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LITERATURA CORRESPONDENTE**

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**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF
BARACK OBAMA'S CAMPAIGN SPEECH
IN BERLIN**

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Orientadora: Prof.^a Dr.^a Viviane Maria
Heberle

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*This Master of Arts thesis is dedicated
to my mother and my father.*

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ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF BARACK OBAMA'S CAMPAIGN SPEECH IN BERLIN

ANDREANA MARCHI

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA CATARINA
2012

Supervisor: Viviane Maria Heberle

The use of language in politics plays a significant role in promoting political purposes and actions of political figures through debates, campaigns and political speeches, for instance. Nowadays, political speech has received great prominence due to its publicity by the media and, thus, it has aroused great interest. The present study analyzes the use of language in one of the political speeches of the 2008 U.S. presidential candidate, Barack Obama, in Berlin. It aims at investigating the way Obama uses language to earn political projection and to enable his candidacy for the presidency of the United States. Additionally, this study analyzes the use of language in Obama's political speech based on Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) in which the ideational metafunction is explored. From this linguistic evidence, the discussion is broadened through Critical Discourse Analysis via Fairclough's concept of Assumptions (2003) and also via strategies of Legitimation based on Chilton's political studies (2004). First, a macro analysis was carried out which reveals that the speech is constituted of eleven main themes. Taking these eleven themes into account, a micro analysis of 375 clauses was carried out revealing that most clauses in the speech are constituted of Material Processes (63% of the clauses) and Actors are mostly represented by The Self (referring to Obama and United States) and The Others (other countries, entities, or actions). The micro analysis reveals that the Material Processes construe significant events, actions and happenings to legitimate the role Obama wants to convey as a multiracial leader, with the United States, Obama himself,

and the inclusive we as the main Actors. The speech revolves around stories of unity, pride, justice, equality, reconstruction, military power, ideological power, and aspirations shared by people around the world. In this sense, the analysis of Assumptions suggests that there is a positive evaluation on the participant The Self. The analysis of Legitimation revealed that the ideologies and the political objectives presented in the speech tend to maintain the hegemony of the United States, but at the same time they tend to set a conciliatory tone among the countries.

Key-words: Political speech; CDA; SFL; Obama; 2008 U.S. presidential election; Berlin.

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RESUMO

UMA ANÁLISE CRÍTICA DO DISCURSO DO DISCURSO DE CAMPANHA DE BARACK OBAMA EM BERLIM

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UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA CATARINA
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Orientadora: Viviane Maria Heberle

O uso da língua na política desempenha papel significativo na divulgação das propostas e ações políticas dos governantes através de debates, campanhas e discursos políticos, por exemplo. Hoje em dia, o discurso político tem recebido maior proeminência devido a sua divulgação através da mídia e assim tem despertado um interesse maior das pessoas. O presente estudo analisa o uso da língua em um dos discursos políticos do candidato à presidência dos EUA em 2008, Barack Obama, em Berlim. Com o objetivo de investigar a forma como Obama usa a língua para ganhar projeção política e viabilizar sua candidatura à presidência, este estudo analisa o uso da língua no discurso político de Obama com base na Gramática Sistemico-Funcional de Halliday e Matthiessen (2004) na qual a metafunção ideacional é explorada. A partir dessas evidências linguísticas, amplia-se a discussão através da Análise Crítica do Discurso por meio do conceito de Suposições de Fairclough (2003) e também das estratégias de Legitimação baseadas nos estudos de discursos políticos de Chilton (2004). Primeiro, uma macro-análise do discurso foi conduzida revelando que o discurso é constituído de onze temas principais. A partir destes onze temas, a micro-análise das 375 orações foi conduzida revelando que grande parte do discurso é composta por Processos Materiais (63% das orações) e que os Atores são compostos, na sua grande maioria, pelos Participantes Nós (referentes ao próprio Obama e aos Estados Unidos) e Outros (referentes a outros países, entidades ou ações). A micro-análise revela que os Processos Materiais constroem eventos, ações e acontecimentos

significantes para legitimar o papel de Obama como um líder multirracial, com os EUA, ele mesmo, e o nós inclusivo como principais Atores. O discurso gira em torno de histórias de união, orgulho, justiça, igualdade, reconstrução, poder militar, conflito ideológico e aspirações compartilhadas pelas pessoas ao redor do mundo. Neste sentido, a análise de Suposições sugere que há uma avaliação positiva acerca do participante Nós. A análise das estratégias de Legitimação revelou que as ideologias e os objetivos políticos apresentados no discurso tendem a manter a hegemonia dos Estados Unidos, mas ao mesmo tempo tendem a dar um tom de diálogo conciliatório entre os países.

Palavras-chave: Discurso político; CDA; SFL; Obama; Eleição presidencial dos EUA 2008; Berlim.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis
- PPGI – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Inglês da UFSC
- RQ – Research Question
- SFL – Systemic Functional Linguistics
- SFG – Systemic Functional Grammar
- SL – Systemic Linguistics
- UNIDAVI – Universidade para o Desenvolvimento do Alto Vale do Itajaí
- UFPR – Universidade Federal do Paraná
- UFSC – Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

*"People of Berlin – people of the world –
this is our moment. This is our time".*

Barack Obama,
"A World that Stands as One",
Berlin, July 24th 2008.

1.1 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND POLITICS: POLITICAL SPEECHES

Since the times when public speeches were addressed by Plato and Aristotle in Ancient Greece, language has been an important resource to the emblematic performance of politics and the development of governments. Regarding the importance of mastering this tool, Woodruff (1999, p. 294) points out that "the advent of democracy in Athens and in Sicily during the fifth century had given new powers to strong speakers in law courts and assemblies". One can see that the individual who had the ability to speak and subsequently write in an effective way to an audience could be considered a good orator and influence the people through the use of words. Nowadays, and with the advent of new media, public speaking has been televised, accessed on the internet, discussed in specialized blogs and forums, and thus, has received prominence. Besides, many people have been discussing politicians' ideas and the effect of their words in a world known as globalized. Therefore, language has been a fundamental artifact to construe meaning in politics, mainly because it is placed in a world moved by changes, as Held et al. (1999, as cited in Fairclough, 2003, p. 4) exemplify by the terms "globalization", post- or late- 'modernity', 'information society', 'knowledge economy', 'new capitalism', 'consumer culture', and so forth".

Political speeches are one of the types of political discourse used for different purposes. For instance, politicians can address a political speech during elections or announce a new political resolution in the country. Upon using the art of persuasion and eloquence, the political actors use language as a substantial communicative resource to reach leadership and success, and consequently conquer electorate and

citizens. This kind of discourse can be described as argumentative and persuasive texts based on the point of view of the speaker himself or the institutions he/she represents. Also, they can be construed on behalf of the common good and can portray creeds when sharing religious, social, institutional, and political values (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 2003). Language use in political speeches (as in any other kind of discourse) has the power to promote particular worldviews and represent individual voices and ideologies. For instance, language can help promote a war or can lead people to peaceful times. Furthermore, language used in politics or henceforth political discourse can be seen as a representation of the interests of a collective group targeting the welfare of a community. Yet a political discourse can also take a different scope – as an example, it can pre-establish policies and rules in order to accomplish agendas of specific institutions, corporations or even of a government.

Due to the influence that language may exert on politics, it sounds appropriate that the lexicogrammatical choices be analyzed in this type of text. As politics has a close relationship to language to perform its purpose, the relationship between politics and language is intrinsic, i.e. they relate in a mutual and dialectical relationship as Chilton (2004, p. 6) points out

What is clear is that political activity does not exist without the use of language. It is true, as noted earlier, that other behaviours are involved and, in particular, physical coercion. But the doing of politics is predominantly constituted in language. Conversely, it is also arguably the cause that the need to language (or for the cultural elaboration of the language instinct) arose from socialization of humans involving the formation of coalitions, the signaling of group boundaries, and all that these developments imply, including the emergence of what is called reciprocal altruism. This is not of course to say that language arises exclusively out of these motives or functions.

As regards the relationship between these two entities (politics and language), political speeches have a great amount of influence on society. For instance, political speeches such as the ones delivered by Abraham Lincoln (his most remarkable one is “The Address at Gettysburg”, in 1863) and the ones delivered by Martin Luther King in

the 60's concerning the Civil Rights movement still reverberate in contemporary society. Consequently, political speeches can be seen as an enabler of social change (Fairclough, 1992). Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King delivered their speeches pursuing the ideal of equality and unity in the United States, and after so many years of social struggle, American society broke political hegemony upon electing the first African-American president, Barack Obama. It may be suggestive that, from an abolitionist president who fought for the right of the slaves to be free to a reverend who fought for the human rights in the past, there is finally someone who can represent their ideals at the highest job position in America: the presidency of the nation.

Political speeches have changed over the years and have been specially and carefully constructed and written to be delivered to specific audiences. In this investigation, context is seen as another important factor upon the constitution of political speeches, as Chilton and Schaffner (2002, p. 16) suggest

The relationship between text and context is complex. The features of context are sometimes thought of as determining or influencing certain elements in the linguistic structure of text. However, the relationship is circular, or, rather, reflexive, since texts themselves contribute to the constitution of context. Further, an earlier part of an ongoing text provides the context which later text has to take account of. Contextual features, particularly those such as socially defined *role*, *location*, *timing*, are pivotal in the definition of political discourse.

Therefore, context plays an important role in the situation in which language is used. In this sense, language is seen as discourse or as Fairclough (2003, p. 3) suggests “as an element of social life which is interconnected with other elements” because discourse and social practice have a ‘dialectical relationship’. In order to analyze language under this perspective, this investigation relies on an analytical framework which sees language as social practice

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of ‘social practice’. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event

and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258)

Adopting the point of view of Critical Discourse Analysis which describes language use – discourse – “not just a matter of performing tasks, it is also a matter of expressing and constituting and reproducing social identities and social relations, including crucially relations of power” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 196). The assumption that underlies CDA is that our experiences are largely shaped by the discourses of the society which we grew up in and so in talking and writing we represent the pervasive meanings in our society. This idea is reiterated by the notion of *Language as Social Semiotic* proposed by Halliday (1978) that assumes that no language is an island, without interaction and participants, but rather it is social, shaped by the participants, contexts, and purposes. Hence, language has a constitutive role in society.

By virtue of a particular interest on the intricacy between language and politics, I propose to analyze a political speech, which I present in the section that follows together with the purpose that guides it.

1.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This Master of Arts thesis is a qualitative study of a political speech by Barack Obama, delivered in Berlin to strengthen the ties between the United States and Europe. This speech was retrieved from his official 2008 U.S. presidential campaign website named my.barackobama.com¹. From 2009 on, the [WhiteHouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov) (that is the official web site for the White House and President Barack Obama, the 44th President of the United States) keeps his presidential speeches².

¹ The transcript of the selected speech was retrieved from the Obama’s official campaign website at: <https://my.barackobama.com/page/content/berlinvideo/> on October 30th, 2010.

² In the Briefing Room section on the White House website there is a section named “Speeches and Remarks”, in which there is a collection of the speeches delivered by the United States President Barack Obama. This information is from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/> retrieved on October 30th, 2010.

As for the choice of investigating Obama's campaign speech in Berlin, there are three reasons that motivate this choice. First, there is my personal experience in the United States during the presidential election in 2008. As I lived with an American host family for two years (2007-2009), I could realize Americans are very involved in the matters of politics. They had the habit to talk about the main issues the presidential candidates discussed in the debates and mainly in the speeches. Another reason is the emphasis media gave to Obama's speech overseas. TV channels such as CNN covered most of Obama's presidential campaign in Europe and the speech delivered in Berlin was televised and accessed by many Americans who turned to discuss the importance of Obama's words abroad. The last reason is that the speech delivered in Berlin seems to have a great impact and relevance in the history of the United States presidential elections, mainly because it was delivered in a city that evokes freedom and unity.

To sum up all the reasons that guide this research, the purpose of my study is to bring into attention the representation of the United States and other countries regarding international affairs as manifested in Obama's campaign speech in Berlin. Therefore, this research intends to achieve its purpose by using Systemic Functional Linguistics to investigate the meanings manifested when the presidential candidate of the USA uses verbal language to represent the United States of America to the world. In order to have a better understanding of this specific text, it should be also important to analyze such linguistic choices upon the light of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995, 2001, 2003) and political discourse (Chilton, 2004). For that, issues related to ideology, power, hegemony and/or possible social change will also be investigated to unleash more deeply the meanings behind this type of discourse.

Overall, I intend to present an account of the ways in which Obama has made meaning through the lexicogrammatical choices, assumptions and legitimisations in his presidential campaign speech so to establish a different approach to international relations between the United States and other countries.

1.3 ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is divided into eight sections: six chapters, references and appendices. In **Chapter 1**, I provide the introduction of the topic, the purpose of the study. **Chapter 2** comprises the Methodology, objectives and research questions, data and criteria for data selection, the context of investigation – a brief overview on Obama's political

background, Obama's political speeches, The Democratic Party political agenda, the speechwriting process and Obama's speechwriter, and Berlin as a place to deliver important American political speeches. The procedures for analysis are also entailed in this chapter. **Chapter 3** provides the Review of Literature that supports this study, based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1985, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989; 2001; 2003), and political discourse (Chilton, 2004), and investigations of language in relation to politics. The Results and Discussion of the data analysis are presented in **Chapter 4** and **Chapter 5**. The Concluding Remarks are comprised in **Chapter 6**. Finally, the seventh and eighth sections comprise the references and the appendices.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND CONTEXT OF INVESTIGATION

In the present chapter, I present the objectives and research questions that guide this thesis and also the criteria for data selection and the context of investigation. Furthermore, I present the procedures of macro and micro analysis used in this study and how I will discuss the main findings through the analytical frameworks of Legitimation (Chilton, 2004) and Assumptions (Fairclough, 2003) in order to answer my research questions.

2.1 OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Three objectives have been established to guide this study. They are stated as follows:

- (i) to examine Obama's hidden political agenda in his political speech;
- (ii) to observe the representation of the United States and other countries in the selected speech;
- (iii) to examine how political goals, views and strategies are presented throughout the text.

In order to do so, these objectives were rephrased in four research questions:

1. What are the main themes and issues of Obama's speech?
2. How does Obama realize these themes in terms of Halliday's Transitivity System?
3. What is the most prominent Assumption in Obama's speech which legitimizes his political views to the world?
4. What are the Legitimation strategies used by Obama to achieve his political goals?

2.2 DATA AND CRITERIA FOR DATA SELECTION

The main reasons for the choice of the political speech "A World That Stands As One" delivered by the United States of America Democratic presidential candidate, Barack Obama, in Berlin, on July 24th, 2008 (see Appendix A1) as the object of investigation in this thesis

can be explained as follows: (i) the speech is considered “The Citizen of the World” speech delivered by the Democratic presidential candidate, Barack Obama, in Berlin, during the 2008 U.S. presidential election; (ii) the campaign speech was addressed not only to Americans and Europeans, but to the people of the world; (iii) the speech was delivered by a presidential candidate, different from the official speeches delivered by President Kennedy (in 1963) and by President Reagan (in 1987) in the German capital city; (iv) it was delivered under the 2008 financial crisis in the United States, at the end of George W. Bush administration, and also during two wars abroad (also known as the War on Terror) – in Iraq and Afghanistan.

At the age of 46, the freshman Senator from Illinois Barack H. Obama was considered by some of his critics inexperienced and not strong enough to become the new leader of the world’s superpower³. It seems that the speech made in Germany was a response to his homeland electorate as well as a powerful projected political image to the world. In this sense, language has a great potential to reinforce Obama’s political intentions and even has a catalytic potential of construing his image in America, since his words were delivered and got projection from an international political arena.

In order to provide a background for the analysis of the speech, the context of investigation of this thesis is based on information from official websites and academic studies. For instance, some information on Obama’s political speech in Berlin is based on articles available on the websites of The New York Times and The Guardian; information on Obama’s political and personal life is based on the Britannica Encyclopaedia; and some reliable academic studies in Rhetoric and Communications by Professor Medhurst (2003, 2012), and in American foreign relations by Lindsay (2011). I understand that if the present thesis concerned academic study on history or political science regarding Obama’s role in contemporary society, more specific studies in the subject would have to be discussed.

Therefore, I present the context of investigation of this study in four sections. First, I present a brief overview on Obama’s political speeches and Democratic political agenda. Subsequently, another section includes information on the speechwriting process and Obama’s speechwriter – Jon Favreau. Lastly, I point out why Berlin is considered an important place for U.S. presidential speeches.

³ A more detailed description of his political life and the speechwriting process will be given in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.

2.2.1 Context of Investigation: Obama's political speeches and Democratic Party Political Agenda

Four years before delivering his “Citizen of the World” speech in Berlin, Barack Obama received national prominence in the political scenario when he addressed the Keynote Address at the Democratic National Convention in Boston, Massachusetts. Yet politically unknown from the majority of Americans, on July 27th, 2004, he told the multiracial story of his working class family, the dream of his father, how his story could only be possible in the United States, and why the country should elect Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry in his “Audacity of Hope” speech. Obama also gave a great emphasis on the spirit of union in the United States that shapes American ideal as can be seen in the excerpt: “We are one people, all of us pledging allegiance to the Stars and Stripes, all of us defending the United States of America”⁴.

By researching the timeline of Obama's political speeches, I could understand how his ideas and visions helped the politician rise to national prominence. His rhetoric against the Iraq war in 2002⁵ might have shown his judgment towards the upcoming armed conflict overseas and also projected a positive political image that a future candidate for the presidency needs. According to Lindsay (2011, p. 771)

Barack Obama in a way owed his political success to George W. Bush. Obama was an obscure Illinois state legislator when he used an anti-war rally in Chicago in October 2002 to denounce Bush's march towards a ‘dumb war’. The speech became pivotal during the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination campaign. Hillary Clinton and other leading Democratic presidential candidates had voted for the war; Obama smartly argued that he had opposed it from the start, thereby distinguishing himself from the rest of the field. Although his formal foreign policy

⁴ Information based on “President Barack Obama in his own words”, an online book which provides some of the most important speeches delivered by him. It can be found at: http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/books/obama_speech.pdf#popup retrieved on January 5th, 2012.

⁵ Information based on an article by Don Gonyea entitled “Obama Still Stumps on 2002 Anti-War Declaration” (published on March 25th, 2008) at: <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=88988093> retrieved on January 5th, 2012.

credentials were slim, he successfully argued that his better judgment trumped his opponent's greater experience.

As to the substance of his speech in 2002, Obama positioned himself as one of the opponents of the war. In an article published in the *Foreign Affairs Journal* (July-August 2007) entitled "Renewing American Leadership"⁶, the Illinois Senator previously pointed out the political agenda of the Democratic party as could be seen in the party platform in 2008⁷. The content of the Democratic Party Platform released online in 2008, "Renewing America's Promise", is aligned with the key issues presented by Obama in his article, as can be seen in page 6 of the online document

The Democratic Party believes that there is no more important priority than renewing American leadership on the world stage. This will require diplomatic skill as capable as our military might. Instead of refusing to confront our most pressing threats, we will use all elements of American power to keep us safe, prosperous, and free. Instead of alienating our nation from the world, we will enable America – once again – to lead.
(The 2008 National Democratic Platform)

The analysis of the political speech used in the U.S. presidential election in 2008 requires special attention concerning the performance of Obama as the Democratic candidate. The Democratic Party represented by Obama deployed language in a certain way to justify the election of its candidate and later on used it to establish his administration's agenda, as can be seen at his office's official website⁸

The Agenda - President-elect Obama and Vice President-elect Biden have developed innovative approaches to challenge the status quo in Washington and to bring about the kind of change

⁶ For a complete reading of the article cf. Barack Obama, "Renewing American leadership", *Foreign Affairs* 84: 4, July–Aug. 2007, pp. 2–16.

⁷ The 2008 Democratic National Platform, "Renewing America's Promise", was obtained from its official website: http://www.democrats.org/about/party_platform retrieved on January 5th, 2012.

⁸ The Obama's administration agenda was obtained at this office's official website at <http://change.gov/agenda/> retrieved on January 5th, 2012.

America needs. The Obama Administration has a comprehensive and detailed policy agenda. Among many important domestic and foreign policy objectives, priorities of the Obama Administration include: a plan to revive the economy; provide affordable, accessible health care to all; strengthen our public education and social security systems; define a clear path to energy independence and tackle climate change; end the war in Iraq responsibly and finish our mission in Afghanistan; work with our allies to prevent Iran from developing a nuclear weapon. (The Office of the President-Elect)

Another interesting aspect that should be taken into account is the fact that the foreign policy conducted by the George W. Bush administration has been one of the subjects to justify the Democratic Party campaign of Obama at that time, mainly when he takes his presidential campaign overseas. However there is a similarity between the two, as Lindsay (2011, p. 765) points out

For all the differences between Bush and Obama, however, the two shared a common trait: a conviction that other countries both wanted and needed US leadership. This conviction reflected America's more than half a century of success as the global superpower. US leadership had been essential to everything from creating the United Nations to leading the world in liberating Kuwait. US global leadership was not a boast but a reality.

In a nutshell, for over the eight years of George W. Bush administration, Americans were placed in an intriguing situation as a result of the social and political changes that happened after the historical September 11th. The United States of America has significantly changed their political relations at home and abroad due to the counter-terrorism actions promoted by themselves and their allies since 2001 and also because of the economic meltdown in 2007. For that, these recent past events seem to highlight a rich background for the future administration of that country and their representation to the world through the address of Obama's speech called "A World that

Stands as One” also known as the “Citizen of the World” speech⁹, which is the object of this study.

The political speeches by Obama have received a good deal of attention in the U.S. presidential election in 2008. Media played an important role on presenting those speeches as inspirational and remarkable ones. Yet despite the fact that media helped to construct the image of Obama as a politician (either constructing his image as a good or a bad one), one can see that Obama’s speeches are situated in an emblematic economic crisis since the Great Depression in 1929 and more than that, perhaps his run for the presidency puts him in a privileged place upon looking back the eight years of Bush administration.

Singh (2003, p. 121) argues that “a successful presidential candidacy essentially requires three features: political clout, a clear message, and a positive biography”. It seems that Barack Obama fulfilled these requirements, but rather he also came to run the presidency election being the symbol of change himself: for the first time an African-American got elected as the President of the United States. Furthermore, he was the first to use the web 2.0 to boost his campaign, which led him to reach the young electorate and raise millions of dollars to his campaign¹⁰. Thus, it can be seen that his campaign slogan was drawn on the words ‘change’ and the famous ‘yes we can’ and they somehow seem to have built the basis of his candidacy and translated his political and social life legacy to the people of the United States and to the world¹¹.

2.2.2 The speechwriting process and Obama’s speechwriter – Jon Favreau

It is always believed that a politician crafts his/her own political speeches for debates, political campaigns, remarks, and State of the Union addresses, for instance. However, the United States presidents have a speechwriting staff as an aid to accomplish such a job. As Medhurst (2003) claims this has happened since the beginning of the

⁹ A detailed account on the speech will be presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

¹⁰ Information based on “Barack Obama: How Content Management and Web 2.0 Helped Win the White House” at <http://www.aiim.org/Infonomics/Obama-How-Web2.0-Helped-Win-Whitehouse.aspx> retrieved on January 5th, 2012.

¹¹ Information based on “Who runs the Government – Barack Obama: President of the United States of America (since January 2009)” at http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/barack-obama/gIOAp4524O_topic.html retrieved January 5th, 2012.

Republic, i.e. since the time in which Washington became the first President of the United States. Even Lincoln required assistance to write his famous remarks, as Medhurst (2003, p. 4) also points out “Lincoln, the most rhetorically astute and accomplished presidential orator of the nineteenth century, occasionally turned to aides such as William Seward for help”. Nowadays, The White House has a department exclusively devoted to the political speechwriting process – The White House Communications Department¹². Thus, it was during John Kerry’s presidential campaign in 2004 that Obama got to know Jonathan Favreau. Jon Favreau, according to Ed Pilkington, “has since studied Obama’s speech patterns and cadences with the intensity of a stalker”¹³. In 2009 he became Director of Speechwriting for President Barack Obama. Thus, the speeches are crafted in accordance with Barack Obama’s style. According to Parker (2008)¹⁴

Mr. Favreau also used this time to master Mr. Obama’s voice. He took down almost everything the senator said and absorbed it. Now, he said, when he sits down to write, he just channels Mr. Obama — his ideas, his sentences, his phrases. (The New York Times, 2008)

2.2.3 Berlin as a place for important U.S. Presidential speeches

The city of Berlin plays an important role since the ideological conflict placed by Americans and Soviets in the Cold War. Since then, the city is considered a place in which important American political speeches and events take place from which new proposals of action might arise. Foreign political speeches are part of the United States tradition in setting their ideological paradigms after the Second World War as Medhurst (2012, p. 1) points out: “foreign travel and speechmaking as an instrument of American diplomacy is a largely

¹² A detailed account of the departments of the White House including a description of the Communications Department can be found at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/internships/departments> retrieved on January 5th, 2012.

¹³ Information based on an article by Ed Pilkington entitled “Obama inauguration: Words of history... crafted by 27-year-old in Starbucks” at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jan/20/barack-obama-inauguration-us-speech> (published on January 20th 2009) retrieved on January 5th, 2012.

¹⁴ Information based on an article by Ashley Parker entitled “What Would Obama Say?” at <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/20/fashion/20speechwriter.html> (published on January 20th, 2008) retrieved on January 5th, 2012.

post-World War II phenomenon”. In fact, before and after the fall of the Wall, four American presidents delivered addresses at the Berlin Wall.

The first United States President to deliver a speech in Berlin was President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. He addressed his remarks known as “*Ich bin ein Berliner*” - I am a citizen of Berlin – in 1963. He pointed out issues related to the United States and Germany affairs as well as criticized communism in his remarks. Another United States President to deliver a speech in Berlin was Ronald Reagan. He delivered a speech called “Tear Down This Wall” at the Brandenburg Gate, on June 12th, 1987. He tackled some important political issues and challenged the Soviet Union leader, Gorbachev, to tear down the Berlin wall in order to promote peace. More recently, two other American Presidents made their speeches in Berlin. President Bill Clinton’s address entitled “Berlin is free!” was delivered at Brandenburg Gate, on July 12th, 1994. In order to promote economic and political integration with former Communist states, Clinton sought to focus on European unity and its partnership with the United States¹⁵. George W. Bush also delivered a political speech eight months after the September 11th attacks, on May 23rd, 2002 appealing for Europe’s support on the war on terrorism.

Obama was the only American politician to speak in Berlin who was not officially the President of the United States. At that time, he was a candidate rather than the president; due to this fact, government officials did not allow Obama to deliver his speech at the Brandenburg Gate – a place reserved for presidential political speeches¹⁶. Besides it seems that political propaganda played an important role in order to spread the news on Obama’s speech as can be seen in Figure 2.1.

¹⁵ Information based on an article by Associated Press writer Barry Schweid entitled “Clinton, in Germany, vows to help integrate East, West in Europe” at: <http://community.seattletimes.nwsourc.com/archive/?date=19940711&slug=1919825> (published on July 11th, 1994) retrieved on January 20th, 2012.

¹⁶ Information based on an article by Gregor Peter Schmitz entitled “Brandenburg Gate Controversy: Obama Reacts to Debate in Berlin” at: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,565080,00.html> (published on July 10th, 2008) retrieved on January 20th, 2012.



Figure 2.1 – Poster displayed on Berlin’s street announcing Obama’s speech at Tiergarten on July 24th 2008.

