Al-Qaeda - an organisation headed by Osama bin Laden, which had openly declared war on the United States and was committed to killing innocents in our country and around the globe. And so we went to war against Al-Qaeda to protect our citizens, our friends, and our allies.

*"Over the last 10 years, thanks to the tireless and heroic work of our military and our counterterrorism professionals, we've made great strides in that effort. We've disrupted terrorist attacks and strengthened our homeland defence. In **Afghanistan**, we removed the Taliban government, which had given bin Laden and Al-Qaeda safe haven and support. And around the globe, we worked with our friends and allies to capture or kill scores of Al-Qaeda terrorists, including several who were a part of the 9/11 plot.*

*"Yet Osama bin Laden avoided capture and escaped across the Afghan border into **Pakistan**. Meanwhile, Al-Qaeda continued to operate from along that border and operate through its affiliates across the world.*

"And so shortly after taking office, I directed Leon Panetta, the director of the CIA, to make the killing or capture of bin Laden the top priority of our war against Al-Qaeda,

even as we continued our broader efforts to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat his network.

"Then, last August, after years of painstaking work by our intelligence community, I was briefed on a possible lead to bin Laden. It was far from certain, and it took many months to run this thread to ground. I met repeatedly with my national security team as we developed more information about the possibility that we had located bin Laden hiding within a compound deep inside of Pakistan. And finally, last week, I determined that we had enough intelligence to take action, and authorized an operation to get Osama bin Laden and bring him to justice.

"Today, at my direction, the United States launched a targeted operation against that compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan. A small team of Americans carried out the operation with extraordinary courage and capability. No Americans were harmed. They took care to avoid civilian casualties. After a firefight, they killed Osama bin Laden and took custody of his body.

"For over two decades, bin Laden has been Al-Qaeda's leader and symbol, and has continued to plot attacks against our country and our friends and allies. The death of bin Laden marks the most significant achievement to date in our nation's effort to defeat Al-Qaeda.

"Yet his death does not mark the end of our effort. There's no doubt that Al-Qaeda will continue to pursue attacks against us. We must - and we will - remain vigilant at home and abroad.

"As we do, we must also reaffirm that the United States is not - and never will be - at

war with Islam. I've made clear, just as President Bush did shortly after 9/11, that our war is not against Islam. Bin Laden was not a Muslim leader; he was a mass murderer of Muslims. Indeed, Al-Qaeda has slaughtered scores of Muslims in many countries, including our own. So his demise should be welcomed by all who believe in peace and human dignity.

"Over the years, I've repeatedly made clear that we would take action within Pakistan if we knew where bin Laden was. That is what we've done. But it's important to note that our counterterrorism cooperation with Pakistan helped lead us to bin Laden and the compound where he was hiding. Indeed, bin Laden had declared war against Pakistan as well, and ordered attacks against the Pakistani people.

"Tonight, I called President Zardari, and my team has also spoken with their Pakistani counterparts. They agree that this is a good and historic day for both of our nations. And going forward, it is essential that Pakistan continue to join us in the fight against al Qaeda and its affiliates.

"The American people did not choose this fight. It came to our shores, and started with the senseless slaughter of our citizens. After nearly 10 years of service, struggle, and sacrifice, we know well the costs of war. These efforts weigh on me every time I, as Commander-in-Chief, have to sign a letter to a family that has lost a loved one, or look into the eyes of a service member who's been gravely wounded.

"So Americans understand the costs of war. Yet as a country, we will never tolerate our security being threatened, nor stand idly by when our people have been killed. We will

be relentless in defence of our citizens and our friends and allies. We will be true to the values that make us who we are. And on nights like this one, we can say to those families who have lost loved ones to Al-Qaeda's terror: Justice has been done.

"Tonight, we give thanks to the countless intelligence and counterterrorism professionals who've worked tirelessly to achieve this outcome. The American people do not see their work, nor know their names. But tonight, they feel the satisfaction of their work and the result of their pursuit of justice.

"We give thanks for the men who carried out this operation, for they exemplify the professionalism, patriotism, and unparalleled courage of those who serve our country. And they are part of a generation that has borne the heaviest share of the burden since that September day.

"Finally, let me say to the families who lost loved ones on 9/11 that we have never forgotten your loss, nor wavered in our commitment to see that we do whatever it takes to prevent another attack on our shores.

"And tonight, let us think back to the sense of unity that prevailed on 9/11. I know that it has, at times, frayed. Yet today's achievement is a testament to the greatness of our country and the determination of the American people.

"The cause of securing our country is not complete. But tonight, we are once again reminded that America can do whatever we set our mind to. That is the story of our history, whether it's the pursuit of prosperity for our people, or the struggle for equality for all our citizens; our commitment to stand up for our values abroad, and our

sacrifices to make the world a safer place.

"Let us remember that we can do these things not just because of wealth or power, but because of who we are: one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

"Thank you. May God bless you. And may God bless the United States of America."