Therefore, while the other politicians who have previously spoken in Germany’s capital city were at the highest political position in the United States, Obama seems to seek a different paradigm when speaking in Berlin as a presidential candidate. Obama was politically unknown abroad and upon delivering his speech, he tries audaciously to gain visibility at home and abroad. Perhaps what differs regarding the content of his speeches when contrasting with the others is the circumstance and the situation in which he is positioned in 2008.

2.3 PROCEDURES FOR MACRO AND MICRO ANALYSIS

Taking into account the theoretical background provided by SFL (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), CDA (Fairclough, 2003), and political discourse (Chilton, 2004), I hereby present the procedures for the analysis of Obama’s speech in Berlin.

The first step in the verbal analysis of Obama's political speech in Berlin was to divide the paragraphs of the text in order to understand the logic of the speech and answer my first research question: *What are the main themes and issues in Obama's speech?* By examining this organizational feature, forty-six (46) paragraphs from the original transcript of the speech retrieved from Obama's official website could be identified. The next step was the identification of the main themes/issues of the speech¹⁷. Through a macro analysis of the main themes and issues, I could integrate them in order to analyze and discuss the microanalysis of the clauses. Since my interest lies in analyzing and interpreting the ways the United States, Obama, and other countries are portrayed in this speech, I selected all the main themes identified in the macro analysis to carry out a more detailed micro analysis. The first reason lies in the fact that the eleven main themes directly or indirectly mention the United States or other countries. Secondly, they seem to refer to some important issues related to the relationship Obama wants to establish as a leader. Third, a scholar or a common reader could easily identify the main subject each theme is related to.

The second step was to break the whole text¹⁸ into clauses to carry out a micro analysis of the speech through SFG. The whole speech was divided into three-hundred and seventy-five (375) clauses (cf. Appendix A2 for complete verbal analysis). This step aims at answering the second research question of this study: *How does Obama realize these themes in terms of Halliday's Transitivity System?* In order to do so, one important remark needs to be explained. As most of the clauses found in Obama's speech were part of clause complexes, some were identified as hypotactic and paratactic in relation to one another. As I am dealing with clause as Representation, I decided to segment them into simple clauses as my research focus is basically on the Processes and Participants. Also, concerning the length of the micro analysis, I decided to fully discuss only the most prominent type of Process in relation to the most prominent type of Participants. As one might see later, in the discussion of the micro analysis, my focal point concerning the Transitivity Analysis is on Material clauses and the Actors categorized as The Self and The Others (constituting 63% of Material clauses analyzed). Thus, I could find a common sense to interpret the results of

¹⁷ A detailed account on the eleven main themes/issues found in Obama's speech is developed in a section of Chapter 4 under the title "Macro analysis of the main themes and issues".

¹⁸ The text is composed by 2995 words.

the linguistic investigation by concentrating my study on how agency is enacted to the United States and other countries.

As a result, in order to investigate the social issues related to this political discourse, an interdisciplinary approach is needed along with the linguistic investigation carried out through the Systemic Functional Grammar. I further discuss the data and the main findings from a broader perspective by using two other analytical frameworks: Fairclough's (2003) concept of Assumptions and another analytical framework on political discourse proposed by Chilton (2004) on Legitimation. These other levels of analysis aim at answering research questions 3 and 4: *What is the most prominent Assumption in Obama's speech which legitimizes his political views to the world?* and *What are the Legitimation strategies used by Obama to achieve his political goals?*

This chapter comprised the methodology and context of investigation that conduct this study. Chapter 3 presents the review of literature that supports this investigation in order to unveil the meanings of this specific political speech and the circumstances in which they occur.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In the present review of literature chapter I present the theoretical framework I have used for the development of this study. As a student of the Master of Arts Program in Applied Linguistics at the *Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC)* and a member of the research group *Núcleo de Pesquisa Texto, Discurso e Práticas Sociais (NUPDiscurso)* located at the same university, I have drawn this study upon the work of Halliday (Systemic Functional Linguistics), Fairclough (Critical Discourse Analysis), and Chilton (studies in Political Discourse). The present chapter is organized in three sections. The first comprises the theory that supports the view of language in this research namely Systemic Functional Linguistics. The second section presents, in a very straight-to-the-point language, an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis and political discourse. The last section provides a review on studies in political discourse and also on some works carried out by scholars from Brazil and abroad concerning this issue. By presenting this threefold framework, I have tried to cover the main concepts that support and underlie the work I develop in the following chapters.

3.1 SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS

By means of construing experience, a writer or speaker represents his/her experience of the world through the choice of language in relation to the context of situation. The three features of the context of situation are related to the Register dimension that is the level of types of meanings or metafunctions: the ideational meaning/metafunction, the interpersonal meaning/metafunction, and the textual meaning/metafunction that “are part of the texts produced in different circumstances of human interaction” (Heberle, 2011, p. 61, my translation). The subsequent dimension is the lexicogrammatical one, in which the system of Transitivity¹⁹ (the one used in the present analysis of data) is part of. As can be seen in the Figure 3.1, all the levels of analysis in SFL are interrelated.

¹⁹ According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 170) “The transitivity system construes the world experience into manageable set of *process types*”.

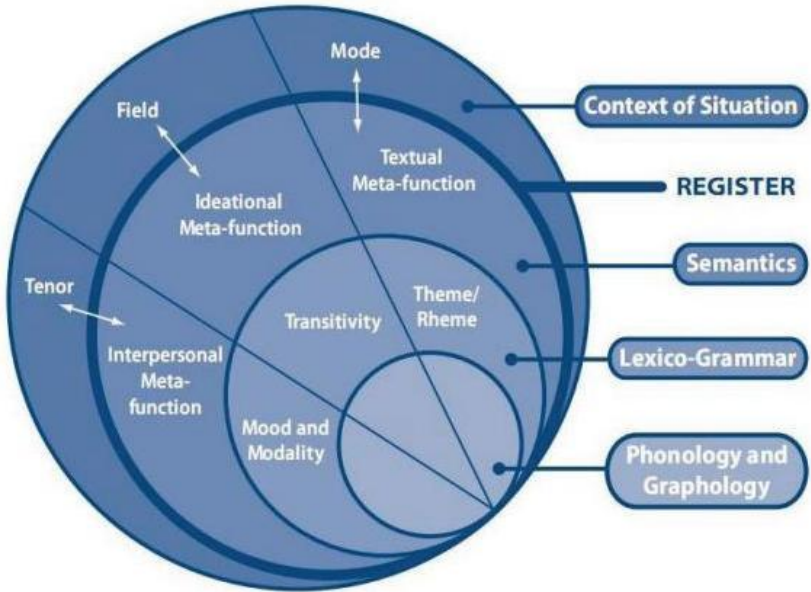


Figure 3.1 – Language and its relation to social contextual variables (adapted from Unsworth, 2001, based on Halliday’s SFL theory, in Heberle, 2011, p. 60)

The term Register is used in SFL in relation to the context of situation stratum (Field, Tenor and Mode). This level interconnects the lexicogrammar and the social context variables in order to be a resource to language to make its personal, institutional, political, and social meanings. According to Unsworth (2001, p. 36)

Language bridges from cultural meanings of social context (with its contextual variables of field, tenor and mode, reflecting the institutional activities, the social hierarchies and role relationships, and the related use of language within these) to sound and writing.

By means of describing the linguistic choices made by a speaker or writer, discourse is studied from this linguistic perspective and takes into account the use of language from its cultural, social and contextual meanings. Halliday believes that a discourse analyst has two goals for research when looking at a text from a linguistic perspective, as Young and Fitzgerald (2006, p. 22) point out

The first is to make ‘a contribution to the understanding of the text: the linguistic analysis enables one to show how, and why, the text means what it does. In the process they are likely to reveal multiple meanings, alternatives... and so on’. The second is to contribute to ‘the evaluation of the text: the linguistic analysis may enable one to say why the text is, or is not, an effective text for its own purposes – in what respect it succeeds and in what respect it fails, or is less successful’ (in Halliday, 1994, p. XV)

The viewpoint on language in the present study is based on the systemic functional linguistic model of language developed by M.A.K. Halliday (1985, 1994, 2004) known as Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL). According to Eggins (1994, p. 1) “the systemic approach (the “functional” is often omitted) is increasingly being recognized as providing a very useful descriptive and interpretive framework for viewing language as strategic meaning-making resource”. Considering this view, Eggins (1994, p. 2) also highlights that the Hallidayan systemic-functional theory sees language through four main theoretical claims that

language use is functional; that its function is to make meanings; that these meanings are influenced by the social and cultural context in which they are exchanged, and that the process of using language is a *semiotic*²⁰ process, a process of making meanings by choosing.

Eggins (2004, p. 3) also claims that “common to all these systemic linguistics is an interest in *language as a social semiotics*²¹ (Halliday, 1978) - how people use language with each other in accomplishing everyday social life”. Thus, the idea in applying SFL to analyze and describe language use is made through the use of a Functional Grammar. This study lies under Halliday and Matthiessen’s assumption (2004, p. 31) that “grammar is seen as a resource for making meaning”. By doing that, the functions of language are affected by the social and cultural contexts in which they are part of. When adopting

²⁰ Author’s highlight.

²¹ Author’s highlight.

this sociolinguistic perspective on language, language in this sense is also seen as Halliday (1978, p. 21) points out

Language is being regarded as the encoding of a ‘behaviour’ into a ‘meaning potential’; that is, as a means of expressing what the human organism ‘can do’, in interaction with other human organisms, by turning it into what he ‘can mean.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 19), language can be referred to “(i) as text and as system, (ii) as sound, as writing and as wording, (iii) as structure – configurations of parts and (iv) as resource – choices among alternatives”. Taking this into account, this work will explore the grammar of language in functional terms or how it creates and expresses meaning.

In a nutshell, the functions of language in use need to be understood under the context in which they occur. When choosing words to create a text and making meaning through them, we are using grammar to experience the world outside us. In this sense, grammar in SFL is a fruitful tool to analyze a text, because as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 24) argue “we show the functional organization of its structure. And we show what meaningful choices have been made, each one seen in the context of what might have been meant but was not”. Furthermore, I am also interested in “how language gets recruited “on site” to enact activities and identities” (Gee, 2005, p. 7).

Thus, in studying language in use (henceforth discourse), the lexicogrammatical choices of a text merit a good deal of attention. In the present work, the meanings of the words are the ones which lie in “the relation between choice of words (lexical items) and choice of grammatical categories – especially in view of the complementary between these two.” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 46). This functionalist approach “combines the investigation of structure with the investigation of function” (Trask & Stockwell, 2007, p. 94). And this relationship can be better understood under the statement by Trask and Stockwell (2007, p. 94)

SL is chiefly interested in examining the structure of a large linguistic unit – a text or a discourse – and it attempts to integrate a great deal of structural information with other information (social information, for example) in the hope of

construing a coherent account of what speakers are doing.

By investigating what language does through the use of Systemic Functional Grammar, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 29) suggest that language has two basic functions in relation to our ecological and social environment: “making sense of our experience, and acting out our social relationships”. In order to represent human experience through the use of SFG, the Transitivity System and its main categories will unveil the meanings of language in this work. The ideational metafunction is seen as “language provides *theory*²² of human experience, and certain resources of the lexicogrammar of every language are dedicated to that function” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 29). Upon making sense of human experience, the Transitivity analysis is construed by six main types of Processes: Material, Mental, Relational (Identifying and Attributive), Verbal, Behavioral, and Existential.

The Material Processes are construed by Actors (the participant role in this type of verbal group) and affected by Goals (participant in the structure of the clause which is affected by a Material Process). Associated with the Process, a Circumstance can also be a component of the clause. For instance, Circumstance refers to location, time and space of the experiential domain of a clause, but it is not considered to have a direct participation in the enactment of the Process as the Participants in a clause or as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 176) put “Circumstantial elements augment this centre in some way – temporally, spatially, causally and so on; but their status in the configuration is more peripheral and unlike participants they are not directly involved in the process”²³.

I provide some examples of the ideational meaning layering regarding the six types of Processes found in the speech. I use “functional labels (i.e. labels which indicate the role played by each element of the representation)” (Thompson, 2004, p. 87) in order to identify the types of clauses. All the examples in the thesis are taken from the analyzed speech. Table 3.1 displays a Material clause identified in the analyzed speech.

²² Authors’ original highlight.

²³ Thus, the research questions are focused on the Processes and the Participants of Obama’s political speech.

cl.57			
But in the darkest hours,	the people of Berlin	kept	the flame of hope burning.
Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal

**Table 3.1 – Example of Material clause:
Clause 57 from main theme # 3**

The function of Relational Processes is “to identify one entity in terms of another” (Thompson, 2004, p. 96). The Relational Process can be divided in two types: Identifying and Attributive. One type of experiential domain is construed upon creating identities, but in a more specific sense “identification is a matter of relating a specific realization and a more generalizable category” (Thompson, 2004, p. 97) as can be seen in Table 3.2.

cl.148		
It	is	the one way, the only way,
Identifier	REL IDENT	Identified

**Table 3.2 – Example of Relational Identifying clause:
Clause 148 from main theme # 5**

The other Relational Process, the Attributive type, has two main Participants involved in the clause as Thompson (2004, p. 96) points out “the Carrier (the entity which ‘carries’ the attribute) and the Attribute” as can be seen in Table 3.3.

cl.200		
This threat	is	real
Carrier	REL ATT	Attribute

**Table 3.3 – Example of Relational Attributive clause:
Clause 200 from main theme # 8**

In a Mental clause, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 201) claim “there is always one participant who is human; this is the Senser (...): the one that ‘senses’ — feels, thinks, wants or perceives”. Besides the Senser, a clause of this nature enacts another type of Participant entitled Phenomenon. The latter has a more ‘factual’ nature compared to the Senser. The example displayed in Table 3.4 illustrates a Mental clause found in Obama’s speech.

cl.130		
we	have forgotten	our shared destiny.
Senser	MENTAL	Phenomenon

**Table 3.4 – Example of Mental clause:
Clause 130 from main theme # 4**

Verbal Processes have a significant contribution to discourse as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 252) point out: “[t]hey contribute to the creation of narrative by making it possible to set up dialogic passages”. Thus, there are three main Participants of Verbal clauses: Sayer, Receiver, and Verbiage. Egging (2004, p. 235) explains that

The *Sayer*²⁴, the participant responsible for the verbal process, does not have to be a conscious participant (although it typically is), but anything capable of putting out a signal. The *Receiver* is the one to whom the verbal process is directed: the Beneficiary of a verbal message, occurring with or without a preposition depending on position in the clause. The *Verbiage* is a nominalized statement of the verbal process: a noun expressing some kind of verbal behavior.

An example of Verbal clause is given in Table 3.5.

cl.123		
None of us	can deny	these threats,
Sayer	VERBAL	Verbiage

**Table 3.5 – Example of Verbal clause:
Clause 123 from main theme # 4**

Regarding Behavioral Processes, Egging (2004, p. 234) explains that they “display many features of mental processes, the process functions more like one of ‘doing’ than one of ‘thinking/feeling’”. A Behavioral Process has one main Participant: the Behavior, which enacts an “action that has to be experienced by a conscious being” (Egging, 2004, p. 233), as seen in Table 3.6.

²⁴ Author’s highlights.

cl. 235			
and	[we]	watch	the further spread of the deadly atom.
	Behavior	BEHAVIORAL	Circumstance

**Table 3.6 – Example of Behavioral clause:
Clause 235 from main theme # 8**

The Existential Processes are the ones that “represent experience by positing that ‘there was/is something’” (Eggins, 2004, p. 238). The component ‘there’ in the clause structure is not analyzable in terms of Transitivity as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 257) point out: “[t]he word *there* in such clauses is neither a participant nor a circumstance – it has no representational function in the Transitivity structure of the clause; but it serves to indicate the feature of existence”. Thus, the entity or event that exists or happens is functionally labeled as Existent. An example of an Existential clause is given in Table 3.7.

cl.142			
Yes,	there	have been	differences between America and Europe.
		EXIST	Existent

**Table 3.7 – Example of Existential clause:
Clause 142 from main theme # 5**

After pointing out the main theoretical rationale regarding the verbal analysis of the speech, in terms of the kinds of Processes and Participants within the Transitivity system, I move now to a discussion of Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate the power relations and ideology assigned in the speech. I will also discuss studies in political discourse to investigate the linguistic evidence as social phenomena.

3.2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Critical discourse analysts use SFL as a tool to study language since it is “one widely used theoretical framework (...) - a way of understanding the functions that language performs and the choices people make when they speak/write to exchange meaning with readers/listeners” (Young & Fitzgerald, 2006, p. 16). In order to critically analyze a discourse using Systemic Functional Linguistics as a linguistic tool, a method based on social theory is required to achieve a more concise and objective analytical viewpoint and interpretation of the instance. Thus, Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA), an

approach proposed by Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2001, 2003) examines discourse through critical lenses to unveil its relations with power and ideology.

While SFL describes the way discourse is construed through the linguistic choices made by an author, CDA provides “an *explanation* and *interpretation*²⁵ of a discourse in terms of the relationship between language, power and ideology” (Young & Fitzgerald, 2006, p. 23). Thus, Obama’s instance will be studied in a threefold framework based on the one proposed by Fairclough (1989, 2001) which analyzes and studies language through: description, interpretation, and explanation. These three steps will be applied in this thesis by:

- 1) Describing the linguistic features and meanings of the speech through the use of Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004);
- 2) Interpreting the analysis of the lexicogrammatical choices in the text taking into account that “interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 21), following Fairclough’s concept of the text in which it is a product of a process of production and also a resource in the process of interpretation (Fairclough, 1989, 2001);
- 3) Explaining the relationship between the interaction and social context – “with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and social effects”. (Fairclough, 2001, p. 22).

Thus, this study sees textual analysis and discourse analysis as a dialectical relation (Fairclough, 2003) focusing on the analysis of language and also applying “theoretical questions about discourse” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3). In this sense, studying language and the social effects of certain sample of discourse, one may see “what happens when people talk or write” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3), or how context influences the crafting of a text.

In order to explain and interpret the relationship between text, interaction and social context, I use as a Critical Discourse Analysis apparatus two frameworks to unveil other significant meanings of Obama’s speech in the international arena. The first is related to the study by Chilton (2004) on political discourse. He proposes a

²⁵ Authors’ highlight

framework of strategic functions: Legitimation which is concerned “not primarily with the institutional context of a type of political interaction, but with the continuity over time of certain kinds of political representation” (Chilton, 2004, p. xi). The second framework adopted by this study is the one proposed by Fairclough on Assumptions because as he claims (2003, p. 11) “meaning-making depends upon not only what is explicit in a text but also what is implicit – what is assumed”. Both frameworks are described in more detail in the next sections.

Within a detailed account of meaning and context, the instance chosen to be analyzed and discussed in this study will be focused on the linguistic analysis of a text and its relationship to the social effects it causes. As it is suggested that “texts have causal effects upon, and contribute to changes in, people, (beliefs, attitudes, etc.), actions, social relations, and the material world” (Fairclough 2003, p. 8), the effects language promotes is “mediated by meaning-making” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 8). In order to carry out an investigation from a broader perspective, the next sections aim to provide a brief commentary on Chilton’s concept of Legitimation and Fairclough’s concept of Assumption which comprise the two other analytical frameworks used in this thesis.

3.2.1 Legitimation

In a sense that “speakers have a degree of choice in the wording and phrasing that prompts hearers to experience particular meanings” (Chilton, 2004, p. 61), this section aims at investigating different types of legitimizing and emotive function that emerge from the non-explicit meanings of Obama’s political speech (Chilton, 2004)²⁶. In order to describe the pragmatic units of the text, Chilton (2004, p. 111) raises a question: “[w]hat appears to be the practical purpose of saying such and such in the context of the speech?” Thus, I will draw upon Chilton’s framework of strategic functions: Legitimation. As for legitimization

²⁶ Chilton argues that the theory he developed to analyze political discourse tries “to move the debate towards a *linguistic* and rather more broadly a *cognitive* theory of language and politics, one that will take account of the most probing speculations on semantics, pragmatics, evolution and discourse processing” (Chilton, 2004, p. xi). In this sense, Chilton’s theory is essentially based on a cognitive and pragmatic approach to analyze language different from what Halliday proposes in his theory of language.

strategy, there are two kinds: *epistemic* and *deontic*²⁷. Each one of these concepts will be fully explained in the next section.

3.2.1.1 Chilton's concept of Legitimation²⁸

Language used by politicians must represent their parties and their ideas as legitimate. Political speeches, in this sense, are construed to promote and enable these political instances through 'legitimation' or as Chilton (2004, p. 23) puts

that political discourse involves, among other things, the promotion of representations, and a pervasive feature of representation is the evident need for political speakers to imbue their utterances with evidence, authority and truth, a process that we shall refer to in broad terms, in the context of political discourse, as 'legitimation'.

An approach to analyze such strategies of *delegitimation* (of the other) and *legitimation*²⁹ (of the self) (Chilton, 2004, p. 47) will be applied in order to identify and interpret the ways Obama represent his world-view in his political speech. The manifestations of delegitimation and legitimation are opposed if compared to each other as Chilton (2004, p. 47) argues

Delegitimation can manifest itself in acts of negative other-presentation, acts of blaming, scape-goating, marginalizing, excluding, attacking the moral character of some individual or group, attacking the communicative cooperation of the other, attacking the rationality and sanity of the other. The extreme is to deny the humanness of the other. (...) legitimation, usually oriented to the self, includes positive self-presentation, manifesting itself in acts of self-praise, self-apology, self-explanation, self-justification, self-identification as a source of authority, reason, vision and sanity, where the self is either an

²⁷ The terms *epistemic* and *deontic* are also found in Halliday's theory under the umbrella term *modality* (Halliday, 1994, p. 357), but I will not refer to Halliday's perspective in this investigation.

²⁸ Also called justification (Chilton, 2004, p. 138).

²⁹ Author's highlight

individual or the group with which an individual identifies or wishes to identify.

As mentioned previously, there are two kinds of legitimisation. The first type is *epistemic* and it has to do with “the speaker’s claim to have better knowledge, recognition of the real ‘facts’” (Chilton, 2004, p. 117). The second type is *deontic* in which “the speaker claims, explicitly or implicitly, to be not only ‘right’ in a cognitive sense, but ‘right’ in a moral sense” (Chilton, 2004, p. 117). One can see that the first has to do with the domain of ‘factual’ representations and the second will be concerned with the domain of feelings³⁰, more specifically moral feelings as can be seen in Table 4.29.

Epistemic Legitimation	Deontic Legitimation
Meaning = knowledge or ‘factual’ representation	Meaning = feelings representation
Recognition of real facts, claim is more ‘rational’, more ‘objective’	Certain intuitive, emotionally linked mental schemas are being evoked
Backed up by list, statistics and sources (speaker presumes the hearer will accept as authoritative)	Certain emotions are evidently stimulated: most obviously fear, anger, sense of security, protectiveness, loyalty

Table 3.8 – Differences between epistemic and deontic legitimisation based on Chilton’s concept of Legitimation (Adapted from Chilton, 2004, p. 117)

3.2.2 Fairclough’s concept of Assumptions³¹

The assumptions made in a text uncover writers or speaker’s statements, beliefs, claims, or ideas in accordance with a fact or reality.

³⁰ The Transitivity analysis carried out in this investigation (whose focal point is on Material domain of processes) and the interpretation of Legitimation strategies based on feelings have a different scope of interpretation. The first focused on the construing of actions and happenings enacted by The Self and The Others throughout the text. The second demonstrates which types of feelings and emotions Obama’s words might evoke in the audience. Even though the focus of Chilton’s framework is on emotions and feelings, it is important to highlight that this analytical framework does not imply or relate to Mental processes identified in the speech through the Transitivity analysis. In this sense, it is a framework to interpret the reception of the speech by its hearers.

³¹ A table presenting the main types of assumptions based on Fairclough’s concept of Assumptions (2003, p. 55-6) can be seen in Chapter 5.

Hence, “texts inevitably make assumptions. What is ‘said’ against a background of what is ‘unsaid’, but taken as given” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 40). So, it is also worth noting that when an author claims that something (a piece of writing or an instance of speaking) is true, it is assumed that “one’s interlocutor have indeed heard it or read it elsewhere” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 40). In this sense, claims and statements can provide evidence to support a text or even prove the truth of what has been said or written, but the contrary is also likely to happen. Facts and realities conveyed in a text might be presented as true or not. According to Fairclough (2003, p. 40)

People may mistakenly, or dishonestly, or manipulatively make such implicit claims – assertions may for instance be manipulatively passed off as assumptions, statements may mistakenly or dishonestly be attributed to others.

Fairclough (2003) also argues that these assumptions are intrinsically related to the ideological significance of the text. By means of making assumptions in a text, the speaker is conveying a set of beliefs related to a group he/she represents. One may note that a common ground is required in order to establish a foundation of cooperation and mutual agreement among members of a group. In relation to this issue, Fairclough (2003, p. 55) points out that

All forms of fellowship, community and solidarity depend upon meanings which are shared and can be taken as given, and no form of social communication or interaction is conceivable without some such ‘common ground’.

Bearing this in mind, assumptions are a significant issue to exercise “social power, domination and hegemony” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55) which shape the principles and values of a group, i.e. ideologies or as Fairclough (2001, p. 2) claims

Ideologies are closely linked to power, because the nature of the ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions, and so the nature of those conventions themselves, depends on the power relations which underlie the conventions, and because they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and

differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted.

3.3 REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES ON POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Some researchers have carried out studies on language in relation to the use of politics. Among them, two researchers from *NUPDiscurso* have drawn their researchers on the study of political discourse under the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics: Mark Anthony Robinson (2004) and José Carlos Martins (2007).

First, in his doctoral dissertation entitled “In the Nation’s Interest: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Issue of National Security in the U.S. Presidential Debates of 1960 and 2000”, Robinson carried out a contrastive analysis of televised debates between the candidates of the United States presidential election: four U.S. Presidential debates in 1960 are compared with the three debates in 2000. His study aimed to investigate “how genres and discourses are drawn upon, and how shifting language and discursive practices in the media could serve as indicators of social and cultural change in the U.S. since the advent of these institutionalized events” (Robinson, 2004, p. VI). The critical discourse analysis based on Systemic Functional Linguistics revealed that a militarized discourse based on the capitalist ideology during the Cold War permeated the debates in 1960 while the political discourse construed in the debates in 2000 led to a text influenced by a vocabulary related to the nation building and terrorism discourse.

The second study was carried out by Martins (2007) who analyzed the speech delivered by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Tony Blair, at the Annual Labour Party Conference in 2003. In his Master’s thesis, he identified and classified the microexigences in Blair’s speech based on CDA and the Transitivity System (SFL). He also took into account the opinions of journalists of the main UK newspapers in the analysis of the text. Martins found thirty microexigences in which eleven were considered more important. He analyzed these eleven microexigences in a more detailed way along with an analysis of the clauses regarding their Processes types. His study concludes that Blair tried to regain credibility to his image through the

microexigences and also to minimize the pressure for answers related to the Iraq war by tackling issues and results in other areas (i.e. education and health).

Other studies on political discourse include those by Lakoff (2001), Chilton & Schäffner (2002), Chilton (2004), Butt et al. (2004), Jackson (2005), Altheide (2006), Reyes (2011), Marchi (2011), and Marchi & Steffen (2012).

Lakoff's (2001) study refers to the speeches delivered by Bush and Al Gore at the conclusion of the contested 2000 U.S. presidential election, which Lakoff (2001, p. 312) calls "the extraordinary moment" because there were speculations concerning the counting of votes in Florida. As the results led to Bush's victory over Al Gore, the Acceptance and Concession speeches did not follow a pattern as they used to. The speeches were placed in an intriguing situation and a different and unique response was required by each of the presidential candidates. Lakoff suggests that the audience's strong feelings and the voting irregularities shaped a different tone in the political discourses analyzed in her article. Besides, according to Lakoff (2001, p. 313), those speeches required "words to calm everyone down and "bring us together".

A collection of essays originated in an international conference held in Birmingham, England, at Aston University, in July 1997 composes the work edited by Chilton & Shaffner (2002) entitled "Politics as Text and Talk". These authors present themes and principles in the analysis of political discourse as an introductory chapter. Chilton and Schaffner raise some issues regarding the study of language in relation to politics in which, for example, shared perceptions of values define political associations and that political institutions of the state may serve as an instrument to solve conflicts of political interest. They also point out that politics can be defined as "institutional politics and everyday politics" (Chilton and Schaffner, 2002, p. 6) because some relationships in society are not directly related to politics as such. The other chapters present articles written by other scholars in which themes as identity, institution, cognition, and interaction are discussed through different analytical approaches.

In his book entitled "Analysing Political Discourse", Chilton (2004) explores the ways human beings think and behave politically by using a theoretical framework based on critical theory and cognitive linguistics. The author analyzes some of the most important political discourses in contemporary society, including some samples of political language post-September 11th. Upon shedding some light to the mental

and behavior representations of political actors and their audiences, Chilton provides interesting and in-depth linguistic frameworks to political discourse analysis.

In their study “Grammar – the first covert operation of war” conducted in 2004, Butt and colleagues examined the way language assigns ideology in relation to text construction in two specific situations. The first text is the first speech delivered by Bush after September 11th, and the second is the speech made by British Lieutenant Colonel Tim Collins in which he stimulates his troops to go to the Iraq war in 2003. The authors found many similarities and differences between the texts and conclude that grammar is crucial in order to construct discrimination to protect and to target Participants in discourse.

Jackson (2005) published a book entitled “Writing the war on terrorism” in which he examines the public language and the rhetoric used to justify and normalize a global response to the counter-terrorism of September 11th. Within an interdisciplinary approach, the author discusses the way political actors manipulate language through a normalization and institutionalization approach to achieve public consent and fear towards terrorist threats.

In his “Terrorism and the Politics of Fear”, Altheide (2006) studies the social construction of fear in American political scenario. He demonstrates how the mass media has a fundamental role in it and also how the use of fear controls politics in relation to domestic and foreign policies.

Marchi (2011) in her article “The use of language in politics: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Obama’s speech in the light of Systemic Functional Grammar” takes into account the economic context of the United States in 2008 as well as the Presidential Primaries between Democratic and Republican Parties to analyze an emblematic speech delivered by Obama in his speech in New Hampshire. Based on CDA and SFL, the researcher carries out a textual analysis of such speech and unveils the Participants and Social Actors chosen by the speechwriter with the ability to construe social change and the ones who gain voice through the Processes they are enacted. In the conclusion, Marchi points out that by establishing a creed (yes we can), Obama relates characters of American history such as Kennedy and Martin Luther King and also American citizens to construe a prominent spirit of union and to promote a strong basis to a change in the political scenario of the Democratic Party.

Marchi and Steffen (2012) present a clear account on two excerpts of the Acceptance and Concession speeches delivered by Dilma and Serra after the 2010 Brazilian presidential election. Both scholars analyze the texts through the Transitivity analysis and on the representational meanings they portrayed. The authors took into account the image of women in Dilma's speech and the image of the youth in Serra's speech in order to analyze how these specific Participants are represented in each speech. They conclude that Dilma projects her aspirations related to women in representative contexts by portraying the women as agents in Material Processes while Serra chose to relate himself to the young people of Brazil in order to achieve a stronger and more motivated image after his loss in the 2010 Brazilian presidential election.

This chapter presented the review of literature that supports this thesis. The next chapter comprises the results and discussion of the present study regarding SFL.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF THE DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter provides the results and discussion of the Context of Situation based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004), a macro analysis of the main themes, and a micro analysis of Obama's political speech through the Transitivity System.

4.1 CONTEXT OF SITUATION

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 29) "Writing a description of a grammar entails constant shunting between the perspective of the system and the perspective of the instance". This movement between the system (language) and instance (text) can occur mainly because the "meanings that are realized by these wordings [...] are construals of human experience" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 28). In this sense, by means of construing human experience out of his political speeches, Barack Obama makes use of the language as a system to create the setting of his texts, especially when he materializes his words into personal, political, and social relations. He also seems to fulfill the basic functions of language: "making sense of our experience, and acting out our social relationships". (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 29)

The environment of the text (i.e. context of situation) is crucial to understand the subsequent description and interpretation of the lexicogrammatical choices of Obama's political speech made through the Transitivity analysis. In order to do that, the three features of context of situation (Halliday, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) will be described – the field, the tenor, and the mode of discourse. The context of situation is one of the dimensions used to analyze language in Systemic Functional Linguistics.

Eggs (2004, p. 90) goes further when pointing out that "In proposing these three variables, Halliday is making the claim that, of all things going on in a situation at a time of language use, only these three have a direct and significant impact on the type of language that will be produced". In order to describe these contextual categories and their relationship to language use, it is necessary to carry out a "description of the values of each of these variables at a given time of language use"

(Eggins, 2004, p. 90), i.e. a *register description* of Obama's political speech in Berlin.

In this respect, what is happening and what is the nature of the social action that is taking place in Obama's political speech in Berlin is what in SFL we call *field of discourse*. It answers the question 'what is going on'. Thus, regarding field, Obama's political speech in Berlin is part of his 2008 presidential tour in Europe. It was the main speech delivered by him in a European Union country seeking political visibility in the United States and abroad. He chose Germany – one of the strongest, if not the strongest, countries in Europe – to make his most important remark outside his domestic political arena (the United States). His choice seems to be based on Germany's social, economic, historical, and political influence in Europe and in the world³².

In relation to the *tenor of discourse*, which refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles, at the time of the speech, Barack Obama was the United States Senator from the state of Illinois and also the Democratic presidential nominee in the 2008 United States presidential election. His audience was formed by people all over the world, but especially people from Europe. This particular ongoing political discourse was televised, made available on the internet. According to Berlin police, the crowd who gathered in Berlin's city central park was estimated at more than two-hundred thousand people³³. Although his main target was his homeland electorate, he also seemed to address his words to strengthen the bonds between America and Europe³⁴.

The last register description of Obama's speech in Berlin concerns the *mode of discourse*. The mode of discourse refers to what role the language is playing, what the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation. Taking this into account, the role assigned to the language in Obama's political speech is constitutive. The symbolic function of language plays an important role in constructing the political and social relationship in Obama's speech.

³² A more expanded notion of field of this specific political instance will be provided in the macro analysis of the main issues and themes and in the micro analysis of the clauses through the Transitivity System.

³³ Information based on an article by Karen Tumulty entitled "Obama urges unity in Berlin" at: <http://www.time.com/time/politics/article/0,8599,1826330,00.html> (published on July 24th, 2008) retrieved on March 9th, 2012.

³⁴ Information based on an article by Jeff Zeleny and Nicholas Kulish entitled "Obama, in Berlin, Calls for Renewal of Ties With Allies" at: http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/25/us/politics/25obama.html?_r=1&ref=politics (published on July 25th, 2008) retrieved on March 9th, 2012.

Obama seems to construct an image of a strong and powerful leader, through a relationship based on the use of language to assert reliability and confidence in his political aspirations as the future President of the United States.

Upon shaping this political relationship overseas, Obama seems to create a powerful image of a politician at home and in the world through the construction of his text and talk. According to Jeff Zeleny and Nicholas Kulish³⁵

Berliners waved American flags — provided by the campaign — throughout the address, offering precisely the visual message that Mr. Obama’s aides wanted to beam back home: a candidate who could restore the world’s faith in strong American leadership and idealism.

(The New York Times, 2008)

The social roles that such political discourse prescribes seem to strengthen not only the role of the United States in the so called global economy, but also to produce a different type of international affairs guided by a different leader at the White House.

When setting such power relations between the United States and the world, the presidential candidate seems to underpin the meaning of his political discourse and future actions as the President. He also seems to assert and at the same time resist to some issues in his address. Thus, a discussion on his lexicogrammatical choices relating to these issues will be carried out in the Transitivity analysis (microanalysis); but before that, a macro analysis of the main issues of the speech will be presented in order to understand the flow of events shown by Obama.

4.2 MACRO ANALYSIS OF THE MAIN ISSUES OF THE SPEECH

Considering that this specific political speech had to reach not only the people in Europe but the people of the United States and of the world, the content of this instance had to be macro analyzed throughout its main issues and themes.

The “Citizen of the World” speech, which was written along with the foreign policy speechwriter, Ben Rhodes, and the chief speechwriter

³⁵ Information based on an article by Jeff Zeleny and Nicholas Kulish entitled “Obama, in Berlin, Calls for Renewal of Ties With Allies” at: http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/25/us/politics/25obama.html?_r=1&ref=politics (published on July 25th, 2008) retrieved on March 9th, 2012.

of the White House, Jon Favreau, addresses an American concern related to the international affairs the United States have maintained in the previous years. Perhaps, it could also be suggestive that this address seeks to establish a common ground and a sense of union between America and the world.

After analyzing the features and the structure of the text, eleven main themes and issues have been identified throughout the speech, which further expands the notion of field in the context of situation as presented in Table 4.1.

Number of the theme/issue (paragraphs taken from Obama's speech)	Main themes and issues
(paragraph # 1)	Thanking political officials and the people of Berlin
1 (from paragraph # 2 to # 5)	Talking about his multicultural heritage
2 (from paragraph # 6 to # 11)	Emphasizing the partnership between the USA – Germany after 1948
3 (from paragraph # 12 to # 17)	Making an allusion to the famous speech of Berlin mayor Ernst Reuter. Berlin is seen as an example
4 (from paragraph # 18 to # 23)	Pointing out new dangers in the world
5 (paragraphs # 24 and # 25)	Stereotypes created by Europe on America, and America's view on Europe

6 (from paragraph # 26 to # 28)	Allowing new walls to divide Europe and America
7 (paragraph # 29)	Creating bridges between America and Europe
8 (from paragraph # 30 to # 37)	Setting an agenda for action – ‘ This is the moment to act’
9 (from paragraph # 38 to # 40)	Posing questions to the world
10 (from paragraph # 41 to # 43)	America
11 (paragraphs # 44 and # 45)	Talking about aspirations and destiny

Table 4.1 - Eleven main themes identified in Obama’s political speech in Berlin

As the field is “the situational variable that has to do with the focus of the activity in which we are engaged” (Eggs, 2004, p. 103), in this political instance the eleven main themes are all related to a broader one: *the establishment of a common ground between the United States and the world*. Drawing attention to global issues and the spirit of union and cooperativeness, Obama starts his presidential campaign speech presenting himself as a citizen of the world and he makes this connection referring to his multicultural family background. Although the main theme of this speech is the relationship between the United States and the world, Obama tackles some other important issues relating America and Germany since 1948, i.e. after the World War II, in which both countries become friends rather than foes. The city of Berlin is seen as an example by him, when making a clear allusion to the famous political speech delivered by the Governing Mayor of Berlin,

Ernst Reuter, on September 9th, 1948, during the city's blockade by the Soviets. He also uses the Cold War not only as a symbolic image of West Berliners' struggle for freedom, but as something desired in every part of the world. Obama points out some new dangers in the world after the historic September 11th, some facts related to global warming, and other issues related to dangerous currents all over the globe. Stereotypes created by Europe on America, and America's view on Europe are also unveiled throughout the speech as well as the walls that divide and the bridges that unite America and Europe. Thus, Obama carries on his address calling on the people of the world to act. In addition, he poses questions on some other relevant issues around the world, citing some names of known places and what has happened in each one. Then he talks about the United States and the contribution of his country to the world. At the end, he remembers the peoples' aspirations "to remake the world once again".

As could be seen above, the identification of the main issues and themes or as Fairclough (2003, p. 129) claims "the main parts of the world (including areas of social life)" are represented from a particular perspective. Within this textual analysis, one can point out that these themes include specific perspectives: (a) group identity (self identity – in the case of Obama; and national identity – United States and others); (b) capitalism; (c) dangers such as terrorism and global warming; (d) globalization and economic issues; (e) the principle of common humanity. And these specific perspectives lead to different representations of the world experience providing a clear account of the context in which they occur.

In this sense, these eleven themes and subsequent particular perspectives will be ideationally analyzed in the next section regarding two Participants' categories: The Self (Obama and the United States) and The Others (other countries and people). The discussion of the microanalysis of the clauses in the speech will be developed in relation to those Participants. Hence, to bring the discussion to a close, the analysis of the lexicogrammatical choices will unveil the main social perspectives that were identified through the main themes/issues in the speech.

4.3 MICRO ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECH

The micro analysis carried out through the Transitivity analysis involves a detailed description of Process type (Material, Mental, Behavioral, Verbal, Existential, and Relational) which in turn enacts the

type of Participants involved in the text. The system of Transitivity encodes the experiential meanings we construe through texts (spoken or written). These meanings are the ones we construe “about the world, about experience, about how we perceive and experience what is going on” (Egins, 2004, p. 249).

Taking into account the Transitivity analysis of the whole speech, out of three-hundred and seventy-five clauses (375) analyzed, two-hundred and thirty five clauses (235) or 63% are Material Processes. The second most prominent type of Process is the Relational Identifying type (thirty-nine clauses or 10%). Mental Processes occur in thirty-two clauses or 8%. The Relational Attributive type had an incidence in thirty-one clauses or 8%. The fifth most prominent Process was the Verbal type (twenty-one clauses or 6%). The Behavioral Process occurred in ten clauses (3%) and the last and less prominent type is of the Existential type (seven clauses or 2%). All the Processes and their occurrences in the whole speech can be seen in Figure 4.1.

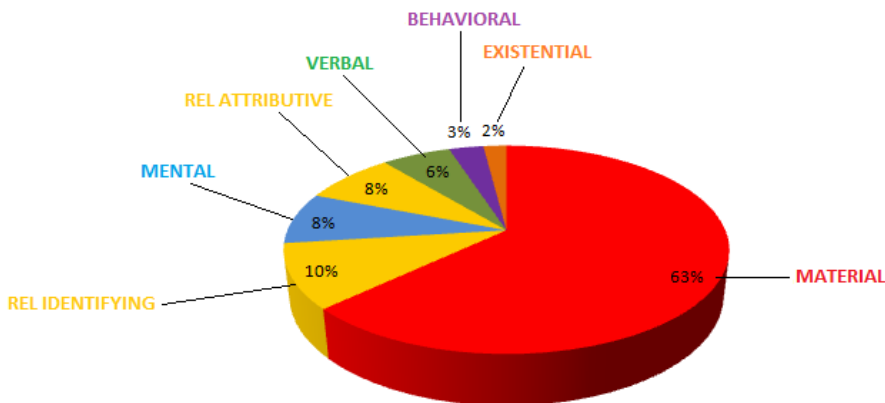


Figure 4.1 – Occurrences of Processes in Obama’s speech in Berlin

As regards the fact that more than 60% of the speech is based on Material clauses (two-hundred and thirty five – 235 - clauses), this type of clause encodes events that indicate or construe “a quantum of change in the flow of events as taking place through some input of energy” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 179). In other words, the phenomena of material experience are construed through Processes of doing and

happening or as “a sequence of concrete change” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 179) in the speech.

The fact that the most common type of Processes identified in the speech is the Material one seems to reveal that in Obama’s speech the Participants construe an experience upon enacting proactive agency roles. According to Fairclough (2003, p. 42) “events (and hence texts) are shaped by agency of participants as well as social structures and social practices”. Due to their social significance, social actors are capable or not of agency or as van Leeuwen (1996, p. 32) questions “in which contexts are which social actors represented as ‘agents’ and which as ‘patients’?” In this sense, all these experiential domains will be better understood in the next sections, when I discuss the meanings of the main themes related to Material Processes and the types of Participants involved (Actors). The Participants will be divided into two categories: The Self and The Others, because as Altheide (2006, p. x) argues “power can be defined as the ability to define a situation for the self and others.” In this sense, the focus of this study is on the Actors related to The Self (United States and the inclusive we) and The Others (other countries, entities, or actions) and how they are construed in relation to the power and ideology unveiled in Obama’s political discourse.

4.3.1 Participants, their doings and happenings

As pointed out before, this presidential campaign speech moves from theme to theme, each one exploring and projecting an aspect of social life. This particular political speech follows a style crafted by Obama and his speechwriters that does not follow a pattern of listing political achievements. When writing a speech, they “spend much more time on “narrative” (the story a speech tells) and “naming” (the explicit identification of problems or challenges)”³⁶ as Favreau – one of Obama’s speechwriters – tells in an interview. Hence, one must see that Obama construes his political discourse with a personal-centered theme (*his multicultural heritage*) and goes on to a broader-spread theme (*aspirations and destiny*), presenting a full portrait of his view on The Self (United States, Obama himself, and inclusive we) and on The Others (other countries). According to Chilton (2004), when analyzing a

³⁶ Information based on an article by Matthew d’Ancona entitled “Jon Favreau has the world’s best job” at: <http://www.gq-magazine.co.uk/comment/articles/2011-06/06/gq-comment-jon-favreau-president-barack-obama-speechwriter/page/4> (published on June 6th, 2011) retrieved on March 9th, 2012.

speech delivered by a political leader in an international arena “it is crucial to establish who is ‘us’ and who is ‘them’” (Chilton, 2004, p. 159). By means of enacting actions, happenings, and doings to the Participants, Obama creates and represents his views of America and the world through experiential meanings. In a nutshell, therefore, the verbal analysis carried out in this study is about taking a closer attention to the representations of The Self (us) and of The Others (them) in order to identify what types of actions and happenings are assigned to each one. Therefore, the analysis is carried out based on

What we experience as going ‘out there’, in the world around us (...) The prototypical form of the ‘outer’ experience is that of actions and events: things happen, and people and other actors do things, or make them happen (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 170)

4.3.1.1 Obama’s multicultural heritage

The first main theme presented by Obama in his “A World that Stands as One’ speech is *His Multicultural Heritage*. Twenty-three clauses, from paragraph 2 to 5, from clause 5 to 27 could be identified (see complete Transitivity analysis in Appendix A2). Out of twenty-three clauses, the most prominent Process in the excerpt is the Material Process (occurrence of seven clauses).

Actors are intrinsically related to Obama in six out of twenty-three clauses. He presents his personal story linked with his family as doers. In the speech, meaning is construed with Participants as agents within the power of doing things as it can be seen in Table 4.2.

I come here to Berlin as so many of my countrymen have come before [clause 5]

(...) as so many of my countrymen **have come** before [clause 6]

My mother **was born** in the heartland of America [clause 12]

(...) my father **grew up** herding goats in Kenya [clause 13]

(...) his yearning – his dream – **required** the freedom and opportunity promised by the West [clause 16 and 17]

(...) **he wrote** letter after letter to universities all across America [clause 18]

**Table 4.2 – Main theme/issue #1
Obama and his family (The Self) – ACTORS**

Still in relation to Table 4.2, one can note that all the Actors refer to Obama's family (my mother, my father), to the United States (as so many of my countrymen), and to America and Germany (men and women from both our nations). Taking into account all the Actors that represent The Self (United States), there is one occurrence of inclusive we representing Germany in clause 27 of the excerpt analyzed. Thus, one Material clause gives agency to the people of America and Germany who sought for a better life as can be seen in Table 4.3.

(...) **men and women from both our nations came together to work, and struggle, and sacrifice** for that better life [clause 27]

**Table 4.3 – Main theme/issue #1
The Self – ACTORS**

As already mentioned, all these Participants are related somehow to Obama and all are Actors, i.e. are doers and agents in specific circumstances. Thus, one can see that Obama begins his speech telling: *"I [Actor] come [Material] to Berlin as so many of my countrymen [Actor] have come [Material] before"* making an indirect reference to other American Presidents who have delivered speeches in Berlin. As already pointed out, Barack Obama was not the first American politician to deliver a speech in Berlin. Obama drew his words to a big crowd forty-four years after Martin Luther King delivered his address in Berlin³⁷. Although Obama does not mention Martin Luther King's speech in the capital of Germany, he does mention implicitly some of the United States Presidents who have previously addressed remarks in the historic city of Berlin³⁸.

³⁷ Information based on an article entitled "German Connections – Black History Month: Martin Luther King Jr. in East and West Berlin" at: <http://www.german-way.com/famous-mlk-german.html> (published: not informed) retrieved on March 9th, 2012.

³⁸ A detailed description of the Presidents who delivered speeches in Berlin and a brief account on the importance of the city is given in section 2.2.3 of Chapter 2: "Berlin as a place for important U.S. Presidential speeches".

Still in relation to the Actors found in the first main theme, Obama tells the crowd how he is a ‘citizen of the world’ upon giving an active role to his mother and his father: “*My mother [Actor] was born [Material] in the heartland of America, but my father [Actor] grew up [Material] herding goats in Kenya*”. In order to construe this image of a ‘multiracial family’ and even to show the world he is not just American, but also has an African influence, Obama uses the Material Process “was born” with his mother as an Actor and “grew up” with his father as Actor. The first seems to imply an idea of a more natural process if compared to the other Material Process “grew up”, which seems to be more as having the experience to live in that country or even having contact with that reality. Hence, ‘in nature’, Obama is American, because of his mother.

Obama seems to reinforce this idea of being a proud citizen of America when telling the audience that his father was a dreamer, the one who believed that the West (the United States of America) had the opportunities to a promising life: “*(...) that his yearning - his dream - [Actor] required [Material] the freedom and opportunity promised [Material] by the West. [Actor] And so he [Actor] wrote [Material] letter after letter to universities all across America*”. Thus, his father was a doer, someone who acted upon the destiny when he wrote to universities and changed the course of his life as so many others. Another point to be taken into account is that these aspirations seem to be found only in the West, where there is a promise of opportunity. The West here represents the United States of America in a sense that West Berlin was controlled by America and the allies and freedom was possible in this side of Germany.

Following a Systemic Functional Grammar perspective, the most prominent Participant in these excerpts are the *subjective pronoun I* and the *objective pronoun me*, which are related to the speaker – Barack Obama. Table 4.4 presents this evidence throughout the excerpt.

I come [Actor / Material] to Berlin as so many of my countrymen have come before. Tonight, **I speak [Sayer / Verbal]** to you not as a candidate for President, but as a citizen - a proud citizen of the United States, and a fellow citizen of the world. (Paragraph #2)

I know [Senser / Mental] that **I don't look like [Identifier / Rel Ident]** the Americans who've previously spoken in this great city. The journey

that led me here is improbable. My mother was born in the heartland of America, but my father grew up herding goats in Kenya. His father - my grandfather - was a cook, a domestic servant to the British. (Paragraph # 3)

That is why **I'm [Carrier / Rel Att]** here. And you are here because you too know that yearning. This city, of all cities, knows the dream of freedom. And you know that the only reason we stand here tonight is because men and women from both of our nations came together to work, and struggle, and sacrifice for that better life. (Paragraph #5)

Table 4.4 - Excerpt from main theme # 1 presenting Processes and Participants involving Obama (I) in bold

Taking the Transitivity analysis into account, five out of twenty-three clauses are directly related to Obama himself as he is presenting himself as different types of Participants as can be seen in the previous table. There are five occurrences of the pronoun I (Obama) and each one is represented differently if compared to the aspects of the physical and mental world (Fairclough, 2003, p. 134). In this respect, Obama is represented as an Actor, as a Sayer, as a Senser, as an Identifier, and as a Carrier. As it could be noticed, Obama does not represent himself as a Behaver.

As an Actor, Obama wants to unveil that he is doing exactly the same thing that some of his countrymen did in the past. Although as a Sayer, he is different from them because he speaks as a citizen of the world, as can be seen in the clause: *“Tonight, I [Sayer] speak [Verbal] to you not as a candidate for President, but as a citizen - a proud citizen of the United States, and a fellow citizen of the world”*.

Furthermore, upon expressing an emotional response of his multicultural heritage to the reality of the American countrymen cited before, Obama expresses his thought as a Senser in *“I [Senser] know [Mental] that I don't look like [projected clause = Identifier / Rel Ident] the Americans who've previously spoken in this great city”*. Consequently, the following clause is a projected clause related to the previous Mental clause: *“I [Senser] know [Mental] that I don't look like [projected clause = Identifier / Rel Ident] the Americans who've previously spoken in this great city”*. The Relational Identifying Process unveils a non-identification of Obama with other presidents of the United States. In other words, he assigns an American identity, but even more he reinforces the idea of speaking as a candidate, as a citizen of the

world, because different from the others he has a multicultural identity, he is a mixture of races.

The next section deals with the micro analysis of the second main theme identified in the speech.

4.3.1.2 The partnership between the USA – Germany after 1948

Only four types of Processes appeared in the second main theme of Obama's speech: Material, Relational Attributive, Relational Identifier, and Mental. The excerpt has twenty-nine clauses in which the majority of occurrences are of Material Processes (in twenty-two clauses or 74.86% of the excerpt) and the minority is of Mental type (in one clause or 3.45%). The second main theme in Obama's speech in Berlin *The partnership between the USA – Germany after 1948* can be seen from clause twenty-eight to fifty-six. (cf. Appendix A2)

With regards to the first main theme in which Obama points out his multicultural heritage, the last clause elucidates a reason why the audience and Obama stand at the Tiergarten that day. As already mentioned, from clause twenty-six to twenty-seven, Obama says that *“the only reason we stand here tonight [Carrier] is [Relational Attributive] because men and women from both our nations came together to work, and struggle, and sacrifice for that better life [Circumstance]”*. Thus, Obama relates the reason with a circumstance, a circumstance that implies three Material Processes in order to achieve a better life: through work, struggle and sacrifice.

Taking this into consideration, the first clause that opens up the second main theme continues to tackle this issue, but at this time Obama uses the event after the World War struggle as a common ground to the United States and Germany to build their partnership as can be seen in the Transitivity analysis of clause twenty-nine: *“Ours is a partnership [Actor] that truly began [Material] sixty years ago this summer [Circumstance]”*.

Looking at the ideational meaning of these clauses, one can see that the reason why the United States and Germany work, struggle, and sacrifice for that better life is related to a partnership. A partnership that begins in 1948, making an implicit reference to the year when West Berlin was blocked by the Soviet Union during another war, the Cold War. In this sense, it seems that all that has happened before the beginning of the Cold War – such as the greatest war in the world – the II World War – is excluded from the speech. What is taken into account and shown to the audience is the relationship between the United States

and Germany since the Cold War. In general terms, the excerpt has twenty-nine Participants and most of them are related to a military vocabulary, to images of war and rescue, to the people and countries that were part of that moment. As regards the most prominent Participant in the second main theme, they are Actors as can be seen in Table 4.5.

The Others	The Self (and inclusive we)
The rubble of this city	a partnership
The Soviet shadow	The first American plane
the Communists	America, Britain, and France
They (the Communists)	the world
The streets ³⁹	the two sides
	the airlift ⁴⁰
	the largest and most unlikely rescue in history
	many planes
	We

**Table 4.5 - Main theme/issue # 2
The Others and The Self – ACTORS**

The image of the partnership is enhanced through the representation of the main Participants involved in the Cold War as a way to attenuate the right and the wrong side of it. One can realize that in order to construe a positive image of the United States and subsequently of the allies (Britain and France), Obama uses Material Processes that reinforce the good actions carried out by them. In clause thirty, he presents the first Actor that started changing the bad situation presented in Berlin: *“The first American plane [Actor] touched down [Material] at Templehof.”* In order to show that America was not alone when helping West Berlin, Obama mentions the help of two of their allies in clause thirty-four: *“America, Britain and France [Actor] took stock [Material] of their losses”.*

Another image is built through cues that evoke a sense of a dark side of the Cold War, represented by the Soviets and Communism. First, Obama construes a whole image of the continent and its devastating situation after the II World War in clause thirty-one: *“Much of this*

³⁹ It is important to explain that ‘the streets’ can be categorized as The Others since they represent part of the city of Berlin.

⁴⁰ Two other Actors identified as ‘the world’ and ‘the airlift’ were categorized as The Self since the first has the United States as part of it and the second represents an effort conducted by a group of countries (United States, France, and Britain) by delivering food and supply to help Berlin during the Cold War.

continent [Actor] still lay [Material] in ruin.” Later on, in order to situate the audience to a closer reality, Obama points out what has been left from the II World War in Berlin through the image of the Berlin Wall in clause thirty-two: *“The rubble of this city [Actor] had yet to be built [Material] in to a wall”*. Additionally, the Soviet Union is treated as a shadow, something that denotes darkness, in a sense that while in the West part of Berlin the allies were rebuilding the continent, the same was not occurring in East Berlin, as can be seen in *“The Soviet shadow [Actor] had swept [Material] across Eastern Europe”*. Three more clauses illustrate that *“the Communists [Actor] not only chose to blockade [Material] the western part of the city”*, but *“They [Actor] cut off [Material] food and supplies to more than two million Germans”*. To bring the illustration of the Soviet Union’s actions to a close, Obama also suggests that more than cutting food and supplies, they did that as *“an effort [Actor] to extinguish [Material] the last flame of Berlin.”*

As regards the flow of the speech, the third main theme of the speech is micro analyzed in the next section.

4.3.1.3 Berlin is seen as an example

The third main theme identified is *Berlin is seen as an example*. There were thirty-three clauses related to this theme, from paragraph 12 to 17, from clause fifty-seven to eighty-nine (cf. Appendix A2). Material Processes (identified in nineteen clauses) are also the most prominent process in the excerpt. The most recurrent Actors refer to The Others – Germany and other countries. The speaker also presents The Self (Americans) and inclusive we. Those Processes refer to The Others as active Actors in the speech, since the theme is related to the city of Berlin.

The Others	The Self (and inclusive we)
The people of Berlin (2x)	People of the world
Hundreds of thousands of Berliners	Germans and Americans ⁴¹
The city’s mayor	A world
For us (German people)	
We (Germans 2x)	
The determination of the people	

⁴¹ I included the Actor ‘Germans’ in the Participants’ category The Self because it performs an active role along with ‘Americans’. In this sense, Germans can be considered inclusive we and can also be categorized as The Self.

A continent (Germany and others)	
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**Table 4.6 – Main theme/issue #3
The Others and The Self – ACTORS**

In respect to the more specific lexicogrammatical choices to represent The Others in his speech, the speechwriter construes the experiential meaning upon enacting to these Actors active roles in shaping a new reality in Germany and subsequently in the world. They are agents of a profound change after the World War II and must be seen as examples to the world. In Obama's words the Berliners can be considered determined and enthusiastic people because they rebuilt their lives from the remains of the badly damaged city. Hence, the mayor of Berlin is mentioned as another agent that emphasizes the significant role of freedom not only for the people of that city but to the people of the world. Freedom hereby can be understood as the willpower of those people to act upon that reconstruction. It might be suggestive to note that Obama imaged the mayor Ernest Reuter as the spokesman of a defining characteristic that shaped the rebuilding of that society. Thus, the importance of Berliners to rebuild the city is construed upon a nominalization in which an adjective (determination) is used also as a noun. Hence, "the determination of the people" is enacted with a Material Process: "*The determination of the people [Actor] met [Material] the generosity of the Marshall Plan*" in which the Process "met" is one that creates a transformation of that situation. The goal "the generosity of the Marshall Plan" is essential for that transformation to happen and most important to unleash another marked change in Berlin's society: a German miracle – the economic development that happened in a short time in West Germany and Austria after World War II. Thus, from a small prospect (a city – Berlin) to a broader one (a continent), The Others are the most salient Participants in the third theme. The speechwriter explores the spirit of union through the Participant "a continent", which performs a happening associated to another transformation related to the fall of the Berlin wall. In "*a continent [Actor] came [Material] together*", Obama presents Europe as an agent of the German reunification.

But in the darkest hours, the people of Berlin **kept** the flame of hope burning. [clause 57]

The people of Berlin **refused to give up**. [clause 58]

And on one fall day, hundreds of thousands of Berliners **came** here, to the Tiergarten. [clause 59]

(...) the city's mayor **implore** the world not to give up on freedom. [clause 61]

We **have done** our duty [clause 67]

And we **will keep on doing** our duty [clause 68]

Look at Berlin, where the determination of the people **met** the generosity of the Marshall Plan [clause 77] and **created** a German miracle [clause 78]

(...) a continent **came** together [clause 86]

**Table 4.7 – Main theme/issue #3
The Others (Germany and other countries) – ACTORS**

Lastly, regarding the lexicogrammatical choices to represent The Self and the inclusive we, Obama calls on people to act using the exact same words of the Mayor of Berlin: “*people of the world: [Actor] now do [Material] your duty*”. The duty hereby can be seen as a restoration of political unity in a divided world. A world divided by threats, new dangers, inequalities as the speaker will point out later in another important theme in the speech: *New dangers in the world*. Thus, Obama’s use of an imperative verb makes this an order. In this sense, he is issuing a command to position his audience and also to indicate his feelings towards the action the world must take in order to be unified. The speechwriter also points out two other Material clauses in which he observes that “*Germans and Americans [Actor] learned to work [Material] together after facing [Material] each other on the field of the battle*”. The partnership mentioned in the second theme is evoked at this point. Germans and Americans perform an activity in which a conscious physical action “learned to work” was done in order to achieve the reconstruction of Berlin. Obama also points out that this happened between them “*after facing [Material] each other on the field of the battle*”. The issue of union is again raised in order to show that the people can come together for a common purpose or as the speaker evokes “*for a world [Actor] that stands [Material] as one*”. Table 4.8 presents the clauses previously discussed.

<p><u>People of the world</u>: now do your duty... [clause 69]</p> <p>Look at Berlin, where <u>Germans and Americans</u> learned to work together [clause 73]</p> <p>after facing each other on the field of the battle [clause 75]</p> <p>(...) for <u>a world</u> that stands as one [clause 89]</p>
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Table 4.8 – Main theme/issue #3
The Self (United States and inclusive we) – ACTORS

4.3.1.4 New dangers in the world

The fourth main theme identified is *New dangers in the world*. The excerpt goes from paragraph 18 to 23; out of forty-one clauses, thirty-one are of Material type. Taking the salience of Material clauses into consideration, the most recurrent Actors in the fourth theme are mainly related to new threats and dangers such as terrorism and global warming. The analysis of the clauses reveals that the speaker uses many nominalizations in order to present the Actors in the speech, especially the Actors classified as The Others as can be seen in Table 4.9.

The Others	The Self (and inclusive we)
the German people	cars in Boston and factories in Beijing
The fall of the Berlin wall	our efforts
that very closeness (of the Berlin wall)	we (2x)
The terrorists of September 11 th	No one nation
Poorly secured nuclear material in the former Soviet Union, or secrets from a scientist in Pakistan	None of us
The poverty and violence in Somalia	

Table 4.9 – Main theme/issue #4
The Others and The Self – ACTORS

As previously mentioned, the Actors are intrinsically related to issues of dangers and threats, mainly in relation to the Actors representing The Others. However, one might note that there are two Material clauses in which Germany is implicitly performing positive actions. A third Material clause enacts a negative action related to the

dividedness the wall promoted. First, the people of Berlin are doers of a transformative happening: “*When you, the German people, [Actor] tore down [Material] that wall*”. Second, the fall of the Berlin wall that divided East and West, Communism and Capitalism, manifested an optimistic spirit on the people: “*The fall of the Berlin wall [Actor] brought [Material] new hope.*” Third, Obama presents the close of the Berlin wall as something that unveils the new dangers in the world: “*that very closeness [Actor] has given [Material] rise to new dangers*”.

Also, Obama placed negative actions in three Material clauses related to the terrorists of September 11th in which they “*plotted [Material] in Hamburg, and trained [Material] in Kandahar and Karachi before killing [Material] thousands from all over the globe on American soil*”. As one can see, Obama creates a broad geographical dimension in order to make sure that his listeners imagine the extent of such negative actions, which makes a clear allusion to the attacks of September 11th, 2001 in New York City.

The speaker continues to tackle the issue of terrorism in which the Soviet Union and Pakistan are also involved as Actors. In respect to these Actors, they are enacted by a nominalization that creates a description of the threats “*Poorly secured nuclear material in the former Soviet Union, or secrets from a scientist in Pakistan [Actor] could help build [Material] a bomb that detonates in Paris*”. He positions a bomb as the result of those actions, the Goal, and Paris as the Circumstance in which such actions could happen.

To bring this issue of threats and dangers to a close, Obama relates the lack of material possessions (poverty) and the use of force to threaten (violence) as the causes to the development of terrorism in the future. Table 4.10 presents all the clauses which The Others are the Actors⁴² of such Material experiences in the world.

When you, the German people, **tore down** that wall [clause 92]

The fall of the Berlin wall **brought** new hope. [clause 103]

But that very closeness **has given rise** to new dangers [clause 104]

⁴² I identified noun phrases as Actors since they seem to be used as real agents. I understand that the implication is different; however I categorized them as Participants because in a sense they represent people from other countries.

The terrorists of September 11th **plotted** (...) in Hamburg [clause 106] and **trained** in Kandahar and Karachi before **killing** thousands from all over the globe on American soil. [clause 107/108]

Poorly secured nuclear material in the former Soviet Union, or secrets from a scientist in Pakistan **could help build** a bomb that detonates in Paris [clause 113]

The poverty and violence in Somalia **breeds** the terror of tomorrow [clause 116]

**Table 4.10 – Main theme/issue #4
The Others (Germany and other countries) – ACTORS**

As for the lexicogrammatical choices relating to The Self, there are eight Material clauses enacting active Actors. Three of them are explicitly related to the global warming – one of the new dangers pointed out by Obama. Obama seems to take the responsibility of global warming to the United States. He also points out a city from China as one of the responsible for it. Considering context as a significant representation of experience, Obama construes a geographical space in which global warming occurs in one place and affects another in the world. He uses a nominalization in order to represent the Actors of three actions and happenings to entail this global prospect experience to the audience: “(...) *cars in Boston and factories in Beijing are melting the ice caps in the Arctic and shrinking coastlines in the Atlantic and bringing drought to farms from Kansas to Kenya*”. Given the three Material clauses, one can see that other countries are involved as other Participants. They are represented as Goals of the actions and are affected by “the cars in Boston and factories in Beijing”. So, this is a broader dimension construed by Obama in order to make everyone in the world concerned with this danger and he also mentions the countries responsible for the global carbon dioxide emissions in the atmosphere.

The analysis of other two Material clauses entails the use of inclusive we “to make discourse more persuasive and compelling” (Young & Fitzgerald, 2006, p. 31). In this respect, the speaker includes himself (and the United States) and the audience (the entire world) to illustrate actions to control these dangerous happenings throughout the world. The speaker inclusively adjusts himself, his country, and the others’ participation to an inevitable and uncontrollable situation. On the one hand, this might cultivate the feeling that people, living in different

parts of the world, are surrounded by known and unknown dangers and threats. On the other hand, this may encode another perspective in which Obama, as a world political leader, is in a position to create unity among the nations to control such dangers. Table 4.11 presents the Material clauses which construe this context.

cars in Boston and factories in Beijing **are melting** the ice caps in the Arctic [clause 110] and **shrinking** coastlines in the Atlantic [clause 111] and **bringing** drought to farms from Kansas to Kenya. [clause 112]

In this new world, such dangerous currents have swept along faster than our efforts to contain them. [clause 119]

That is why we **cannot afford to be divided**. [clause 121]

No one nation, no matter how large or powerful, **can defeat** such challenges alone. [clause 122]

None of us **escape** responsibility in meeting them. [clause 125]

that sometimes, on both sides of the Atlantic we **have drifted apart** (...) [clause 129]

**Table 4.11 – Main theme/issue #4
The Self (United States and inclusive we) – ACTORS**

4.3.1.5 Stereotypes created by Europe on America, and America's view on Europe

The fifth main theme identified is *Stereotypes created by Europe on America, and America's view on Europe*. The excerpt goes from paragraph 24 to 25 and there were forty-one clauses, in which twelve are Material Processes. The Actors in the fifth theme are directly related to the United States and Europe. The speechwriter placed great emphasis on the Actors contextualizing actions and happening as The Self. Thus, Europeans, as one might see in the discussion of the analysis, appear once representing the category The Others. Table 4.12 brings the Actors related to The Others and The Self in the fifth theme.

The Others	The Self (and inclusive we)
Europeans	(America) part of what
	(America) a force

	both views
	American bases
	The burdens of global citizenship
	A change of leadership in Washington
	Americans and Europeans alike

**Table 4.12 – Main theme/issue #5
The Others and The Self – ACTORS**

Starting with The Others category related to the Actors, two clauses stand out to represent the Material domains of experience of Europeans. In an attempt to demystify the wrong view of Americans on Europeans, Obama illustrates the actions of Europeans throughout the world upon pointing out two goals that people of Europe are doing in the present: taking responsibility to protect and secure people throughout the world, especially “in critical parts of the world”. Table 4.13 brings these two Material clauses that enact the exercise of power and control and also emphasize the importance of Europe to the world through its actions.

<p><u>Europeans</u> today are bearing new burdens [clause 138] and taking more responsibility in critical parts of the world [clause 139]</p>

**Table 4.13 – Main theme/issue #5
The Others – ACTORS**

Another important category in which Actors appear to be very important to entail actions and happenings is The Self. Obama shows how Europe sees the United States attributing to America a negative and perhaps a conventional characteristic; a type of view he tries to deconstruct by giving agency to another attribution related to Obama’s country: “*a force [Actor] to help make [Material] it right*”. Thus, by saying that “Both view miss the truth”, the U.S. presidential candidate tries to establish a different view that both (Europe and America) have upon each other. Once more, the issue of security is mentioned in two Material clauses. These clauses are directly related to the image of American military bases over the world. In the 20th century, the power of the United States can be understood by the military bases overseas. And in Europe it cannot be different where, as Obama assures, the American military aid guarantees the security of that continent. The United States is also an Actor in “*our country [Actor] still sacrifices*

[Material] greatly for freedom around the globe” in which the nation may be seen as an agent that surrenders its own political principles and beliefs for the sake of freedom in the world, which may be considered another value pursued and claimed as desirable by every person in the globe.

The speaker uses a nominalization in “a change of leadership in Washington” in order to unveil another experiential meaning related to the United States. In this sense, this Actor is not easily recognizable because it represents an abstract entity through nominalization or “actions whose agents become hidden in the processes” (Heberle, 1997, p. 162). However, in the Material clause “*A change of leadership in Washington [Actor] will not lift [Material] this burden*”, Obama seems to depict that even if McCain or he wins the presidential election the responsibilities of global citizenship⁴³ will not be held or included politically or even ideologically. In Table 4.14, I present all the Actors related to The Self in theme number 5.

In Europe, the view that America is part of what **has gone** wrong in our world [clause 132] rather than a force to help make it right [clause 133]

Both views **miss** the truth [clause 137]

American bases **built** in the last century still **help to defend** the security of this continent [clause 140]

(...) our country still **sacrifices** greatly for freedom around the globe. [clause 141]

(...) the burdens of global citizenship **continue to bind** us together [clause 144]

A change of leadership in Washington **will no lift** this burden. [clause 145]

⁴³ According to the Academic Planning Team of University of British Columbia “Global citizens are willing to think beyond boundaries of place, identity and category, and recognize all human beings as their equals while respecting humanity’s inherent diversity. Within their own sphere of influence, global citizens seek to imagine and work towards a better world”. Information based on: <http://www.publicaffairs.ubc.c/annualreports/2005/citizenship.html> retrieved on April 24th, 2012.

In this new century Americans and Europeans alike **will be required to do more – not less.** [clause 146]

**Table 4.14 – Main theme/issue #5
The Self (United States and inclusive we) – ACTORS**

Moreover, another Material clause in the future tense is presented to bring the fifth theme to a close. Obama calls on Europeans and Americans to work together and take action in the 21st century. He does that by construing a different view or paradigm against the old stereotypes established. It seems that the speaker wants to promote a more egalitarian role between the United States and Europe to achieve the common good in the world.

4.3.1.6 New walls to divide Europe and America

New walls to divide Europe and America is the sixth main theme identified in the macro analysis of Obama’s speech. There are twenty-eight clauses in the excerpt, from paragraph 26 to 28. As for the lexicogrammatical analysis, twenty-one clauses were identified as Material clauses. Taking this into account, the prominence of Participants as Actors is related to examples of dividedness and union projected to nations, institutions, races, and so on. The representation of such values and principles of dividedness is explored through the intensive use of the image of the wall. The speaker also represents Material clauses describing the actions of some Actors towards the values and institutions related to a spirit of union. In this respect, the speaker tries to achieve union and cooperation through the doings of specific Actors, i.e. he gives agency to some Participants to show how they overcome differences and negative experiences and construct a society based on unity. It is relevant to note that the speechwriter uses nouns, such as “the base of a column” and “the wall between old allies” in order to construe experiential meanings through the actions and happenings of those Participants. Table 4.15 brings these Actors in two categories – The Others and The Self – that represent the emphasis Obama gives to the issue of barriers between Europe and the USA.

The Others	The Self (and inclusive we)
The people of Europe	us
The base of a column (Victory column)	The walls between the countries with the most and those with the least
Protestant and Catholic (in	The walls between old allies

Belfast)	
the struggle of a courageous people (in South Africa)	The walls between races and tribes; natives and immigrants; Christian and Muslim and Jew
	we (2x)
	our Atlantic alliance (in the Balkans)
	allies

**Table 4.15 – Main theme/issue #6
The Others and The Self – ACTORS**

Concerning the category The Others, Actors are related to the citizens of a continent (Europe), to a building construction (the base of a column), and to institutions (Catholic and Protestant church). The first depicts actions to create European Union “*After centuries of strife, the people of Europe [Actor] have formed a Union of promise and prosperity*”; the second Material clause represents Germany's victory over France in the 1870/71 Franco-Prussian⁴⁴: “*(...) the base of a column [Actor] built to mark [Material] victory in war*”; and the latter illustrates a past conflict and violent happening between Catholics and Protestant in Northern Ireland who now remain in peace: “*Protestant and Catholic [Actor] (in Belfast) found [Material] a way to live together*”. There is also the use of nominalization to represent a forceful effort of South Africans to get free from the conflict that entailed a racial segregation: “*(...) the struggle of a courageous people [Actor] (in South Africa) defeated [Material] apartheid*”. Table 4.16 displays The Others as Actors in the sixth main theme.

After centuries of strife, <u>the people of Europe</u> have formed a Union of promise and prosperity. [clause 161]
(...) <u>the base of a column</u> built to mark victory in war [clause 162]
<u>Protestant and Catholic (in Belfast)</u> found a way to live together [clause 166]
(...) <u>the struggle of a courageous people (in South Africa)</u> defeated apartheid. [clause 169]

Table 4.16 – Main theme/issue #6 - The Others – ACTORS

⁴⁴ Information based on “Victory Column” at: <http://berlin.barwick.de/sights/famous-places/victory-column.html> retrieved on April 25th, 2012.

In terms of another category related to the Actors, The Self is not directed exclusively to the United States, which does not exclude Obama's country in this type of Participant. All the representations of experiential domains are related to the inclusive we. America is included among other nations to face disagreements and disunity and they are also called to take responsibility to start a new era of coexistence as can be seen in Table 4.17.

<p>New walls to divide us from one another [clause 153]</p> <p><u>The walls between old allies</u> on either side of the Atlantic cannot stand. [clause 154]</p> <p><u>The walls between the countries with the most and those with the least</u> cannot stand [clause 155]</p> <p><u>The walls between races and tribes; natives and immigrants; Christian and Muslim and Jew</u> cannot stand [clause 156]</p> <p>The walls <u>we</u> must tear down. [clause 158]</p> <p><u>We</u> meet in the center of a Europe at peace. [clause 163]</p> <p>(...) <u>our Atlantic alliance (in the Balkans)</u> ended wars and brought savage war criminals to justice [clause 168]</p> <p>(...) <u>allies</u> who will listen to each other [clause 176]</p>
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**Table 4.17 – Main theme/issue #6
The Self (United States and inclusive we) – ACTORS**

As can be noticed, from the eight Material clauses related to the Actors there is a predominance of inclusive we. First, the object pronoun us is the Beneficiary of the action portrayed by new walls. The 'new walls' cited by Obama gain a negative connotation due to their representation of dividedness since the context implies The Berlin Wall as a reference. These new walls can be clearly understood as dividedness promoted by new policies or ideologies which will prevent and interfere in the foreign relations the United States wants to establish with other nations. Also, these walls are described in a growing sequence: it starts from portraying a possible dividedness between old allies (it could be understood as a disagreement between the USA and

Germany, for example) and goes to a broader spectrum, reaching then people who can be segregated by cultural and religious heritage. Thus, the speaker goes on by pointing out an obligation by people of the world to ‘tear down’ the walls cited by him. He illustrates this point of view showing that “*our Atlantic alliance (in the Balkans) [Actor] ended [Material] wars and brought [Material] savage war criminals to justice*” in which this kind of action will be possible again, due to a future partnership in which “*allies [Actor] will listen to [Material] each other*”.

4.3.1.7 Bridges between America and Europe

The seventh main theme identified in Obama’s speech is *Bridges between America and Europe*. Paragraph twenty-nine comprises the theme. Out of the seventeen clauses analyzed, ten are identified as Material clauses. The Actors are mainly related to The Self – United States and inclusive we. There is only one occurrence in which Europe, representing The Others, is construed as a doer. It seems that the speaker is depicting the reasons why America and Europe cannot turn their policies, ideologies, beliefs only to themselves. The representation of experiences related to The Self help to construe a clear and interesting illustration in order to explain and give meaning to the bridges Obama wants to portray. As can be seen, Table 4.18 presents these Actors (The Others and The Self) who help to construe this new perspective Obama wants to convey.

The Others	The Self (and inclusive we)
Europe	America
	New bridges across the globe
	us
	The spirit that led airlift planes
	People
	our nations – all the nations

**Table 4.18 – Main theme/issue #7
The Others and The Self – ACTORS**

Concerning the Participants’ category The Others, there is only one Material clause in which an action towards Europe is construed. As can be seen, Obama assigns that as America, “*Europe [Actor] cannot turn inward [Material]*”, in an implicit allusion that cooperation and

partnership are built through the openness of political decisions and not on the closeness of it. Table 4.19 presents this clause.

Europe **cannot turn inward** [clause 182]

**Table 4.19 – Main theme/issue #7
The Others – ACTORS**

Thus, in relation to The Self, the speaker clearly alludes to an old partnership since the Cold War conflict, using the image of ‘new bridges’ in order to create an image of union between America and Europe. What seems to be clear is that not only this relationship is addressed by Obama, but rather the duty that all nations must pursue to achieve the goal of a more united and cooperative world in “*our nations – all the nations [Actor] – must summon [Material] that spirit anew*”. Table 4.20 presents all the Material clauses related to the Participants’ category The Self.

America **cannot turn inward** [clause 180]

(...) new bridges across the globe as strong as the one that **bound us** across the Atlantic. [clause 186]

(...) the spirit that led airlift planes **to appear** in the sky above our heads [clause 191]

(...) and people **to assemble** where we stand today [clause 193]

(...) our nations – all the nations – **must summon** that spirit anew. [clause 195]

**Table 4.20 – Main theme/issue #7
The Self (United States and inclusive we) – ACTORS**

4.3.1.8 ‘This is the moment to act’

‘*This is the moment to act*’ has one of the most commonly used words cited by Obama in this specific speech. The pattern ‘this is the moment...’ is used thirteen times throughout the speech and it seems to be a calling of time evoked by Obama to his audience to act upon the issues he will later point out. For each new paragraph or idea the speaker

wants to convey, he uses this pattern as a ‘time’ marker in the eighth main theme. This theme is the longest and most dense part of the speech, comprising one-hundred and eleven clauses. Out of these clauses, seventy-eight are identified as Material clauses. Table 4.21 brings the Actors identified in the linguistic analysis in two categories – The Others and The Self. In respect to the majority of actions done by the Participants, one can see that Obama gives greater emphasis on the category of The Self, perhaps attributing to them the great responsibility to change and act upon the present situation. The Others, in this sense, can be seen more as a supporting role to the circumstances that require actions compared to action attributed to The Self. Table 4.21 presents all the Actors involved in the eighth theme.

The Others	The Self (and inclusive we)
the traffickers	We (24x)
The Afghan people	No one
Taliban and Al Qaeda	America
a strong European Union	Our support and your support
it (Iran)	The two superpowers
Lebanese	The two superpowers that faced each other across the wall
the Israelis and Palestinians	my country
the millions of Iraqis	the world
those	us (4x)
	all nations – including my own
	They (the planes)
	those pilots
	They (the pilots) (2x)

**Table 4.21 – Main theme/issue #8
The Others and The Self – ACTORS**

As for the lexicogrammatical choices concerning the Participants’ category The Self, Obama uses a significant number of inclusive we in twenty-four Material clauses, making clear that the unity he aspires is only possible through the cooperation among all the nations in the world. As one can see, the speaker assigns to all the nations the responsibility to take concrete actions in order to change the non-desirable political, social, environmental scenario in which all are placed in the present.

He also directly assigns Material clauses to his country in three clauses as in “*America [Actor] cannot do [Material] (the work on security in Afghanistan) alone*”, “*our support and your support [Actor] to defeat [Material] the Taliban and Al Qaeda to develop their economy and to help [Material] them rebuild their nation*”, and in “*My country [Actor] must stand [Material] with yours and with Europe in sending a direct message to Iran*”. Upon pointing out that his country is not able to work alone towards a security plan in Afghanistan, the speaker brings other Participants to help to accomplish this duty. In ‘our support and your support’, the United States and Germany are the Actors who act and terminate terrorism from Al Qaeda and Taliban and they will also perform a concrete change by rebuilding their nation, i.e. by politically assisting those nations involved (Iraq and Afghanistan). Another important action proposed by Obama is the one towards the nuclear power ambitions of Iran. He seems to ask for a European hand to send ‘a direct message to Iran’. In this sense, it is not clear if it is a military or a diplomatic response from America and Europe to Iran.

The world is explicitly represented in a more general sense in three Material clauses. First, Obama assumes that no one nation wants to promote an armed conflict such as a war in “No one welcomes war”. In another passage of the excerpt, the speaker indicates an expected state and obligation of the world towards the Iraqis ‘*who seek [Material] to rebuild their lives*’ [clause 275]. Hence he claims that all nations, including his own, will act in the future with the same purpose and seriousness as Germany has acted towards the changes required to rebuild a strong nation in the past “*all nations – including my own – [Actor] will act [Material] with the same seriousness of purpose as has your nation*”.

Upon bringing a more narrowed and specific situation to the audience, Obama uses the images of the war as effective examples to change the world. When he illustrates this point of view with planes and pilots, it seems that the military force represented by the planes becomes a more sensitive and human force through the actions of the pilots. The image of the planes and the pilots may represent a symbol of persistence and courage, characteristics that are required to the ones who want to change the world. With these examples, Obama seeks to establish a new and positive perspective for people to act in the present without forgetting the effective change that happened in Berlin after World War II. One of the Material clauses represents a more mechanic action carried out by the planes that “*flew over [Material] Berlin did not drop bombs (...) they (the planes) delivered food, coal, and candy to graceful*

children". In another instance, one can see that "*those pilots [Actor] won [Material] more than a military victory, they won hearts and minds, love and loyalty and trust*": it is explicitly clear that Obama wants to convey a positive and humanistic sense towards the negative feelings Cold War has brought to the people in Europe. Table 4.22 presents The Self as Actors in the eighth theme.

(...) we **must defeat** terror and **dry up** the well of extremism [clause 197/198]
 (...) we **cannot shrink** from our responsibility to combat it [clause 201]
 (...) we **could create** NATO to face down the Soviet Union [clause 203]
 (...) we **can join** in a new and global partnership [clause 205]
 (...) we **could win** a battle of ideas against the communists [clause 208]
We can stand with vast majority of Muslims [clause 209]
 (...) the moment when we **must renew** our resolve **to rout the terrorists** who **threaten** our security in Afghanistan [clause 212/213/214]
No one welcomes war. [clause 216]
 (...) America **cannot do** (the work on security in Afghanistan) alone. [clause 222]
Our support and your support **to defeat** the Taliban and Al Qaeda to develop their economy [clause 224] and **to help** them rebuild their nation [clause 226]
We have too much at stake **to turn back** now [clause 228]
 (...) when we **must renew** the goal of a world without nuclear weapons [clause 230]
The two superpowers that **faced** each other across the wall of this city [clause 231]
The superpowers that faced each other across the wall of this city **came** too close too often **to destroying** all we have built [clause 232]
 With that wall gone, we **need** to stand idly by [clause 234]
 In this century, we **need** a strong European Union [clause 245]
 In this century, in this city of all cities – we **must reject** the Cold War mind-set of the past [clause 248]
 (we) and **resolve to work** with Russia when we can [clause 249]
 (we) **stand up** for our values when we must [clause 250]
 (we) **seek** partnership that extends across this entire continent [clause 251]
 (...) we **must build** on the wealth that open markets have created [clause 254]
 (we must) **share** its benefits more equitably [clause 256]

(...) we will not be able **to sustain** this growth if it favors the few, and not the many. [clause 259]

Together, we **must forge** trade that truly rewards the work that creates wealth, with meaningful protections to our people and planet [clause 261]

My country **must stand** with yours and with Europe **in sending** a direct message to Iran [clause 268/269]

We **must support** the Lebanese (...) [clause 271]

(...) the world **should support** the millions of Iraqis who seek to rebuild their lives [clause 275]

(...) we **pass** responsibility to the Iraqi government [clause 277] and finally **bring** this war to a close [clause 278]

(...) we **must come** together **to save** this planet. [clause 280]

Let us **resolve** that we **will not leave** a world where the oceans rise and famine spreads and terrible storms devastate our lands. [clause 281/282]

Let us **resolve** all nations – including my own – **will act** with the same seriousness of purpose as has your nation [clause 287/288]

(**Let us** **resolve to**) **reduce** the carbon we **send** into our atmosphere [clause 289/290]

The planes that **flew over** Berlin did not drop bombs [clause 300]

They (the planes) **delivered** food, and coal, and candy to graceful children. [clause 302]

(...) in that show of solidarity, those pilots **won** more than a military victory [clause 303]

They (the pilots) **won** hearts and minds; love and loyalty and trust [clause 304]

(...) the story of what they (the pilots) **did** here [clause 306]

Table 4.22 – Main theme/issue #8
The Self – ACTORS

Concerning the Participants' category The Others, the speaker points out the important international role Europe plays towards security and economy. When employing a positive adjective to describe the economic and political union formed by twenty-seven countries of Europe as “a strong European Union”, Obama also presents his views on the world and how the Actors presented in The Self category can act upon The Others in order to change the world. It seems that Obama wants to convey a global commitment against “the traffickers who sell drugs on your streets”. He also establishes the need for military force to help Afghanistan. Furthermore, he gives emphasis to a mutual support (from the United States and Germany) to prevent the economic

development of the terrorist organizations such as Taliban and Al Qaeda. In addition, he emphasizes the need to intervene in Iran's political decision towards its nuclear power project. The speaker seems not to forget to help the countries in which, in his view, seek for democracy (Lebanon), peace (Israel and Palestine), and are trying to have a new beginning after the war (Iraq). To bring the eighth theme to a close, Obama also remembers that there are some people marginalized "in a globalized world" which may imply that one of the causes of marginalization is globalization. Table 4.23 displays the Material clauses in which The Others are construed as Actors.

<p>(...) <u>the traffickers</u> who sell drugs on your streets [clause 215] <u>The Afghan people</u> need our troops and your troops [clause 223] <u>Taliban and Al Qaeda</u> to develop their economy [clause 225]</p> <p><u>a strong European Union</u> that deepens the security and prosperity of this continent [clause 246] while extending a hand abroad. [clause 247]</p> <p>(...) <u>it</u> (Iran) must abandon its nuclear ambitious. [clause 270]</p> <p>(...) <u>Lebanese</u> who have marched and bled for democracy [clause 272] and <u>the Israelis and Palestinians</u> who seek a secure and lasting peace [clause 273]</p> <p>(...) <u>the millions of Iraqis</u> who seek to rebuild their lives [clause 276]</p> <p>(...) <u>those left behind</u> in a globalized world [clause 297]</p>

**Table 4.23 – Main theme/issue #8
The Others – ACTORS**

4.3.1.9 Questions to the world

The ninth main theme identified as *Questions to the world* is essentially comprised of challenging questions Obama addresses to the world. From paragraph thirty-eight to forty, out of twenty-two clauses analyzed, sixteen are identified as Material clauses. Taking as a remarkable example to be followed, the speaker uses what the pilots in the airlift operation did in the past as a way to ask the audience what the world will do in order to change the situation he will present in the ongoing speech. Questioning the audience from a broader situation "Will we extend our hand to the people in the forgotten corners of this world?" and going to a more specific and narrowed one "Will we give meaning to the words "never again" in Darfur?", Obama expresses

desire and willingness to the world act upon a list of broader and specific challenges addressed by him in the speech.

As one might see, all the Actors identified in the Transitivity analysis in this particular theme are categorized as The Self. It seems that Obama wants to express his desire and expectation to change the world but the task will require a broader world commitment.

He begins stating that in the future people all over the world will remember “*what we [Actor] do [Material] here (...) what we [Actor] do [Material] with this moment*”. It seems that from the moment of speech on, a significant change will be established and that will be a remarkable and unforgettable one. Hence, he presents the challenges the world will be expected to solve by attributing some Material Processes to The Self. Thus, it is not explicit who are ‘the people in the forgotten corners of this world’, but he previously mentioned in theme number 8 that there are some people marginalized, left behind due to a globalized world. Once again he tackles this as a problem, a problem to be solved. In clause 311, he asks “*will we [Actor] extend [Material] our hand to the people in the forgotten corners of this world?*” which might imply a financial help from the rich countries to the underdeveloped ones that are suffering the consequences of globalization. Furthermore, he presents some problems related to poverty and armed conflicts, making an explicit reference to Bangladesh and Chad, the latter a place where Darfur’s refugees are living. Table 4.24 presents The Self as Actors in theme number nine.

(...) what we do here [clause 309]

what we do with this moment [clause 310]

Will we extend our hand to the people in the forgotten corners of this world [clause 311]

Will we lift the child in Bangladesh from poverty, **shelter** the refugee in Chad, and **banish** the scourge of AIDS in our time? [clause 314, 315, 316]

Will we stand for the human rights of the dissident in Burma, the blogger in Iran, or the voter in Zimbabwe? [clause 317]

Will we give meaning to the words “never again” in Darfur? [clause 318]

(...) no more powerful example than the one each of our nations projects to the world? [clause 321]

Will we reject torture and **stand for** the rule of law? [clause 322/323]

Will we welcome immigrants from different lands, and **shun** discrimination against those who don't look like us (...) and **keep** the promise of equality and opportunity for all our people? [clause 324/325/328]

**Table 4.24 – Main theme/issue #9
The Self – ACTORS**

4.3.1.10 America

The tenth main theme is exclusively centered on the United States, thus the theme is identified as *America*. From paragraph forty-one to forty-three, there are twenty-nine clauses comprising the theme, in which thirteen are Material clauses. Most of the Actors are The Self, mainly related to the United States itself as can be seen in Table 4.25.

The Others	The Self (and inclusive we)
Every culture	my country
Every point of view	we (4x)
	our actions around the world
	us
	all people

**Table 4.25 – Main theme/issue #10
The Others and The Self – ACTORS**

Obama recognizes the negative actions taken by the United States throughout the world, but he does that implicitly, i.e. he does not present concrete actions in which his nation has gone wrong. In clause 332, the speaker claims that the United States is not free from faults “(...) *my country [Actor] has not perfected [Material] itself*”. However, he also claims that his country has struggled to be true to its own principles for the American people “*At times, we [Actor]’ve struggled to keep [Material] the promise of liberty and equality for all our people*”. Once again, Obama recognizes that the United States has committed some negative actions in “*we [Actor]’ve made [Material] our share of mistakes*”. He also emphasizes that in “*when our actions around the world [Actor] have not lived up [Material] to our best intentions*”. As one might see, in four Material clauses the speaker recognizes that his country has not carried out its duties and roles as expected by the others.

Hence, despite the negative image previously addressed in the speech, Obama construes a new perspective in order to change this image. He claims that the United States has made great efforts to form ‘a

more perfect union’, clearly making an allusion to a phrase used in the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution⁴⁵: “*we [Actor] have strived [Material] – at great cost and great sacrifice – to form a more perfect union*”. Also, he claims that America and other nations are attempting to achieve a more hopeful world, perhaps by acting upon the challenges pointed out in the previous theme: “*we [Actor] have strived to seek [Material] with other nations a more hopeful world*”.

The speaker claims that ‘a set of ideals that speak to aspirations’ is what has united the people in the United States and it is also what has brought his father to pursue his dreams in America, which might imply that the United States is a promised land. And these aspirations are not only shared by Americans as Obama further points out. These aspirations ‘are shared by all people’. The last paragraph may suggest what these ‘aspirations shared by all people’ are: the three basic principles of the United States Declaration of Independence - Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness⁴⁶. These three aspects can be perceived in the Material clause in which the speaker claims “*we [Actor] can live [Material] free from fear and free from want*”. Table 4.26 presents all the Material clauses construing meaning to The Self category of Participants.

(...) my country **has not perfected** itself [clause 332]

At times, we’ve struggled to keep the promise of liberty and equality for all our people. [clause 333]

We’ve made our share of mistakes [clause 334]

(...) when our actions around the world **have not lived up** to our best intentions [clause 336]

⁴⁵ The introductory text of the United States Constitution is as follows: “We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America”. This information was retrieved from the World Wide Web: http://www.senate.gov/civics/constitution_item/constitution.htm on May 4th, 2012.

⁴⁶ The preamble includes the ideals that are principles of the United States Declaration of Independence as follows: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. (...)” This information was retrieved from the World Wide Web at: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/DeclarInd.html> on May 4th, 2012.

(...) **we have strived** – at great cost and great sacrifice – **to form** a more perfect union [clause 340]

[**we have strived**] **to seek** with other nations a more hopeful world.
[clause 341]

What **has** (always) **united** us [clause 346]

a set of ideals that speak to aspirations **shared** by all people [clause 351]

we can live free from fear and free from want [clause 352]

Table 4.26 – Main theme/issue #10
The Self – ACTORS

The Participants' category The Others plays a more supportive role in the tenth theme America, as Obama points out in other two Material clauses. Obama emphasizes that the culture and point of view brought by The Others have been performing a substantial and significant role by building American society as can be seen in the Material clauses in Table 4.27.

every culture **has left** its imprint on ours [clause 344]

every point of view **is expressed** in our public squares [clause 345]

Table 4.27 – Main theme/issue #10
The Others – ACTORS

4.3.1.11 Aspirations and destiny

The eleventh and last main theme is *Aspirations and destiny*. Out of eighteen clauses analyzed, five are Material clauses, and three comprise the Participants' category The Self as presented in Table 4.28.

(...) because of these aspirations that the airlift **began** [clause 363]

(...) in pursuit of these aspirations that a new generation – our generation – **must make** our mark on the world. [clause 367]

Let us remake our world once again [clause 375]

**Table 4.28 – Main theme/issue #11
The Self – ACTORS**

To bring the ‘Citizen of the World’ speech to a close, Obama continues to develop his visions of a leader on the aspirations shared by all people. The destiny of people of the world seems to lie in the aspirations pointed out by Obama in theme number ten. Obama assigns an event in the past *“because of these aspirations that the airlift [Actor] began [Material]”* to express his opinion about what he considers necessary to happen in the present in *“(...) in pursuit of these aspirations that a new generation – our generation – [Actor] must make [Material] our mark on the world”*. In his last clause, Obama expresses a strong desire for a change in the world to happen as it happened in Berlin sixty years ago *“Let us [Actor] remake [Material] our world once again”*.

From sections 4.3.1.1 to 4.3.1.11, I presented the micro analysis of clauses related to each main theme and the experiential meanings they convey. In the next section, I will provide an overview of the findings in relation to the macro and micro analysis of the speech.

4.4 OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

In the Methodology section of this study, I have set out five research questions to guide this investigation. Throughout the macro analysis of Obama’s ‘Citizen of the World’ speech I could answer RQ(1) *What are the main themes and issues in Obama’s speech?* Regarding this research question, eleven main themes were identified and each one construes and represents the experience of Obama’s world view in different spectrums. It seems clear that Obama starts with his personal story, goes to centered regional prospects in some excerpts, and then he brings the speech to a general and wide spectrum in other moments. Figure 4.29 displays this ‘oscillation’ related to each theme Obama addresses in his speech in Berlin.

Theme	Spectrum
1 – His multicultural heritage	personal story
2 – Partnership between the USA-Germany after 1948	regional prospect
3 – Berlin is seen as an example	regional prospect
4 – New dangers in the world	general and wide spectrum
5 – Stereotypes created by Europe on America, and America’s view on Europe	regional prospect
6 – New walls to divide Europe and America	regional prospect
7 – Bridges between America and Europe	regional prospect
8 – ‘This is the moment to act’	general and wide spectrum
9 – Questions to the world	general and wide spectrum
10 – America	regional prospect
11 – Aspirations and destiny	general and wide spectrum

Table 4.29 – Representations of experience of Obama’s world view in different spectrums in relation to the main themes

Besides, by carrying out a macro analysis focused on the main themes of the speech, one can realize they construed important contextual meanings on which Obama relies on in order to provide his world-view to his audience. The oscillation among those spectrums presented in each theme seems to signal that Obama has a picture of reality and also represents his political attitudes regarding social issues he presents. Additionally, it seems that Obama construes his speech in a more conciliatory tone by pointing out that the United States and other countries must build a strong partnership to achieve a stronger and more egalitarian world. According to Fairclough (2001, p. 30) there is a “qualitative feature of contemporary discourse: the tendency of the discourse of social control towards simulated egalitarianism, and the removal of surface markers of authority and power”. In this respect, the macro analysis of the clauses related to those themes revealed that by presenting his personal story and the reconstruction of the city of Berlin by Berliners and people of the world, for instance, Obama seems to portray himself as a global citizen. Generally speaking, all the main themes identified in the selected speech suggest that Obama and the United States are part of a global political sphere and democracy. Obama is portrayed as a ‘global citizen’ as he illustrates with his

family's background. He also infers that "every culture, every point of view" play an essential role to establish what is the American society nowadays. As a presumptive leader, he seems to ask for a new world's commitment, one in which partnership is required to face the dangers and challenges in the future.

As regards RQ(2) *How does Obama realize these themes in terms of Halliday's Transitivity System?*, the micro analysis carried out reveals that each theme presents a significant predominance of Actors. As 63% of the speech is constituted by Material clause, each Actor was analyzed under the umbrella terms The Self and The Others. The reason why such labels were used was the high occurrence of each one. Figure 4.30 illustrates how many times The Self and The Others occurred as Actors in relation to the total number of Material clauses identified in the speech.

Material Processes and Actors	Occurrence of Material clauses
Actors in the speech	235 clauses
The Self as Actors	117 clauses
The Others as Actors	31 clauses

Figure 4.30 – Occurrences of The Self and The Others in the speech

Regarding the highest occurrence of The Self as Actors in the speech, it is possible to observe that the focus of Obama's words is on presenting actions, happenings and doings related to the United States, himself, and inclusive we. It seems that almost all the Material clauses describe experiential meanings of doings and happenings performed by The Self. Out of the eleven themes, they appeared in one-hundred and seventeen Material clauses. As already mentioned in the Procedures of Macro and Micro Analysis my interest lies in analyzing and interpreting the ways the United States, Obama, and other countries are portrayed in the selected speech. Thus, I tried to focus on the most prominent type of Process and Participant due to time and page constraints. Therefore, as the great majority of Actors is The Self, Obama construes an active performance of the United States to the world. For instance, an example can be given to illustrate this assertion with two Material clauses from theme 8: *'This is the moment to act': "all nations – including my own – [Actor] will act [Material] with the same seriousness of purpose as has your nation and reduce [Material] the carbon we send into our atmosphere"*. Obama presents the United States associated with all the nations (inclusive we) to perform an environmental action in the future.

Table 4.31 displays how many times The Self and The Others appear in each theme.

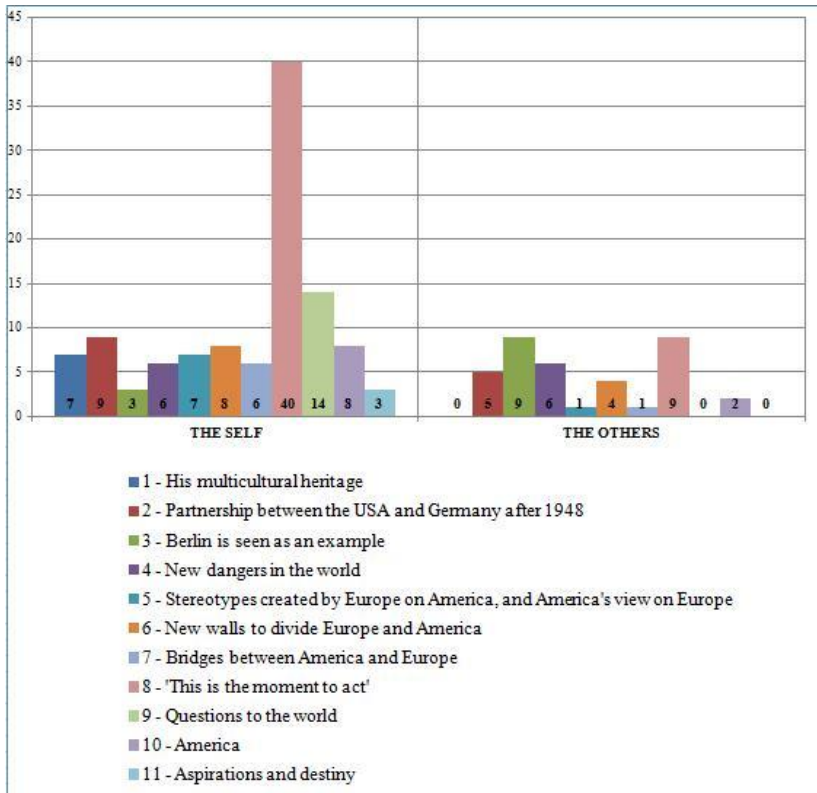


Figure 4.31 – Occurrences of The Self and The Others as Actors in each theme in Obama's speech in Berlin

As regards the occurrence of The Others (in thirty-two Material clauses), one can see they do not appear in all the themes in the speech; they are not recurrent in theme one (His multicultural heritage), nine (Questions to the world) and eleven (Aspirations and destiny). It seems that Obama centers The Self as Actors in these themes using the inclusive we rather than presenting The Others as agents of those social changes. As theme one is basically centered on his family background, the predominance of Actors as The Self seems to be obvious. However,

in theme nine and eleven, Obama does include other countries but in a sense that the United States is enacted as inclusive we.

Concerning The Others as Actors, it seems to be relevant to discuss who are the main countries involved in these Material clauses. For instance, the micro analysis reveals that Berlin, people of Berlin, Germans, and Europe are the main Participants in theme #3 - *Berlin is seen as an example*. Figure 4.32 shows all the main The Others in each theme.

Main theme	Main The Others
# 2	Soviet Union, Communists and Berlin
# 3	Berlin
# 4	Germany, Berlin, Saudi Arabia, Soviet Union, Pakistan, Somalia
# 5	Europeans
# 6	Europeans, Berlin, Northern Ireland, South Africa
# 7	Europe
# 8	Afghan people, Taliban and Al Qaeda, European Union, Iran, Lebanese, Israelis and Palestinians, Iraqis **the traffickers and those (are not specified)
# 10	**every culture, every point of view (are not specified)

Figure 4.32 – Main types of The Others as Actors

To bring to a close, the Processes used in the speech have established a close relationship between Obama and his audience. The choice of Actors (The Self and The Others) plays a significant role to promote Obama's views on the United States and the world. The way in which Obama and his speechwriters construe the speech seems to reach many spectrums as a way to expose Obama's experience in tackling issues as globalization or dangers in the world, for instance. The variety of themes presented in the speech and the way The Self has been exposed as an active Actor may suggest that the United States still has an important (if not the most important) role in leading the world – e.g. military, economically, ideologically leading role. It seems important to show that the world needs to enact an active role in order to promote a social change. The latter is not explicit, but it seems that first Obama needs to get elected, because he is a global citizen. Then, acting with a spirit of union and coexistence The Others can also gather in a partnership to reach an egalitarian and just world. The speech also

makes use of Legitimation strategies and Assumptions in order to evoke emotions and promote evidence as truth to legitimate a text.

In this chapter I presented a discussion of the main themes found in the speech in relation to the Transitivity analysis. In the next chapter, I further discuss the data, the main findings from a broader perspective, especially taking into account Chilton's (2004) view of Legitimation and Fairclough's (2003) view on Assumptions.

CHAPTER 5

BROADENING THE SCOPE OF ANALYSIS: LEGITIMISATION STRATEGIES AND ASSUMPTIONS IN OBAMA'S 'CITIZEN OF THE WORLD' SPEECH

In order to broaden the scope of this study aligned with the macro and micro analysis carried out in the previous chapter, in this chapter I present two other analytical frameworks. They have been applied to critically analyze the political discourse delivered by Obama in Berlin: the first focused on Legitimation strategies proposed by Chilton (2004), and the second based on the concept of Assumptions by Fairclough (2003).

As already mentioned, Legitimation strategies is an analytical framework which focus on the interpretation of the emotions and feelings a political speech might evoke in the audience. Then, these strategies were interpreted taking this into account. In respect to Assumptions, they seem to be relevant in order to analyze the set of beliefs and ideologies Obama wants to portray in his speech, i.e. what he assumes to be a common ground in the text.

Therefore, when gathering the three aspects I chose to work on this investigation, I can see that the Transitivity system helped me to describe the linguistic choices identified in the text focusing on The Self and The Others while the other two analytical frameworks presented different perspectives in relation to Obama's audience feelings and emotions and also Obama's assumptions in the text⁴⁷.

5.1 DISCUSSING THE FINDINGS ON LEGITIMISATION STRATEGIES IN THE SELECTED SPEECH

As regards the legitimising⁴⁸ strategies used by Obama in his speech "A World that Stands as One", one can see that the most relevant use of legitimisation is of the deontic type. Obama conveys using language to enact certain emotions⁴⁹ in the audience. According to

⁴⁷ A clear account on the findings of each aspect dealt in this investigation can be found at the end of Chapter 4 and 5. Also, Chapter 6 brings a summary of these findings.

⁴⁸ I am using the words legitimisation and legitimising as Chilton (2004) uses in his theory.

⁴⁹ It is important to highlight that Chilton's framework on Legitimation strategies follows an approach centered on Cognitive Linguistics. Taking this into account, I did not analyze Legitimation within the main themes identified in the speech. I followed the same perspective

Chilton (2004, p. 117) “the speaker will seek to ground his or her position in moral *feelings*⁵⁰ or institutions no one will challenge”.

The subsequent discussion of the analysis suggests that certain emotions are stimulated through some of the legitimisation and delegitimisation strategies used by Obama in the speech. In order to carry out the analysis, I follow the same perspective presented by Chilton in his book “Analysing Political Discourse” (2004, p. 111) in which the aforementioned author claims “the headings in the table attach strategies to sections of the text, in the sequence in which they occur, together with some illustrative text”. The interpreted legitimisation strategies in Obama’s political speech can be found in Appendix A4.

Upon legitimising his story in America, Obama establishes a desire to have a group identity, or to be seen as a leader of the world by the audience: “*I speak to you not as a candidate for President, but as a citizen – a proud citizen of the United States, and a fellow citizen of the world.*” He seeks to ground his family story to evoke a sense of pride in the audience and furthermore, in order to bring his family story to a close, he evokes righteousness emotions; he leaves the inference that his father’s yearning is everyone’s feeling: “*And you are here because you too know that yearning*”.

Consequently, the delegitimising strategies used by Obama seek to create a sense of security. The speaker presumes that the sense of security can be evoked by fear of domination of Communism (Cold War, a historic event – the ideological conflict between the United States and Soviet Union – seems to be evoked in the memory of some hearers of the speech). Thus, the notion of the sense of security is explained by Chilton (2004, p. 117): “the sense of security is related to one’s geographical territory, the loyalty towards those with whom affinity can be established and assumed”. Taking this into account, one can assume that Obama creates a physical, social, and political space when assessing the characteristics of Soviet Union against the good valued characteristics of the United States and the allies during the Cold War. In a sense, he sets a geographical and ideological space in order to convey his political message pointing out a sense of dividedness and union: “*The Soviet shadow had swept across Eastern Europe, while in the West, America, Britain, and France took stock of their losses, and pondered how the world might be remade*”. One might see that when

proposed by Chilton (2004) in which the investigation of strategies is focused on an interpretative approach of instances and what type of emotions each one might evoke in the speakers’ audience.

⁵⁰ Author’s highlight.

legitimising The Self (Obama, the United States and the allies) and delegitimising The Others, the speaker sets a spatial ground “which is close versus that which is distant” (Chilton, 2004, p. 117). At this point, it seems that there are two specific sides, one that took decisive and effective actions in favor of West Berlin while the other might have brought a non-effective action against East Berlin.

Another legitimisation strategy is used when Obama refers to the great effort and effective actions taken by the United States and the allies during the Cold War, evoking a sense of pride, and making a direct reference to America and the allies’ power: “*when the largest and most unlikely rescue in history brought food and hope to the people of this city*”. The speaker also evokes the sense of courage when talking about the unplanned things that happened in the way of saving people in the East side of Berlin: “*The odds were stacked against success*”. He illustrates a sense of courage when stating that the Berliners rose above adversity, and therefore, he creates a sense of pride: “*But in the darkest hours, the people of Berlin kept the flame of hope burning*”. Giving an example of solidarity, Obama construes a sense of union in “*where Germans and Americans learned to work together and trust each other less than three years after facing each other on the field of battle*”. Moreover, the speaker emphasizes effective actions taken by America and the allies in order to rebuild Berlin and Europe and then construes protective feelings for the United States and the allies: “*Berlin, where the determination of a people met the generosity of the Marshall Plan and created a German miracle; where a victory over tyranny gave rise to NATO, the greatest alliance ever formed to defend our common security*”. Thus, upon seeking to ground his position in relation to institutions such as NATO, Obama reinforces the idea of cooperation between nations in order to reach a common plan and rebuild the economy as he illustrates with “*a German miracle*”.

Reinforcing a principle of common humanity, the speaker creates a sense of equality to the audience as can be seen in the association of Brandenburg Gate with its symbols (reunification of Berlin and freedom): “*Berlin, where the bullet holes in the buildings and the somber stones and pillars near the Brandenburg Gate insist that we never forget our common humanity.*” Furthermore, Obama refers to history as an agent of union among peoples: “*and history proved that there is no challenge too great for a world that stands as one*”. Still in relation to the sense of union, the candidate assumes that countries are dependable on one another in the present by comparing the lessons learned in the 20th century and the revelations brought by the 21st:

“While the 20th century taught us that we share a common destiny, the 21st has revealed a world more intertwined than at any time in human history”.

Providing a descriptive picture about the dangers in the world, Obama asserts that cooperation between nations is needed against it, in this sense creating a sense of union and protectiveness: *“dangers that cannot be contained within the borders of a country or by the distance of an ocean”*. He also refers to the terrorism linked to September 11th, which is reaching every part of the world, thus, evoking a fear of specified danger: *“The terrorists of September 11th plotted in Hamburg and trained in Kandahar and Karachi before killing thousands from all over the globe on American soil”*. Another specified danger pointed out by Obama is global warming. Here he sets a world-view on geographical space, as global warming is happening everywhere, every moment: *“cars in Boston and factories in Beijing are melting the ice caps in the Arctic, shrinking coastlines in the Atlantic, and bringing drought to farms from Kansas to Kenya”*. Besides, he evokes a fear of various types of dangers when pointing out some known and unknown dangers that are happening everywhere:

“Poorly secured nuclear material in the former Soviet Union, or secrets from a scientist in Pakistan could help build a bomb that detonates in Paris. The poppies in Afghanistan become the heroin in Berlin. The poverty and violence in Somalia breeds the terror of tomorrow. The genocide in Darfur shames the conscience of us all”.

And to bring the issue of danger to a close, the speaker creates a sense of union and responsibility to defeat them, because as he also implies there is a new and dangerous world:

“In this new world, such dangerous currents have swept along faster than our efforts to contain them. That is why we cannot afford to be divided. No one nation, no matter how large or powerful, can defeat such challenges alone. None of us can deny these threats, or escape responsibility in meeting them”.

Obama highlights the issue of old stereotypes about Europe and America – views that Europe has on the United States and the ones America attributes to the European continent. It might be suggestive that, at this point, the speaker expresses concern on these views and in order to change the course of such ‘ideologies’ on America and Europe, he praises the qualities of both in the present:

“Both views miss the truth – that Europeans today are bearing new burdens and taking more responsibility in critical parts of the world; and that just as American bases built in the last century still help to defend the security of this continent, so does our country still sacrifice greatly for freedom around the globe”.

In order to create a sense of union and responsibility in the challenges of both continents, Obama asserts that he cannot take on the responsibilities of a globalized world alone, cooperation between nations are required to accomplish them: *“But the burdens of global citizenship continue to bind us together. A change of leadership in Washington will not lift this burden.”* Fear of dividedness is also evoked by the speaker when setting the image of ‘walls’ which might separate the United States from the partners: *“That is why the greatest danger of all is to allow new walls to divide us from one another.”* He also reinforces that there is a spirit of union and a belief in that spirit in:

“Not only have walls come down in Berlin, but they have come down in Belfast, where Protestant and Catholic found a way to live together; in the Balkans, where our Atlantic alliance ended wars and brought savage war criminals to justice; and in South Africa, where the struggle of a courageous people defeated apartheid”.

And once more, there is history as an event to remind that union is possible, but it requires a partnership based on some values – sense of union and loyalty: *“So history reminds us that walls can be torn down. But the task is never easy. True partnership and true progress requires constant work and sustained sacrifice”.* Then a new spirit of union is evoked based on values and institutions, as the image of bridges are presented to reinforce the idea of partnership without forgetting the challenges of our time:

“Now is the time to build new bridges across the globe as strong as the one that bound us across the Atlantic. Now is the time to join together, through constant cooperation, strong institutions, shared sacrifice, and a global commitment to progress, to meet the challenges of the 21st century”.

Seeking to establish a sense of credibility, Obama implies that he is telling the truth about the threats on terrorism and extremism: *“This threat is real and we cannot shrink from our responsibility to combat it.”* Moreover, upon establishing a sense of security, Obama suggests to create a new plan to defend countries against terrorism. He illustrates his point with NATO’s example of success: *“(…) when we must renew our resolve to rout the terrorists (…) But my country and yours have a stake in seeing that NATO’S first mission beyond Europe’s borders is a success”.* To reinforce the fear of a global destruction, the speaker strongly advocates a world free of nuclear weapons: *“This is the moment to begin the work of seeking the peace of a world without nuclear weapons”.* Without forgetting the values of the United States and the allies, Obama suggests to work against ideologies such as the one the Cold War had promoted and reinforces once more the idea of partnership in the entire European continent: *“we must reject the Cold War mind-set of the past, and resolve to work with Russia when we can, to stand up for our values when we must, and to seek a partnership that extends across this entire continent.”* Thus, Obama creates protective feelings for the United States and the allies.

Promising to conduct a responsible trade aligned with globalization, Obama seeks to promote a sense of responsibility from the developed countries to the less developed countries with *“Trade has been a cornerstone of our growth and global development.”* And in order to evoke righteousness emotions, the speaker appeals to the European support to end the nuclear program in Iran. Also, he seeks to give support to Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, and finish the war in Iraq. It implies that he is seeking for a new era in the United States foreign relations, perhaps a more conciliatory one:

“My country must stand with yours and with Europe in sending a direct message to Iran that it must abandon its nuclear ambitions. We must support the Lebanese who have marched and bled

for democracy, and the Israelis and Palestinians who seek a secure and lasting peace. And despite past differences, this is the moment when the world should support the millions of Iraqis who seek to rebuild their lives, even as we pass responsibility to the Iraqi government and finally bring this war to a close”.

Upon summoning a spirit of union and responsibility in order to leave a better future to the new generations, the speaker tells the audience:

“Let us resolve that all nations – including my own – will act with the same seriousness of purpose as has your nation, and reduce the carbon we send into our atmosphere. This is the moment to give our children back their future. This is the moment to stand as one”.

When tackling once more the issue of globalization, Obama reinforces the righteousness emotions of the audience. He implies that there are people who are marginalized by globalization and must have the opportunity to live a better life: *“this is the moment when we must give hope to those left behind in a globalized world”*. However, as one can see he only points out this fact without giving a clear picture of the solution to such a problem caused by globalization. In this sense, he proposes implicitly that people and government must take action posing questions to the audience: *“Will we stand for the human rights (...)?”* and *“Will we acknowledge that there is no more powerful example than the one each of our nations projects to the world”*. He reinforces this idea when stating that *“Now the world will watch and remember what we do here – what we do with this moment”*.

These strategies imply a legitimisation of the sense of union, but he still questions whether or not the promises of opportunity and equality to all will be kept, evoking then righteousness emotions in

“Will we welcome immigrants from different lands, and shun discrimination against those who don’t look like us or worship like we do, and keep the promise of equality and opportunity for all of our people?”

The speaker recognizes that his country has committed some mistakes and that there are some limitations in the United States’ actions

throughout the world in the past: “*I know my country has not perfected itself*”. He points out values and aspirations that keep the spirit of the people in the world, evoking shared values and aspiration in all nations

“What has always united us – what has always driven our people; what drew my father to America’s shores – is a set of ideals that speak to aspirations shared by all people: that we can live free from fear and free from want; that we can speak our minds and assemble with whomever we choose and worship as we please”.

To bring his speech to a close, Obama summons people to remake the world evoking emotions to take action: “*With an eye toward the future, with resolve in our hearts, let us remember this history, and answer our destiny, and remake the world once again*”.

The present section discussed the Legitmisations strategies identified in Obama’s speech. The next section presents a discussion on the Assumptions found in the speech.

5.2 FAIRCLOUGH’S CONCEPT OF ASSUMPTIONS IN THE SELECTED SPEECH

The purpose of the present section is to identify the different types of assumptions Obama conveys in his speech in order to exercise control and power. Therefore, in order to account for the types of assumptions, I will carry out the analysis of the speech by drawing on Fairclough’s concept of Assumptions (2003). The aforementioned author mentions three types of assumptions (Existential, Propositional, and Value assumptions) to shape a common background in a text. So, the analysis of assumptions in Obama’s speech aims at focusing on these three types of assumptions and what they convey in terms of ideology.

The three types of assumptions related to ideological meanings a text might convey, developed by Fairclough (2003), are presented in Table 5.1.

Main types of assumptions	Ideological Meaning	Grammatical feature
Existential	Assumptions about what exists	There is/are, verb to be
Propositional	Assumptions about what is or can be or will be the case	Modal verbs such as can, may
Value	Assumptions of what is good or desirable	Adjectives or adverbs

Table 5.1 – Main types of Assumptions based on Fairclough’s concept of Assumptions (2003, p. 55-6)

Relating the main themes identified in Obama’s speech with the assumptions he makes throughout the speech, the sentence-by-sentence analysis of assumptions in the speech has revealed the occurrence of sixty-seven (67) instances of assumptions which led to some interesting results. Value assumptions demonstrate to be the most salient type in the analysis while the Existential type was the less predominant. A discussion of the findings will be found in the end of this chapter.

There are two explicit Value Assumptions that enact positive meanings to the clauses related to *Obama’s multicultural heritage*. First, the use of the adjective proud in “a *proud* citizen of the United States, and a fellow citizen of the world” implies a positive meaning in Obama’s identity. He is not a mere citizen of America, he is proud of being an American. Obama is also a fellow citizen of the world. In this sense, he is sharing the same interests’ of people in the world because he is considering himself “sharing a particular activity, quality, or condition with someone”⁵¹. The second explicit ‘positive’ Value Assumption refers to the United States. The nation is seen as a land of freedom and opportunity, where the dreams and yearnings of his father could come true. This can be realized in the Value Assumption employed in “his answer for a *better* life”, in which the United States and their universities (i.e. education) are “good and desirable” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). Therefore, it seems that Obama assumes that the United States is the land for a better life.

Using an Existential Assumption to *the partnership between the United States and Germany*, the speaker explicitly makes an assumption that there is such a thing as a partnership between those countries. This

⁵¹ The definition of the word *fellow* is based on Oxford Dictionaries Online at: <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/fellow?q=fellow> retrieved on May 4th, 2012.

partnership is also valued when Obama attributes the adverb ‘truly’ to reinforce and emphasize “emotional sincerity or seriousness”⁵²: “Ours is a partnership that truly began sixty years ago this Summer (...)”. And in order to attribute a negative value to the Soviet Union, Obama uses the noun ‘shadow’ to show that while in East Berlin people were living under the communism rules, in West Berlin the United States and the allies were finding a way to resolve the bad conditions not only to Berlin and Germany, but to the world: “The Soviet *shadow* had swept across Eastern Europe, while in the West, America, Britain, and France took stock of their losses, and pondered how the world might be remade”. Still in relation to the second main theme, the speaker attributes a figurative Value Assumption to the hope of freedom desired by the Berliners: “the *last flame* of freedom in Berlin”. This Value Assumption includes the assumption that Communists might have extinguished the lives of those Germans by cutting off food and supplies; lives here could be seen as the last hope of freedom, what has been left to them. Making an assumption on what existed during the Cold War, Obama attributes an Existential Assumption to the power of the Soviet Union Army compared to the forces of the allies: “The size of our forces *was* no match for the much *larger* Soviet Army”. At this point, he also implies a Value Assumption to the strength of the Soviet’s organized military force: the Soviet Army was of a great size if compared to the allies’ Army. And the city of Berlin is considered the place where this conflict settled. There is also an Existential Assumption associated with the United States and the allies in “that’s when the airlift began (...)”. It seems that the airlift (an organized delivery of supplies via aircraft) could be the solution to the people’s condition during the conflict. Still in relation to the airlift, Obama implies positive Value Assumptions to it: “the *largest* and *most unlikely rescue* in history”.

In relation to *Berlin is seen as an example*, there are two Value Assumptions that open the third theme in “But in the *darkest* hours, the people of Berlin kept the *flame of hope* burning”. First, the situation in which the people lived is triggered by the adjective ‘darkest’, i.e. a military period characterized by pessimism and no hope. Second, the speaker points out that the Berliners fought for their lives believing in better days. Taking the city of Berlin as an example, Obama illustrates that the people of Berlin have a great capacity to overcome the hard days due to “the *generosity* of the Marshall Plan”. In other words, there

⁵² The definition of the word *truly* is based on Oxford Dictionaries Online at: <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/truly?q=truly> retrieved on May 4th, 2012.

is an explicit positive Value Assumption to the Marshall Plan⁵³: the plan can be considered abundant and also openhanded in spirit. But as one can see this was not possible to happen without the ‘*determination of a people*’, explicitly implying a positive Value Assumption to the people of Berlin. There is also another strong Value Assumption attributed to NATO⁵⁴: “the *greatest* alliance ever formed to defend our common humanity”. In this sense, NATO is assumed to be a desirable entity because it is positively valued as a union formed between countries for a mutual benefit: security. A Propositional Assumption is associated with another Value Assumption in “(...) pillars near the Brandenburg Gate insist we *never forget our common* humanity”. In this sense, Obama assumes that a historic location is the place to remember the principle of equality by all the people in the world. To bring the third theme to a close, the speaker uses an Existential assumption associated to two Value Assumptions: “(...) and history proved that *there is no* challenge *too great* for a world that stands as *one*”. It is assumed that no task and situation are impossible for those united by a common purpose.

There is a new and undesirable reality in the fourth theme of his speech: *New dangers in the world*. There is a Value Assumption triggered by the adjective ‘new’: “History has led us to a *new* crossroad, with *new* premise and *new* peril”. In this sense and in order to defeat such dangers, Obama assumes that the 21st century allows us to see that the world is closely related and connected; also, the fall of the Berlin Wall in the 20th century gave rise to a new feeling for something positive to happen: “While the 20th century taught us that we share a common destiny, the 21st *has revealed* a world more intertwined than at any time in human history”. Other two Propositional Assumptions imply that new dangers are not controllable by any nation: “But that very closeness *has given rise* to new dangers – dangers that *cannot be contained* within the borders of a country or by the distance of an

⁵³According to Britannica Encyclopaedia “*Marshall Plan*, formally *European Recovery Program*, (April 1948–December 1951), U.S.-sponsored program designed to rehabilitate the economies of 17 western and southern European countries in order to create stable conditions in which democratic institutions could survive”. Information retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/366654/Marshall-Plan> on May 4th, 2012.

⁵⁴ Britannica Encyclopaedia also defines NATO as “*North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)*, military alliance established by the North Atlantic Treaty (also called the Washington Treaty) of April 4, 1949, which sought to create a counterweight to Soviet armies stationed in central and eastern Europe after World War II”. Information retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/418982/North-Atlantic-Treaty-Organization-NATO> on May 4th, 2012.

ocean”. Besides, the speaker also addresses the existence of another danger in the world: global warming. Obama assumes that in an Existential Assumption: “cars in Boston and factories in Beijing are melting the ice caps in the Arctic (...)”. There is a Propositional Assumption in which two Value Assumptions are seen as undesirable: “Poorly secured nuclear material in the former Soviet Union, or secrets from a scientist in Pakistan *could help* build a bomb that denotes in Paris”. Another Propositional Assumption includes the assumption that these dangers are capable of moving quickly and no one nation can detain them: “In this new world, such dangerous currents *have swept* along *faster* than our efforts to contain them”.

To point out the views of the United States and of Europe in the fifth theme identified as *Stereotypes created by Europe on America, and America’s view on Europe*, Obama uses three Existential Assumptions. Those are related to the view of Europe on America in which “In Europe, the view that America *is* part of what has gone *wrong* in our world, rather than a *force* to help make it right, has become all too *common*.” In this sense, the speaker reinforces that there exists a stereotypical view and an oversimplified image created by Europe upon the United States. The subsequent clause denies this Existential Assumption. Obama gives another opinion and attributes a Value Assumption to America in: “a *force* to help make it right”. The noun ‘force’ supports a positive image of the United States related to their economic and military power and strength in the world. This is a more general view if compared to the view of the United States upon Europe: “In America, *there are* voices that deride and deny the *importance* of Europe’s role in our *security* and our *future*.” At this point, it seems the speaker assumes that some Americans do not recognize the important function that Europe has in the world. He projects the role of Europe to a specific and broad spectrum: security and future, reinforcing then the relevance of a strong partnership he proposed before in the speech. In order to bring this theme to a close, Obama makes two other Existential Assumptions: one in the past and another in the future. He assumes that there are dissimilarities between the United States and Europe, but he also assumes that even in the future these differences will exist. In order to shift this paradigm, Obama makes a direct appeal: he seems to ask people to transcend their differences and work to guarantee “common security and common humanity”.

Obama assumes that there is the possibility of dividedness in the sixth theme *New walls to divide Europe and America*. However, he reinforces that this assertion can be changed as he creates a sense of

unity with the fall of the wall. Thus, this specific past event entails what actually occurred with the people and nations and the example must be followed in the present.

The seventh theme *Bridges between America and Europe* presents a Propositional Assumption. The speaker assumes that the spirit of unity between the United States and Europe constitutes a world characterized by partnership: “That is why America *cannot turn inward*. That is why Europe *cannot turn inward*. America has *no better partner* than Europe”. Obama also evaluates the partnership between the USA and Europe through a value assumption “no better partner”.

When proposing to take action in the eighth theme – ‘*this is the moment to act*’ - Obama makes several Propositional Assumptions in which he addresses problems related to security, terrorism, globalization, peace in the Middle East, global warming. He seems to provide a general view of these issues rather than proposing a precise plan for action. For instance, he proposes “(...) If we *could create* NATO to face down the Soviet Union, we *can join* in a *new and global partnership* to dismantle the networks”. Consequently, it seems to be more a matter of suggestive plan than setting an effective agenda or determined program of action.

Obama also poses questions to the world by using seven Propositional assumptions in the ninth theme. As one can see, he poses questions in the future in order to present his views on the matters of the world. One of the examples is “*Will we extend our hand to the people in the forgotten corners of this world who yearn for lives marked by dignity and opportunity; by security and justice?* It seems that by assuming such proposals through the use of questions, Obama refers to the present situation and also calls on the responsibility of other countries to resolve those matters in the future.

As regards the tenth theme *America*, Obama points out that Americans “have strived at great cost and great sacrifice”. Obama takes as truth that the United States took considerable efforts to create a more optimistic world. He also employs a Value Assumptions in “*every language is spoken in our country; every culture has left its imprint on ours; every point of view is expressed in our public squares*”. In this sense, he seems to assume there is an egalitarian principle in American society.

The eleventh theme identified as *Aspirations and destiny* reinforces the idea that there are aspirations pursued by the present generation to make a change in the world. It seems that Obama wants to convey that a new social change is required, but once more he does not

specify which type of change he is asking for. He assumes that the challenges will be enormous. By implying another Value Assumption to the people in the world as “people of improbable hope”, Obama seems to assure that the enablers of a social change have the present situation to do it so.

This section presented the main Assumptions identified in Obama’s speech regarding the eleven themes found in the instance. The next section will display an overview of the findings related to the Legitimation strategies and Assumptions in the selected speech.

5.3 OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

5.3.1 Overview of Legitimation strategies

The discourse world construed by the speaker seeks to strategically legitimize the United States and their allies using emotive effects such as a sense of union, equality, pride, and courage. Thus, other legitimation strategies such as fear of domination of the opponent over the allies, fear of specified and non-specified dangers, sense of security and responsibility, reinforce a sense of union that Obama seems to convey in his speech. By articulating ideas and images that call dangers into question, the speaker delegitimises The Others. Table 5.2 displays the main emotive effects identified in the speech as Legitimation related to The Self and Delegitimation related to The Others.

Legitimation The Self	Delegitimation The Others
Establishing a desire to have a group identity – as a leader of the world – to the audience	Sense of dividedness and union
Sense of pride of his family background	Fear of domination
Evoking righteousness emotions (2x)	Fear of domination of the opponent over the allies
Evoking an universal yearning	Sense of pride of Berliners
Expressing pride of his country (2x)	Fear of specified danger (2x)

Sense of courage	Fear of various types of dangers
Sense of union (6x)	Fear of dangers and sense of union to defeat such dangers
Protective feelings for America and allies (2x)	Fear of dividedness
Sense of equality	Evoke righteousness emotions (2x)
Sense of union and protectiveness	
Expressing concern on old stereotypes about Europe and America and praising the qualities of both in the present	
Sense of responsibility and union	
Belief on the sense of union	
Sense of union and loyalty	
Sense of credibility	
Sense of security	
Fear of a global destruction	
Sense of responsibility about globalization	
Sense of union and responsibility	
Recognizing the United States' limitations in the world	
Evoking shared values and aspirations in all nations	
Evoking aspirations to keep the spirit of union	
Evoking emotions to take action	

Table 5.2 – Emotive effects identified in Obama’s speech in Berlin

The Legitimation strategies found and discussed in the previous sections answer RQ(4) *What are the legitimisation strategies used by Obama to achieve his political goals?* The environment construed in the text reinforces a more conciliatory political speech rather than an authoritative one. Due to its nature – a presidential campaign speech – one might argue that most of the text is based on the legitimisations of The Self than on The Others. The delegitimation construed in relation to The Others seeks to make an explicit reference to a social change in the world. A world-view construed by the speaker based on the shared values of every nation, but at the same time a world that requires “true partnership” and an intervention on other’s political, social, and economical situation as the example of “a world free of nuclear weapons”.

The proposal of a new and different leadership in Washington might be represented by these strategies of The Self and The Others legitimisations. Terms such as *determination*, *generosity*, *victory*, and *greatest* unveil a legitimising vocabulary to The Self, creating then a sense of protectiveness feelings to America and the allies:

“Look at Berlin, where the determination of a people met the generosity of the Marshall Plan and created a German miracle; where a victory over tyranny gave rise to NATO, the greatest alliance ever formed to defend our common security”.

Meanwhile other terms such as *ruin*, *wall*, and *shadow* have an effective as well as emotive effect denoting an evil side aligned with the delegitimation of The Others: *“On that day, much of this continent still lay in ruin. The rubble of this city had yet to be built into a wall. The Soviet shadow had swept across Eastern Europe”.*

The next section presents an overview of the findings related to the Assumptions identified in the speech.

5.3.2 Overview of the Assumptions

The assumptions identified in Obama’s speech reveals that the most prominent type is the Value Assumption. Out of 67 occurrences, Value Assumptions appeared in 34 instances of the text. Table 5.3 displays the occurrence of Existential, Propositional, and Value Assumptions analyzed in the speech.

Main types of Assumptions	Occurrences in the speech
Existential	16
Propositional	23
Value	33

Table 5.3 – Occurrences of Existential, Propositional, and Value Assumptions in Obama’s speech in Berlin

Concerning RQ(3) *What is the most prominent assumption in Obama’s speech which legitimizes his political views to the world?*, one might observe that Obama mostly evaluates The Self and The Others in the speech attributing to them Value Assumptions. Due to their high predominance in the instances analyzed, Value Assumptions occurred 33 times throughout the speech; thus, the speechwriter seems to bring his view on the merit and significance of the themes identified in the speech.

In a way of judging some of the issues presented in the speech, Obama seems to list what he considers “good or desirable” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55) to his audience. For instance, when addressing the issue of partnership, Obama attributes a positive value assumption to it. On the other hand, when talking about the Soviet Union, he implies a negative value in order to reinforce his political views over that country. Table 5.4 displays some examples of negative and positive Value Assumptions identified in the speech.

Positive value assumption	Negative value assumption
“a <i>proud</i> citizen of the USA and a <i>fellow</i> citizen of the world”.	“the Soviet <i>shadow</i> has swept across the Eastern Europe, while in the West, America...”
“his yearning – his dream – required the freedom and opportunity <i>promised</i> by the West”.	“the <i>last</i> flame of freedom in Berlin”.
“his answer for a <i>better</i> life”.	“The size of our forces was no match for the much <i>larger</i> Soviet Army”.
“Ours is a partnership that <i>truly</i> began sixty years ago this Summer”	“But in the <i>darkest</i> hours the people of Berlin kept the flame of hope burning”.
“that’s when the airlift began – when the <i>largest and most unlikely</i> rescue in history brought food and hope to the people of this city”.	“History has led us to a <i>new</i> crossroad, with <i>new</i> premise and <i>new</i> peril”.
“But in the darkest hours the people	“ <i>Poorly</i> secured nuclear material in

of Berlin kept <i>the flame of hope</i> burning”.	the <i>former</i> Soviet Union, or secrets from a scientist in Pakistan...”
“the <i>generosity</i> of the Marshall Plan”.	“But that <i>very closeness</i> (of the Berlin Wall) has given rise to <i>new dangers</i> – dangers that cannot be contained within the <i>borders of a country</i> or by the <i>distance of an ocean</i> ”.
“the <i>determination</i> of a people”.	“The terrorists of September 11 th plotted in Hamburg and trained in Kandahar and Karachi before killing thousands <i>from all over the globe on American soil</i> ”.
“the <i>greatest</i> alliance ever formed to defend our common humanity”.	“ <i>Poorly</i> secured nuclear material in the <i>former</i> Soviet Union, or <i>secrets</i> from a scientist in Pakistan could help build a bomb that detonates in Paris”.
“(…) pillars near the Brandenburg Gate insist we never forget our <i>common</i> humanity”.	“In this <i>new</i> world, such <i>dangerous</i> currents have swept along <i>faster</i> than our efforts to contain them”.
“(…) and history proved that there is no challenge <i>too great</i> for a world that stands as <i>one</i> ”.	“In Europe, the view that America is part of what has gone <i>wrong</i> in our world, rather than a <i>force</i> to help make it right, has become all too <i>common</i> ”.
“The fall of Berlin Wall brought new hope”.	“That is why the <i>greatest</i> danger of all <i>is</i> to allow <i>new</i> walls to divide us from one another”.
“In America, there are voices that deride and deny the <i>importance</i> of Europe’s role in our <i>security</i> and our future”.	“So history reminds us that walls can be torn down”.
“a <i>force</i> to help make it right”.	“In this century - in this city of all cities - we must reject <i>the Cold War mind-set of the past</i> ”.
“ <i>Partnership</i> and <i>cooperation</i> among nations is not a <i>choice</i> ; it is the one way, the <i>only</i> way, to protect our common security and advance our common humanity”.	“And this is the moment when we must give hope to <i>those left behind</i> in a <i>globalized</i> world”.

Table 5.4 - Some examples of negative and positive Value Assumptions

Throughout the analysis of Value Assumptions, the results reveal that Obama and his speechwriters were mainly focused on making positive and negative evaluations over The Self and The Others. It

seems that there is a constant common ground in positively evaluating the United States and allies and give negative merit to other countries due to their ideological or military influence. Thus, when the speech is analyzed in its entirety, one can note that Value Assumptions support the other two types of Assumptions made in the text, but they seem to be more relevant in usage in order to create an evaluative scenario where Obama can set his speech as a world leader.

CHAPTER 6

FINAL REMARKS, LIMITATIONS OF THE INVESTIGATION, SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

*“With an eye toward the future, with resolve in our hearts,
let us remember this history, and answer our destiny,
and remake the world once again”.*

Barack Obama,
“A World that Stands as One”,
Berlin, July 24th 2008.

In the last chapter of this study, I present the final remarks, limitations of the investigation, and suggestions for further research.

6.1 FINAL REMARKS

As already mentioned, one of the purposes of this study is to present a clear account of the ways in which Obama has made meaning through the lexicogrammatical choices, assumptions and legitimisations in his presidential campaign speech to establish a different approach to America’s international relations. Thus, when macro analyzing the speech, I could identify eleven main themes that create a pattern in Obama’s speech. As already discussed in Chapter 5, these main themes project different prospects in which Obama relies on. They also serve to contextualize each issue Obama wants to portray in his speech and to guide the micro analysis I carried out in relation to Systemic Functional Linguistics because of the contextualization pattern they created. Thus, the main themes were realized at a clausal level through Halliday’s Transitivity system revealing the occurrence of 375 Processes in which a total of 235 was identified as Material clauses. As regards the high predominance of Material Processes, I decided to focus on the most salient category of Participants. Therefore, after another careful analysis, I realized that most of the Actors represented two categories that I named: The Self (the United States, Obama, and inclusive we) and The Others (other countries, entities, and actions). Thus, generally speaking, the analysis led to results that reveal that the speech concentrates mostly in the happenings and actions of The Self if compared to the Material

domains enacted by The Others. As regards the high predominance of Material clauses found in the speech, they may construe significant events, actions, and happenings to legitimize Obama's role as a multiracial leader, with the United States, himself, and inclusive we as the main Actors. The speech revolves mostly around the stories of unity, pride, justice, equality, reconstruction, military power, ideological conflict, and aspirations shared by people around the world. In this sense, the way the text was construed suggests that a common ground is established to influence and to persuade the audience and accept Obama as the appropriate world leader, since he was running for the presidency of the United States.

By making use of Legitimation strategies and Assumptions, Obama tends to create a social change in the text by evaluating his personal story, regional prospects (The Others), and reaching a wider one (The Self) and, thus, evoking specific feelings and emotions to his audience. Therefore, the ideologies and political goals presented in the speech tend to maintain the United States hegemony, but at the same time tend to set a dialogue between countries in a conciliatory tone. Having said that, the context chosen to deliver Obama's speech to the world is a powerful resource to spread and disseminate beliefs and also to build an image of a politician. Taking into consideration the historical role Berlin plays in the world, Obama uses this location to tell his story and also to create a sense of unity to the world. Thus, Obama shows his view of "A World that Stands as One" and this speech resonates not only in America and Europe, but especially (as it seems to be intended to) in the world as well.

6.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE INVESTIGATION

As regards its qualitative research nature and due to page constraints and time, this investigation focused on only one speech delivered by Obama in the international arena. Since this thesis encompasses an interdisciplinary study, I tried to analyze and discuss the whole instance in a very detailed way in order to present and investigate the linguistic manifestations of the speech and also to broaden the discussion between Critical Discourse Analysis and political discourse. However, I recognize that this study could have been carried out through a more expanded scope such as multimodality, in which the visual mode could also be investigated. Additionally, due to various types of information concerning Obama's speech in Berlin, I have decided to make use of information retrieved from resources such

as The New York Times and The Guardian, but I see that I could have relied on more specific studies related to Rhetoric and International Relations in order to present a clearer account on Obama's personal and political life as well as the speechwriting process. Lastly, I could further discuss the issue of international relations by comparing large corpora of political speeches delivered by Obama as candidate and as the President of the United States, for instance.

Upon setting the limitations of the investigation in this section, I present some suggestions for further research in the next.

6.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Some of my academic articles (Marchi, 2011; Marchi & Steffen, 2012) have guided my interest in investigating political speeches under the methodological apparatus of SFG and CDA. I hereby expect that my investigation may be an inspiration for further studies regarding language and politics. As pointed out above, I recognize that this thesis has its limitations; therefore, I present in this section some suggestions for further research:

1. Analyzing political speeches delivered by President Dilma in the international arena in order to observe the representation of Brazil through the three metafunctions of language in association with other interpretative frameworks based on political discourse and CDA;
2. Carrying out research on presidential political speeches aligned with a multimodal study in order to investigate how the visual mode interferes and complements the verbal mode.

Upon exploring the lexicogrammatical choices in this specific political speech and also applying two different frameworks based on CDA and political discourse, I hope this investigation will offer some insights regarding studies of language and politics.

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APPENDIX A1 – TRANSCRIPT OF OBAMA’S SPEECH IN BERLIN

The following is the prepared text of Senator Barack Obama in Berlin, Germany, as provided by his presidential campaign.

"A World that Stands as One"

July 24th, 2008

Berlin, Germany

Thank you to the citizens of Berlin and to the people of Germany. Let me thank Chancellor Merkel and Foreign Minister Steinmeier for welcoming me earlier today. Thank you Mayor Wowerit, the Berlin Senate, the police, and most of all thank you for this welcome.

I come to Berlin as so many of my countrymen have come before. Tonight, I speak to you not as a candidate for President, but as a citizen - a proud citizen of the United States, and a fellow citizen of the world.

I know that I don't look like the Americans who've previously spoken in this great city. The journey that led me here is improbable. My mother was born in the heartland of America, but my father grew up herding goats in Kenya. His father - my grandfather - was a cook, a domestic servant to the British.

At the height of the Cold War, my father decided, like so many others in the forgotten corners of the world, that his yearning - his dream - required the freedom and opportunity promised by the West. And so he wrote letter after letter to universities all across America until somebody, somewhere answered his prayer for a better life.

That is why I'm here. And you are here because you too know that yearning. This city, of all cities, knows the dream of freedom. And you know that the only reason we stand here tonight is because men and women from both of our nations came together to work, and struggle, and sacrifice for that better life.

Ours is a partnership that truly began sixty years ago this summer, on the day when the first American plane touched down at Tempelhof.

On that day, much of this continent still lay in ruin. The rubble of this city had yet to be built into a wall. The Soviet shadow had swept across Eastern Europe, while in the West, America, Britain, and France took stock of their losses, and pondered how the world might be remade.

This is where the two sides met. And on the twenty-fourth of June, 1948, the Communists chose to blockade the western part of the city. They cut off food and supplies to more than two million Germans in an effort to extinguish the last flame of freedom in Berlin.

The size of our forces was no match for the much larger Soviet Army. And yet retreat would have allowed Communism to march across Europe. Where the last war had ended, another World War could have easily begun. All that stood in the way was Berlin.

And that's when the airlift began - when the largest and most unlikely rescue in history brought food and hope to the people of this city.

The odds were stacked against success. In the winter, a heavy fog filled the sky above, and many planes were forced to turn back without dropping off the needed supplies. The streets where we stand were filled with hungry families who had no comfort from the cold.

But in the darkest hours, the people of Berlin kept the flame of hope burning. The people of Berlin refused to give up. And on one fall day, hundreds of thousands of Berliners came here, to the Tiergarten, and heard the city's mayor implore the world not to give up on freedom. "There is only one possibility," he said. "For us to stand together united until this battle is won...The people of Berlin have spoken. We have done our duty, and we will keep on doing our duty. People of the world: now do your duty...People of the world, look at Berlin!"

People of the world - look at Berlin!

Look at Berlin, where Germans and Americans learned to work together and trust each other less than three years after facing each other on the field of battle.

Look at Berlin, where the determination of a people met the generosity of the Marshall Plan and created a German miracle; where a victory over tyranny gave rise to NATO, the greatest alliance ever formed to defend our common security.

Look at Berlin, where the bullet holes in the buildings and the somber stones and pillars near the Brandenburg Gate insist that we never forget our common humanity.

People of the world - look at Berlin, where a wall came down, a continent came together, and history proved that there is no challenge too great for a world that stands as one.

Sixty years after the airlift, we are called upon again. History has led us to a new crossroad, with new promise and new peril. When you, the German people, tore down that wall - a wall that divided East and West; freedom and tyranny; fear and hope - walls came tumbling down around the world. From Kiev to Cape Town, prison camps were closed, and the doors of democracy were opened. Markets opened too, and the spread of information and technology reduced barriers to opportunity and prosperity. While the 20th century taught us that we share a common destiny, the 21st has revealed a world more intertwined than at any time in human history.

The fall of the Berlin Wall brought new hope. But that very closeness has given rise to new dangers - dangers that cannot be contained within the borders of a country or by the distance of an ocean.

The terrorists of September 11th plotted in Hamburg and trained in Kandahar and Karachi before killing thousands from all over the globe on American soil.

As we speak, cars in Boston and factories in Beijing are melting the ice caps in the Arctic, shrinking coastlines in the Atlantic, and bringing drought to farms from Kansas to Kenya.

Poorly secured nuclear material in the former Soviet Union, or secrets from a scientist in Pakistan could help build a bomb that detonates in Paris. The poppies in Afghanistan become the heroin in Berlin. The poverty and violence in Somalia breeds the terror of tomorrow. The genocide in Darfur shames the conscience of us all.

In this new world, such dangerous currents have swept along faster than our efforts to contain them. That is why we cannot afford to be divided. No one nation, no matter how large or powerful, can defeat such challenges alone. None of us can deny these threats, or escape responsibility in meeting them. Yet, in the absence of Soviet tanks and a terrible wall, it has become easy to forget this truth. And if we're honest with each other, we know that sometimes, on both sides of the Atlantic, we have drifted apart, and forgotten our shared destiny.

In Europe, the view that America is part of what has gone wrong in our world, rather than a force to help make it right, has become all too common. In America, there are voices that deride and deny the importance of Europe's role in our security and our future. Both views miss the truth - that Europeans today

are bearing new burdens and taking more responsibility in critical parts of the world; and that just as American bases built in the last century still help to defend the security of this continent, so does our country still sacrifice greatly for freedom around the globe.

Yes, there have been differences between America and Europe. No doubt, there will be differences in the future. But the burdens of global citizenship continue to bind us together. A change of leadership in Washington will not lift this burden. In this new century, Americans and Europeans alike will be required to do more - not less. Partnership and cooperation among nations is not a choice; it is the one way, the only way, to protect our common security and advance our common humanity.

That is why the greatest danger of all is to allow new walls to divide us from one another.

The walls between old allies on either side of the Atlantic cannot stand. The walls between the countries with the most and those with the least cannot stand. The walls between races and tribes; natives and immigrants; Christian and Muslim and Jew cannot stand. These now are the walls we must tear down.

We know they have fallen before. After centuries of strife, the people of Europe have formed a Union of promise and prosperity. Here, at the base of a column built to mark victory in war, we meet in the center of a Europe at peace. Not only have walls come down in Berlin, but they have come down in Belfast, where Protestant and Catholic found a way to live together; in the Balkans, where our Atlantic alliance ended wars and brought savage war criminals to justice; and in South Africa, where the struggle of a courageous people defeated apartheid.

So history reminds us that walls can be torn down. But the task is never easy. True partnership and true progress requires constant work and sustained sacrifice. They require sharing the burdens of development and diplomacy; of progress and peace. They require allies who will listen to each other, learn from each other and, most of all, trust each other.

That is why America cannot turn inward. That is why Europe cannot turn inward. America has no better partner than Europe. Now is the time to build new bridges across the globe as strong as the one that bound us across the Atlantic. Now is the time to join together, through constant cooperation, strong institutions, shared sacrifice, and a global commitment to progress, to meet the challenges of the 21st century. It was this spirit that led airlift planes to appear in the sky above our heads, and people to assemble where we stand today. And

this is the moment when our nations - and all nations - must summon that spirit anew.

This is the moment when we must defeat terror and dry up the well of extremism that supports it. This threat is real and we cannot shrink from our responsibility to combat it. If we could create NATO to face down the Soviet Union, we can join in a new and global partnership to dismantle the networks that have struck in Madrid and Amman; in London and Bali; in Washington and New York. If we could win a battle of ideas against the communists, we can stand with the vast majority of Muslims who reject the extremism that leads to hate instead of hope.

This is the moment when we must renew our resolve to rout the terrorists who threaten our security in Afghanistan, and the traffickers who sell drugs on your streets. No one welcomes war. I recognize the enormous difficulties in Afghanistan. But my country and yours have a stake in seeing that NATO's first mission beyond Europe's borders is a success. For the people of Afghanistan, and for our shared security, the work must be done. America cannot do this alone. The Afghan people need our troops and your troops; our support and your support to defeat the Taliban and al Qaeda, to develop their economy, and to help them rebuild their nation. We have too much at stake to turn back now.

This is the moment when we must renew the goal of a world without nuclear weapons. The two superpowers that faced each other across the wall of this city came too close too often to destroying all we have built and all that we love. With that wall gone, we need not stand idly by and watch the further spread of the deadly atom. It is time to secure all loose nuclear materials; to stop the spread of nuclear weapons; and to reduce the arsenals from another era. This is the moment to begin the work of seeking the peace of a world without nuclear weapons.

This is the moment when every nation in Europe must have the chance to choose its own tomorrow free from the shadows of yesterday. In this century, we need a strong European Union that deepens the security and prosperity of this continent, while extending a hand abroad. In this century - in this city of all cities - we must reject the Cold War mind-set of the past, and resolve to work with Russia when we can, to stand up for our values when we must, and to seek a partnership that extends across this entire continent.

This is the moment when we must build on the wealth that open markets have created, and share its benefits more equitably. Trade has been a cornerstone of our growth and global development. But we will not be able to sustain this growth if it favors the few, and not the many. Together, we must forge trade that

truly rewards the work that creates wealth, with meaningful protections for our people and our planet. This is the moment for trade that is free and fair for all.

This is the moment we must help answer the call for a new dawn in the Middle East. My country must stand with yours and with Europe in sending a direct message to Iran that it must abandon its nuclear ambitions. We must support the Lebanese who have marched and bled for democracy, and the Israelis and Palestinians who seek a secure and lasting peace. And despite past differences, this is the moment when the world should support the millions of Iraqis who seek to rebuild their lives, even as we pass responsibility to the Iraqi government and finally bring this war to a close.

This is the moment when we must come together to save this planet. Let us resolve that we will not leave our children a world where the oceans rise and famine spreads and terrible storms devastate our lands. Let us resolve that all nations - including my own - will act with the same seriousness of purpose as has your nation, and reduce the carbon we send into our atmosphere. This is the moment to give our children back their future. This is the moment to stand as one.

And this is the moment when we must give hope to those left behind in a globalized world. We must remember that the Cold War born in this city was not a battle for land or treasure. Sixty years ago, the planes that flew over Berlin did not drop bombs; instead they delivered food, and coal, and candy to grateful children. And in that show of solidarity, those pilots won more than a military victory. They won hearts and minds; love and loyalty and trust - not just from the people in this city, but from all those who heard the story of what they did here.

Now the world will watch and remember what we do here - what we do with this moment. Will we extend our hand to the people in the forgotten corners of this world who yearn for lives marked by dignity and opportunity; by security and justice? Will we lift the child in Bangladesh from poverty, shelter the refugee in Chad, and banish the scourge of AIDS in our time?

Will we stand for the human rights of the dissident in Burma, the blogger in Iran, or the voter in Zimbabwe? Will we give meaning to the words "never again" in Darfur?

Will we acknowledge that there is no more powerful example than the one each of our nations projects to the world? Will we reject torture and stand for the rule of law? Will we welcome immigrants from different lands, and shun

discrimination against those who don't look like us or worship like we do, and keep the promise of equality and opportunity for all of our people?

People of Berlin - people of the world - this is our moment. This is our time.

I know my country has not perfected itself. At times, we've struggled to keep the promise of liberty and equality for all of our people. We've made our share of mistakes, and there are times when our actions around the world have not lived up to our best intentions.

But I also know how much I love America. I know that for more than two centuries, we have strived - at great cost and great sacrifice - to form a more perfect union; to seek, with other nations, a more hopeful world. Our allegiance has never been to any particular tribe or kingdom - indeed, every language is spoken in our country; every culture has left its imprint on ours; every point of view is expressed in our public squares. What has always united us - what has always driven our people; what drew my father to America's shores - is a set of ideals that speak to aspirations shared by all people: that we can live free from fear and free from want; that we can speak our minds and assemble with whomever we choose and worship as we please.

These are the aspirations that joined the fates of all nations in this city. These aspirations are bigger than anything that drives us apart. It is because of these aspirations that the airlift began. It is because of these aspirations that all free people - everywhere - became citizens of Berlin. It is in pursuit of these aspirations that a new generation - our generation - must make our mark on the world.

People of Berlin - and people of the world - the scale of our challenge is great. The road ahead will be long. But I come before you to say that we are heirs to a struggle for freedom. We are a people of improbable hope. With an eye toward the future, with resolve in our hearts, let us remember this history, and answer our destiny, and remake the world once again.

APPENDIX A2 – Analysis of Transitivity System – Obama’s speech “A World that Stands as One”

cl. 1					
Thank	you to the citizens of Berlin and to the people of Germany.				
VERBAL	Receiver				
cl.2					
Let	me	thank	Chancellor Merkel and Foreign Minister Steinmeier		
Pr.: ...	Sayer	VERBAL	Receiver		
for welcoming me				earlier today.	
Circumstance of Cause				Circumstance of Time	
cl. 3					
Thank	you Mayor Wowereit, the Berlin Senate, the police,				
VERBAL	Receiver				
cl.4					
and	most of all	thank	you	for this welcome.	
	Adjunct	VERBAL	Receiver	Circumstance of Cause	
cl. 5/cl.6					
I	come	to Berlin	as [so many of my countrymen]	have come	before.
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance of Manner		
			[Actor]	MATERIAL	Circumstance
cl.7					
Tonight,	I	speak	to you	not as a candidate for President,	
Circumstance	Sayer	VERBAL	Receiver	Circumstance of Role	
but	as a citizen, a proud citizen of the United States, and a fellow citizen of the world.				
	Circumstance of Role				
cl. 8/cl.9/cl.10					

I	know	that	I	don't look like	the Americans who've previously spoken in this great city.	
Senser	MENTAL		Projected clause			
			Identifier	REL IDENT	Identified	
				Sayer	VERBAL	Circumstance
cl.11						
The journey that led me here				is	improbable.	
Carrier				REL ATT	Attribute	
cl.12						
My mother		was born	in the heartland of America,			
Actor		MATERIAL	Circumstance of Location			
cl.13						
but	my father	grew up	herding goats in Kenya.			
	Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance of Manner			
cl.14						
His father - my grandfather -		was	a cook, a domestic servant to the British.			
Carrier		REL ATT	Attribute			
cl.15						
At the height of the Cold War,		my father	decided,			
Circumstance		Senser	MENTAL			
cl.16/17						
that	his yearning -his dream-	required	the freedom and opportunity	promised	by the West.	
	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			
			Goal	MATERIAL	Actor	
Projected clause						
cl.18						
And so	he	wrote	letter after letter	to universities all across America		

	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance of Location		
cl.19						
until	somebody,	somewhere	answered	his prayer	for a better life.	
Circumstance of Cause (purpose)						
	Sayer	Circums	VERBAL	Verbiage		
cl.20/21						
That	is	why	I	am	here.	
Identifier	REL IDENT	Identified				
			Carrier	REL ATT	Circumstance	
cl.22						
And	you	are	here			
	Carrier	REL ATT	Circumstance			
cl.23						
because	you	too	know	that yearning.		
Circumstance (of cause)						
	Senser		MENTAL	Phenomenon		
cl.24						
This city,	of all cities,		knows	the dreams of freedom.		
Senser	Circumstance of Location		MENTAL	Phenomenon		
cl.25/26						
And	you	know	that	the only reason we stand here tonight		is
	Senser	MENTAL		Projected Clause		
					Carrier	REL ATT
cl.27						
because	men and women		from both of our nations		came	together
	Actor	Circumstance of Location		Pr.: ...	Circ. of Manner	
Circumstance						
to work, and struggle, and sacrifice			for that better life.			
... MATERIAL			Circumstance of Cause			

cl.28/29						
Ours	is	a partnership	that	truly	began	sixty years ago this summer,
Carrier	REL ATT	Attribute				
		Actor			MATERIAL	Circumstance
cl.30						
on the day	when	the first American plane	touched down		at Templehof.	
Circumstance of Time	Circums	Actor		MATERIAL		Circumstance of Location
cl.31						
On that day,	much of this continent		still	lay	in ruin.	
Circumstance of Time	Actor			MATERIAL	Circumstance	
cl.32						
The rubble of this city	had [yet] to be built				into a wall.	
Actor	MATERIAL				Circumstance	
cl.33						
The Soviet shadow	had swept	across Eastern Europe,				
Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance of Location				
cl.34						
while in the West,	America, Britain, and France			took stock of	their losses,	
Circumstance	Actor			MATERIAL	Goal	
cl.35/36						
and	[America, Britain, and France]	pondered	how	the world	might be remade.	
	Sensor	MENTAL	Phenomenon			
		Cir. Manner		Actor	MATERIAL	
cl.37/38						
This	is	where	the two sides	met.		
Carrier	REL ATT	Attributive (Circumstantial)				
		Circ.	Actor	MATERIAL		
cl.39						
And	on the twenty-fourth of June, 1948,	the Communists	chose to blockade	the western part of the city.		

	Circumstance of Location	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal
cl.40				
They	cut off	food and supplies	to more than two million Germans	
Actor	MATERIAL	Recipient	Goal	
cl.41				
in	an effort	to extinguish	the last flame of freedom in Berlin.	
	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	
Circumstance				
cl.42				
The size of our forces	was	no match for the much larger Soviet Army.		
Carrier	REL ATT	Attribute		
cl.43				
And yet	retreat	would have allowed	communism	to march
	Actor	Pr.: ...	Goal	...MATERIAL
				Circumstance
cl.44				
Where	the last war	had ended,		
Circ. of Loc	Actor	MATERIAL		
cl.45				
another World War	could have [easily] begun.			
Actor	MATERIAL			
cl.46				
All that stood in the way	was		Berlin.	
Identified	REL IDENT		Identifier	
cl.47/48				
And	that	's	when	the airlift
	Identifier	REL IDENT	Identified	
			Circ.	Actor
			MATERIAL	
cl.49				
when	the largest and most unlikely rescue in history		brought	food and hope
				to the people of this city.

Circumstance	Actor			MATERIAL	Recipient	Goal	
cl.50							
The odds	were stacked		against	success.			
Goal	MATERIAL			Actor			
cl.51							
In the winter,	a heavy fog	filled	the sky above,				
Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal				
cl.52/53							
and	many planes	were forced to turn back			without	dropping off	the needed supplies.
Actor					MATERIAL	Goal	
	Actor	MATERIAL			Circ. of Accompaniment		
cl.54/55/56							
The streets	where	we	stand	were filled	with	hungry families [who]	had no comfort from the cold.
Goal	Circum	Actor	MAT				
Actor	Circ. Location space			MATERIAL	Circ. of Accompaniment		
					Carrier/Possessor	REL ATT and POSSESSIVE	Possession
cl.57							
But in the darkest hours,		the people of Berlin		kept	the flame of hope burning.		
Circ. Location time		Actor		MATERIAL	Goal		
cl.58							
The people of Berlin		refused to give up.					
Actor		MATERIAL					
cl.59							
And	on one fall day,		hundreds of thousands of Berliners		came	here, to the Tiergarten,	
	Circ. Location		Actor		MATERIAL	Circ. Location	
cl.60/61							
and heard	the city's mayor	implore	the world	not to give up	on freedom.		
MENTAL	Phenomenon						

	Actor	Pr.: ...	Recipient	MATERIAL	Goal
cl.62/63					
“There	is	only one possibility”,	he		said.
Verbiage			Sayer		VERBAL
	EXIST	Existent			
cl.64					
“For us	to stand		together united		
Beneficiary	MATERIAL		Circ. of Accompaniment		
cl.65					
until	this battle	is		won...	
	Carrier	REL ATT		Attribute	
Circ. of Manner					
cl.66					
The people of Berlin		have spoken.			
Sayer		VERBAL			
cl.67					
We	have done	our duty,			
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			
cl.68					
and	we	will keep on doing		our duty.	
	Actor	MATERIAL		Goal	
cl.69					
People of the world:	now	do	your duty...		
Vocative/Actor	Circums.	MATERIAL	Goal		
cl.70					
People of the world,	look at	Berlin!”			
Behaver	BEHAVIORAL	Range			
cl.71					
People of the world-	look at	Berlin!			

Behaver	BEHAVIORAL		Range			
cl.72/73						
Look at	Berlin,	where	Germans and Americans		learned to work	together
BEHAVIORAL	Phenomenon					
		Circums.	Actor		MATERIAL	
cl.74						
and	trust		each other		less than three years	
	MENTAL		Phenomenon		Circumstance	
cl.75						
after	facing		each other		on the field of battle.	
	MATERIAL		Goal		Circumstance	
cl.76/77						
Look at	Berlin,	where	the determination of the people		met	the generosity of the Marshall Plan
BEHAVIORAL	Range					
		Circ.	Actor		MATERIAL	Goal
cl.78						
and	created		a German miracle;			
	MATERIAL		Goal			
cl.79						
where	a victory over tyranny		gave rise			to NATO,
Circ.	Actor		MATERIAL			Goal
cl.80						
the greatest alliance ever formed			to defend		our common security.	
Actor			MATERIAL		Goal	
cl.81/82/83						
Look at	Berlin,	where the bullet holes in the buildings and the somber stones and pillars near the Brandenburg Gate				
BEHAVIORAL	Range	Circumstance				
[where the bullets holes in the buildings...]		insist		that	we	never forget
Actor		MATERIAL		Goal		

			--	Senser	MENTAL	Phenomenon
cl.84/85						
People of the world -		look at	Berlin,	where	a wall	came down,
Behaver		BEHAVIORAL	Range			
				Circum.	Actor	MATERIAL
cl.86						
a continent			came	together,		
Actor			MATERIAL	Circumstance		
cl.87						
and	history	proved	that			
Actor		MATERIAL				
cl.88						
there	is	no challenge	too great			
EXIST	Existent	Circumstance				
cl.89						
for	a world	that	stands	as one.		
other	Actor		MATERIAL	Circumstance		
cl.90						
Sixty years after the airlift,		we	are called upon		again.	
Circumstance		Receiver	VERBAL		Circumstance	
cl.91						
History	has led	us	to a new crossroad, with new promise and new peril.			
Actor	MATERIAL	Beneficiary	Goal			
cl.92						
When	you, the German people,		tore down	that wall -		
Circums.	Actor		MATERIAL	Goal		
cl.93						
a wall	that	divided	East and West; freedom and tyranny; fear and hope -			
Actor	other	MATERIAL	Goal			

cl.94									
walls	came tumbling down			around the world.					
Actor	MATERIAL			Circumstance					
cl.95									
From Kiev to Cape Town,		prison camps		were closed,					
Circumstance		Goal		MATERIAL					
cl.96									
and	the doors of democracy			were opened.					
other	Goal			MATERIAL					
cl.97									
Markets	opened		too,						
Actor	MATERIAL								
cl.98									
and	the spread of information and technology			reduced		barriers	to opportunity and prosperity.		
	Actor			MATERIAL		Goal	Beneficiary		
cl.99/100									
While	the 20 th century		taught	us		that we	share	a common destiny,	
	Actor		MATERIAL	Recipient		Goal			
Circumstance						--	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal
cl.101/102									
the 21st	has revealed		a world		more intertwined		than at any time in human history.		
Actor	MATERIAL		Goal						
	Actor			MATERIAL			Circumstance		
cl.103									
The fall of the Berlin Wall		brought		new hope.					
Actor		MATERIAL		Goal					
cl.104									
But	that very closeness			has given rise		to new dangers-			
	Actor			MATERIAL		Goal			

cl.105							
dangers	that	cannot be contained	within the borders of a country or by the distance of an ocean.				
Actor		MATERIAL	Circumstance				
cl.106							
The terrorists of September 11 th			plotted	in Hamburg		and	
Actor			MATERIAL	Circumstance			
cl.107/108							
trained	in Kandahar and Karachi		before	killing	thousands	from all over the globe on American soil.	
MATERIAL	Circumstance		Goal			Circumstance	
			MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance		
cl.109							
As	we	speak,					
	Sayer	VERBAL					
cl.110							
cars in Boston and factories in Beijing			are melting			the ice caps in the Arctic,	
Actor			MATERIAL			Goal	
cl.111							
shrinking		coastlines in the Atlantic,					
MATERIAL		Goal					
cl.112							
and	bringing	drought	to farms from Kansas to Kenya.				
	MATERIAL	Recipient	Goal				
cl.113/114							
Poorly secured nuclear material in the former Soviet Union, or secrets from a scientist in Pakistan			could help build	a bomb	that	detonates	in Paris.
Actor			MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance		
				Actor		MATERIAL	Circumstance
cl.115							

The poppies in Afghanistan		become	the heroine in Berlin.					
Carrier		REL ATT	Attribute					
cl.116								
The poverty and violence in Somalia		breeds	the terror of tomorrow.					
Actor		MATERIAL	Goal					
cl.117								
The genocide in Darfur		shames	the conscience of us all.					
Senser		MENTAL	Phenomenon					
cl.118/119								
In this new world,	such dangerous currents	have swept along	faster	than	our effort	to contain	them.	
Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance			Actor	MATERIAL	Goal
cl.120/121								
That	is	why	we	cannot afford to be divided.				
Identifier	REL IDENT	Identified	Actor		MATERIAL			
cl.122								
No one nation,	no matter how large or powerful,		can defeat	such challenges		alone.		
Actor	Circumstance		MATERIAL	Goal		Circumstance		
cl.123								
None of us	can deny	these threats,	or					
Sayer	VERBAL	Verbiage						
cl.124/125								
[none of us]	escape	responsibility	in meeting	them.				
[Actor]	MATERIAL	Goal	Beneficiary					
		Actor	MATERIAL	Goal				
cl.126								
Yet,	in the absence of Soviet tanks and a terrible wall,		it	has become	easy	to forget	this truth.	
	Circumstance		Senser	Pr.: ...		MENTAL	Phenomenon	

cl.127							
And	if	we	're	honest	with each other,		
		Carrier	REL ATT	Attribute	Circumstance		
cl.128							
we	know	that sometimes, on both sides of the Atlantic, we have drifted apart and forgotten our shared destiny.					
Senser	MENTAL	Projected clause					
cl. 129/130							
[that	sometimes,	on both sided of the Atlantic	we	have drifted apart]	and	forgotten	our shared destiny.]
		Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	----		Goal
		Circumstance	Senser	---	---	MENTAL	Phenomenon
cl.131/132							
In Europe,	the view that America	is	part of what	has gone	wrong	in our world,	
Circumstance	Carrier	REL ATT	Attribute				
			Actor	MATERIAL			Circumstance
cl. 133/134							
rather than	a force	to help make	it	right,	has become	all too common.	
	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance	---	---	
	Carrier				REL ATT	Attribute	
cl.135/136							
In America,	there	are	voices	that deride and deny	the importance of Europe's role in our security and our future.		
Circumstance		EXIST	Existent	---			
---	---	Sayer	VERBAL	Verbiage			
cl.137							
Both views	miss	the truth -	that				
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal					
cl.138							
Europeans	today	are bearing		new burdens		and	
Actor	Circumstance	MATERIAL		Goal			
cl.139							

taking	more	responsibility	in critical parts of the world;		and		
MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance					
cl.140							
that	just as	American bases built in the last century	still	help to defend	the security of this continent,		
Circumstance	Actor		MATERIAL	Goal			
cl.141							
so	does	our country	still	sacrifice	greatly	for freedom	around the globe.
	Pr.: ...	Actor		MATERIAL		Circums	Goal
cl.142							
Yes,	there	have been	differences between America and Europe.				
		EXIST	Existent				
cl.143							
No doubt,	there	will be	differences	in the future.			
		EXIST	Existent	Circumstance			
cl.144							
But	the burdens of global citizenship		continue to bind		us together.		
	Actor		MATERIAL		Goal		
cl.145							
A change of leadership in Washington			will not lift		this burden.		
Actor			MATERIAL		Goal		
cl.146							
In this new century		Americans and Europeans alike	will be required to do		more - not less.		
Circumstance		Goal	MATERIAL		Circumstance		
cl.147							
Partnership and cooperation among nations				is not		a choice;	
Carrier				REL ATT		Attribute	
cl.148/149							
it	is	the one way, the only way,		to protect		our common security	
Identifier	REL IDENT		Identified				

			Actor	MATERIAL	Goal
cl. 150					
and	advance	our common humanity.			
	MATERIAL	Goal			
cl.151					
That	is	why			
Identifier	REL IDENT	Identified			
cl. 152/153					
the greatest danger of all	is to allow	new walls	to divide	us	from one another.
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			
		Actor	MATERIAL	Beneficiary	Goal
cl.154					
The walls between old allies	on either side of the Atlantic		cannot stand.		
Actor	Circumstance		MATERIAL		
cl.155					
The walls between the countries with the most and those with the least				cannot stand.	
Actor				MATERIAL	
cl.156					
The walls between races and tribes; natives and immigrants; Christian and Muslim and Jew				cannot stand.	
Actor				MATERIAL	
cl.157/158					
These	now	are	the walls	we	must tear down.
Identifier		REL IDENT	Identified		
			Goal	Actor	MATERIAL
cl.159/160					
We	know	they	have fallen	before.	
Senser	MENTAL	(projected sentence)			
		Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance	
cl.161					

After centuries of strife,	the people of Europe	have formed	a Union of promise and prosperity.			
Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			
cl.162						
Here,	at	the base of a column	built to mark	victory in war,		
Circumstance						
Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			
cl.163						
we	meet	in the center of a Europe at peace.				
Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance				
cl.164						
Not only have	walls	come down	in Berlin,			
Pr.: ...	Actor	... MATERIAL			Circumstance	
cl.165/166						
but	they	have come down	in Belfast, where	Protestant and Catholic	found	a way to live together;
	Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance			
		Circ	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance
cl.167/168						
in the Balkans, where	our Atlantic alliance	ended	wars	and	brought	savage war criminals to justice;
Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			
Circumstance	Actor	---			MATERIAL	Goal
cl.169						
and	in South Africa, where	the struggle of a courageous people			defeated	apartheid.
	Circumstance	Actor			MATERIAL	Goal
cl.170/171						
So	history	reminds	us	that	walls	can be torn down.
	Senser	MENTAL	Phenomenon	(projected clause)		
					Actor	MATERIAL
cl.172						
But	the task	is	never	easy.		

	Carrier	REL ATT		Attribute	
cl.173					
True partnership and true progress		require	constant work and sustained sacrifice.		
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			
cl.174					
They	require sharing	the burdens of development and diplomacy; of progress and peace.			
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			
cl.175/176					
They	require	allies	who	will listen to	each other,
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			
		Actor		MATERIAL	Beneficiary
cl.177					
[allies	who]	learn	from each other		
Senser		MENTAL	Phenomenon		
cl.178					
and, most of all,	[allies	who]	trust	each other.	
	Senser		MENTAL	Phenomenon	
cl.179/180					
That	is	why	America	cannot turn	inward.
Identifier	REL IDENT	Identified			
			Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance
cl.181/182					
That	is	why	Europe	cannot turn	inward.
Identifier	REL IDENT	Identified			
			Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance
cl.183					
America	has not	better partner than Europe.			
Carrier	REL ATT	Attribute			
cl.184					

Now	is	the time			
Identifier	REL IDENT	Identified			
cl.185					
[the time]	to build		new bridges across the globe as strong as the one that bound us across the Atlantic.		
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			
cl.186					
[new bridges across the globe	as strong as the one	that	bound	us	across the Atlantic.]
Actor	Circumstance		MATERIAL	Beneficiary	Circumstance
cl.187					
Now	is	the time			
Identifier	REL IDENT	Identified			
cl.188					
[the time]	to join	together,	through constant cooperation, strong institutions, shared sacrifice, and a global commitment to progress,		
[Actor]	MATERIAL	Circumstance	Goal		
cl. 189					
[the time]	to meet		the challenges of the 21 st century.		
[Actor]	MATERIAL		Goal		
cl.190/191					
It	was	the spirit that led airlift planes	to appear	in the sky above our heads,	
Identified	REL IDENT	Identifier			
		Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance	
cl.192/193					
and	people	to assemble	where	we	stand today.
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			
		Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance
cl.194					
And	this	is	the moment when our nations- and all nations- must summon that spirit anew.		
	Identified	REL IDENT	Identifier		

cl.195									
[when	our nations and – all the nations -				must summon			that spirit anew.]	
Circumstance	Actor				MATERIAL			Goal	
cl.196									
This	is	the moment when we must defeat terror and dry up the well of extremism that supports it.							
Identified	REL IDENT	Identifier							
cl.197									
[when	we			must defeat			terror		
Circumstance	Actor			MATERIAL			Goal		
cl.198/199									
and	dry up		the well of extremism		that	supports		it]	
	MATERIAL		Goal			MATERIAL		Goal	
cl.200/201/202									
This threat	is	real	and	we	cannot shrink	from	our responsibility	to combat	it.
Carrier	REL ATT	Attribute		Actor	MATERIAL				
						Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	
cl.203/204									
If	we	could create		NATO	to face down		the Soviet Union,		
	Actor	MATERIAL		Goal	MATERIAL		Goal		
cl.205/206									
we	can join			in	a new and global partnership	to dismantle		the networks that have struck in Madrid Amman; in London and Bali; in Washington and NY.	
Actor	MATERIAL			Goal					
					Actor	MATERIAL	Goal		

cl.207							
[networks]	that	have struck	in Madrid and Amman; in London and Bali; in Washington and NY].				
[Actor]		MATERIAL	Circumstance				
cl.208							
If	we	could win	a battle of ideas against the communists,				
	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal				
cl.209/210							
we	can stand	with	vast majority of Muslims who	reject	the extremism that leads to hate instead of hope.		
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal					
			Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance		
cl.211/212							
This	is	the moment	when	we	must renew	our resolve	
Identified	REL IDENT	Identifier					
		Circumstance	Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	
cl.213/214							
to rout	the terrorists		who	threaten	our security	in Afghanistan,	
MATERIAL	Goal		Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance	
cl.215							
and	the trafikkers	who	sell	drugs	on your streets.		
	Actor	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance		
cl.216							
No one	welcomes		war.				
Actor	MATERIAL		Goal				
cl.217							
I	recognize	the enormous difficulties in Afghanistan.					
Senser	MENTAL	Phenomenon					
cl.218/219							
But	my country and yours	have	a stake	in seeing	that NATO'S first mission beyond Europe's borders is a success.		

	Carrier	REL ATT	Attribute	MENTAL	Phenomenon		
cl.220							
[NATO'S first mission beyond Europe's borders				is	a success]		
Carrier		REL ATT	Attribute				
cl.221							
For the people of Afghanistan, and for our shared security,			the work	must be done.			
Circumstance		Actor		MATERIAL			
cl.222							
America	cannot do	this	alone.				
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance				
cl.223							
The Afghan people	need	our troops and your troops;					
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal					
cl.224/225							
Our support and your support		to defeat	the Taliban and Al Qadea,	to develop	their economy,		
Actor		MATERIAL	Goal				
			Actor	MATERIAL	Goal		
cl.226							
and	to help	them	rebuild their nation.				
	MATERIAL	Beneficiary	Goal				
cl.227/228							
We	have	too much	at stake	to turn back	now.		
Carrier	REL ATT	Attribute	Circumstance	MATERIAL	Circumstance		
cl.229/230							
This	is	the moment	when	we	must renew	the goal of a world	without nuclear weapons.
Identified	REL IDENT	Identifier					
		Circumstance	Circ	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	Circ. of Accompaniment
cl.231							

The two superpowers	that	faced	each other	across the wall of this city
Actor		MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance
cl. 232				
[The superpowers that faced each other across the wall of this city]	came	too close too often	to destroying	all we have built
Actor	Pr.: ...	Circumstance	... MATERIAL	Goal
cl. 233				
and all that		we	love.	
Phenomenon		Senser	MENTAL	
cl.234				
With that wall gone,	we	need not stand	idly by	
Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance	
cl. 235				
and	[we]	watch	the further spread of the deadly atom.	
	Behaver	BEHAVIORAL	Circumstance	
cl.236/237				
It	is	time	to secure	all loose nuclear materials;
Identified	REL IDENT	Identifier		
		Actor	MATERIAL	Goal
cl.238				
[time]	to stop	the spread of nuclear weapons;		
[Actor]	MATERIAL	Goal		
cl.239				
and	[time]	to reduce	the arsenals from another era.	
	[Actor]	MATERIAL	Goal	
cl.240/241				
This	is	the moment	to begin	the work of seeking the peace of the world without nuclear weapons.
Identified	REL IDENT	Identifier		

		Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	
cl.242					
This	is	the moment	when every nation in Europe		
Identified	REL IDENT	Identifier	Circumstance		
cl. 243/244					
[every nation in Europe]	must have	the chance	to choose	its own tomorrow free from the shadows of yesterday.	
[Carrier]	REL ATT	Attribute			
		Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	
cl.245					
In this century,	we	need	a strong European Union		
Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal		
cl. 246					
[a strong European Union]	that	deepens	the security and prosperity of this continent,		
[Actor]		MATERIAL	Goal		
cl. 247					
while	extending	a hand abroad.			
	MATERIAL	Circumstance			
cl.248					
In this century,	-in this city of all cities-	we	must reject	the Cold War mind-set of the past,	
Circumstance	Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	
cl. 249					
and	resolve to work	with Russia	when we can,		
	MATERIAL	Circumstance	Circumstance		
cl.250					
to stand up	for our values	when we must,			
MATERIAL	Circumstance	Circumstance			
cl.251/252					
and	to seek	partnership	that	extends	across this entire continent.
	MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance		

		Actor			MATERIAL	Circumstance			
cl.253/254/255									
This	is	the moment	we	must build	on the wealth	that	open markets	have created,	
Identified	REL IDEN	Identifier							
		Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal				
					Goal		Actor	MATERIAL	
cl.256									
and	share	its benefits	more equitably.						
	MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance						
cl.257									
Trade	has been	a cornerstone of our growth and global development.							
Identifier	REL IDENT	Identified							
cl. 258/259									
But	we	will not be	able	to sustain	this growth				
	Carrier	REL ATT	Attribute	MATERIAL	Goal				
cl. 260									
if	it	favours	the few, and not the many.						
	Actor	MATERIAL	Beneficiary						
cl. 261/262									
Together,	we	must forge	trade	that	truly	rewards	the work that creates wealth, with meaningful protections	for our people and our planet.	
Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal						
			Actor			MATERIAL	Goal	Beneficiary	
cl.263									
[the work	that	creates	wealth with meaning protections				for our people and our planet.]		

Actor		MATERIAL	Goal				Circumstance		
cl. 264/265									
This	is	the moment	for	trade	that	is	free and fair	for all.	
Identified	REL IDEN	Identifier	Circumstance						
			Carrier		REL ATT	Attribute	Circumstance		
cl.266/267									
This	is	the moment	we	must help answer	the call for a new dawn	in the Middle East.			
Identified	REL IDEN	Identifier							
			Sayer	VERBAL	Verbiage	Circumstance			
cl. 268/269									
My country	must stand	with yours and with Europe	in sending	a direct message	to Iran				
Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance		Goal	MATERIAL	Goal	Beneficiary		
cl. 270									
that	it	must abandon	its nuclear ambitions.						
	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal						
cl. 271/272									
We	must support	the Lebanese	who	have marched	and	bled	for democracy,		
Actor	MATERIAL	Goal							
		Actor	Actor	Pr.: ...		MATERIAL	Circumstance		
cl. 273									
and	the Israelis and Palestinians	who	seek	a secure and lasting peace.					
	Actor	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal					
cl. 274/275/276									
And despite past differences,	this	is	the moment when	the world	should support	the millions of Iraqis who	seek to rebuild	their lives,	

Circumstance	Identified	REL IDENT	Identifier						
			Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			
			Actor	MATERIAL	Goal				
cl. 277									
even as	we	pass	responsibility	to the Iraqi government					
	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	Beneficiary					
cl. 278									
and	finally	bring	this war	to a close.					
		MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance					
cl. 279/280									
This	is	the moment	when	we	must come	together	to save this planet.		
Identified	REL IDENT	Identifier			Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance	Goal
cl. 281/282									
Let	us	resolve	that	we	will not leave	a world	where the oceans rise and famine spreads and terrible storms devastate our lands.		
Pr.: ...	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			Circumstance			
			Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance			
cl. 283/284/285									
[where	the oceans	rise	and	famine	spreads	and	terrible storms	devastate	our lands.]
Circums	Actor	MAT		Actor	MAT		Actor	MATERIAL	Goal
cl. 286									
Let	us	resolve							
Pr.: ...	Actor	MATERIAL							
cl. 287/288									
all nations - including my own -		will act	with the same seriousness of purpose	as	has	your nation,			

Actor		MATERIAL		Circumstance								
				Attribute		REL ATT		Carrier				
cl. 289/290												
and	reduce		the carbon		we		send		into our atmosphere.			
MATERIAL		Goal										
Goal			Actor		MATERIAL		Circumstance					
cl. 291/292												
This	is		the moment		to give		our children		back their future.			
Identified	REL IDENT		Identifier									
Circumstance			MATERIAL		Beneficiary		Circumstance					
cl. 293/294												
This	is		the moment		to stand		as one.					
Identified	REL IDENT		Identifier									
Circumstance			MATERIAL			Circumstance						
cl. 295/296/297												
An d	this	is		the moment	when	we	must give hope		to	those	left behind	in a globalize world.
Identified		REL IDENT		Identifier								
				Circums	Senser	MENTAL		Phenomenon				
				Goal		MAT	Circ					
cl. 298/299												
We	must remember		that	the Cold War born in this city		was not		a battle for land or treasure.				
Senser	MENTAL		Projected clause									
			Identifier			REL IDENT		Identified				
cl. 300/301												
Sixty years ago,	the planes	that	flew over	Berlin	did not drop				bombs;			
Circumstance		Actor		MAT	Goal							

Circumstance	Actor			MATERIAL			Goal			
cl. 302										
instead	they	delivered	food, and coal, and candy to graceful children.							
	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal							
cl. 303										
And	in that show of solidarity,	those pilots	won	more than a military victory.						
	Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal						
cl. 304										
They	won	hearts and minds; love and loyalty and trust -								
Actor	MATERIAL		Goal							
cl. 305/306										
not just from the people in this city, but from all those who			heard	the story of what	they	did	here.			
Behaver				BEHAVIORAL	Circumstance					
				Goal	Actor	MATERIAL	Circ			
cl. 307/308/309										
Now	the world	will watch	and	remember	what	we	do	here-		
Circums	Behaver & Senser		BEHAVIORAL		MENTAL	Circumstance & Phenomenon				
					Goal	Actor	MATERIAL	Circ		
cl. 310										
what	we	do	with this moment.							
Goal	Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance of Accompaniment							
cl. 311										
Will	we	extend	our hand	to the people in the forgotten corners of this world						
	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	Beneficiary						
cl. 312/313										
[the people in the forgotten corners of this world]			who	yearn	for	lives	marked	by dignity and opportunity; by security and justice?		
Senser				MENTAL	Circumstance					
					Goal	MAT	Actor			

cl. 314										
Will	we	lift	the child in Bangladesh				from poverty,			
	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal				Circumstance			
cl. 315										
shelter			the refugee in Chad,							
MATERIAL			Goal							
cl. 316										
and	banish	the scourge of AIDS				in our time?				
	MATERIAL	Goal				Circumstance				
cl. 317										
Will	we	stand for	the human rights of the dissident in Burma, the blogger in Iran, or the voter in Zimbabwe?							
	Actor	MATERIAL	Circumstance							
cl. 318										
Will	we	give	meaning	to the words “never again”			in Darfur?			
	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal				Circumstance			
cl. 319/320/321										
Will	we	acknowledge	that	there	is	no more powerful example	than	the one each of our nations	projects	to the world?
	Sayer	VERBAL	Verbiage							
					EXIST	Existent				
						Circumstance		Actor	MAT	Goal
cl. 322/323										
Will	we	reject	torture	and	stand for	the rule of law?				
	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal		MATERIAL	Goal				
cl. 324										
Will	we	welcome			immigrants from different lands,					
	Actor	MATERIAL			Goal					
cl. 325/326/327										
and	shun	discrimination	against	those who	don't look	us	or	worship	like we do,	

					like				
	MATERIAL	Goal	Beneficiary						
				Identified	REL IDENT	Ident			
				Senser				MENTAL	Phenomenon
cl. 328									
and	keep	the promise of equality and opportunity			for all our people?				
	MATERIAL	Goal			Beneficiary				
cl. 329									
People of Berlin - people of the world -			this	is	our moment.				
			Identifier	REL IDENT	Identified				
cl. 330									
This		is	our time.						
Identifier		REL IDENT	Identified						
cl. 331/332									
I	know	my country	has not perfected				itself.		
Senser	MENTAL	Projected clause							
		Carrier	MATERIAL						
cl.333									
At times,	we	‘ve struggled to keep	the promise of liberty and equality			for all of our people.			
Circumstance	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal			Beneficiary			
cl. 334									
We	‘ve made	our share of mistakes,	and						
	MATERIAL	Goal							
cl. 335/336									
there	are	times	when	our actions around the world	have not lived up	to our best intentions.			
	EXIST	Existent							
		Circumstance	Actor			MATERIAL	Goal		
cl. 337/338									
But	I	also	know	how much	I	love	America.		

	Senser		MENTAL	Projected clause				
				Senser	MENTAL	Phenomenon		
cl. 339/340								
I	know	that	for more than two centuries,	we	have strived	-at great cost and great sacrifice-	to form	a more perfect union;
Senser	MENTAL		(projected clause)					
		Circumstance	Actor	Proc.: ...	Circumstance	MATERIAL	Goal	
cl. 341								
to seek,		with other nations,	a more hopeful world.					
(projected clause)								
MATERIAL	Circumstance		Goal					
cl. 342								
Our allegiance	has (never) been		to any particular tribe or kingdom					
Carrier	REL ATT		Attribute					
cl. 343								
- indeed,	every language		is spoken			in our country;		
	Sayer		VERBAL			Verbiage		
cl. 344								
every culture	has left			its imprint		on ours;		
Actor	MATERIAL			Goal		Circumstance		
cl. 345								
every point of view	is expressed			in our public squares.				
Sayer	VERBAL			Circumstance				
cl. 346								
What	has (always) united			us				
Goal	MATERIAL			Actor				
cl. 347								
-what	has always driven			our people;				

Phenomenon	MENTAL		Senser					
cl. 348/349								
what	drew	my father	to America's shores-	is	a set of ideals that speak to aspirations shared by all people:			
Goal	MATERIAL	Actor	Circumstance					
Identifier				REL IDEN	Identified			
cl. 350/351								
[a set of ideals	that	speak	to aspirations	shared	by all people:]			
Sayer		VERBAL	Verbiage					
Goal				MATERIAL	Actor			
cl. 352								
that	we	can live	free from fear and free from want;					
	Actor	MATERIAL	Goal					
cl. 353								
that	we	can speak	our minds					
	Sayer	VERBAL	Verbiage					
cl. 354/355/356/357								
and	assemble	with whomever	we	choose	and worship	as	we	please.
	MATERIAL	Circumstance						
		Actor	MATERIAL		Circumstance			
		Senser		MENTAL	Phenomenon			
						Behaver	BEHAV	
cl. 358/359								
These	are	the aspirations	that	joined	the fates of all nations	in this city.		
Identifier	REL IDEN	Identified						
		Actor		MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance		
cl. 360/361								
These aspirations	are	bigger	than	anything	that	drives	us	apart.
Identifier	REL IDEN	Identified	Circumstance					

					Actor		Pr.:	Beneficiary	MATERIAL	
cl. 362/363										
It	is		because of these aspirations	that		the airlift		began.		
Identifier	REL IDENT		Circumstance of Cause	Identified			Actor	MATERIAL		
cl. 364/365										
It	is	because of these aspirations	that	all free people	-everywhere-	became		citizens of Berlin.		
Identifier	RELAT IDENT	Circumstance of Cause	Identified							
				Carrier	Circums	REL ATT	Attribute			
cl. 366/367										
It	is	in pursuit of these aspirations	that	a new generation – our generation -	must make	our mark		on the world.		
Identified	REL IDENT	Circumstance	Identifier							
				Actor	MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance			
cl. 368										
People of Berlin- and people of the world-			the scale of our challenge			is		great.		
Vocative			Carrier			REL ATT	Attribute			
cl. 369										
The road ahead		will be		long.						
Carrier		REL ATT		Attribute						
cl. 370/371										
But	I	come	before	you	to say	that	we	are	heirs	to a struggle for freedom.
	Sayer	Pr.: ...	Circumstance	Receiver	VERBAL	Verbiage				
						Carrier	REL ATT	Attrib	Circums	

cl. 372				
We	are	a people of improbable hope.		
Carrier	REL ATT	Attribute		
cl. 373				
With an eye toward the future, with resolve in our hearts	let	us	remember	this history,
Circumstance	Pr.:...	Senser	MENTAL	Phenomenon
cl. 374				
and	answer	our destiny,		
	VERBAL	Verbiage		
cl. 375				
and	remake	our world	once again.	
	MATERIAL	Goal	Circumstance	

**APPENDIX A3 – OCCURRENCES OF PROCESSES
AND PARTICIPANTS TYPES IN EACH THEME
ACCORDING TO THE TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS**

FIRST MAIN THEME

Process	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
MATERIAL	come; have come; was born; grew up; required; wrote; came to work; to struggle and sacrifice; promised	8	34.78%
MENTAL	know (4x); decided	5	21.74%
REL ATT	is (2x); was; am; are	5	21.74%
VERBAL	speak; 've [previously] spoken; answered	3	13.04%
REL IDENT	don't look like; is	2	8.70%

Occurrences of processes in the first main theme: **multicultural heritage**

Participants	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
ACTOR	I; so many of my countrymen; my mother; my father; his yearning-his dream; he; men and women [from both our nations]; by the West	8	34.78%
SENDER	I; my father; you (2x); this city	5	21.74%
CARRIER	The journey that led me here; his father-my grandfather; you; I; the only reason we stand here tonight	5	21.74%
SAYER	I; Americans; somebody	3	13.04%
IDENTIFIER	I; that	2	8.70%

Occurrences of participants in the first main theme: **multicultural heritage**

SECOND MAIN THEME

Process	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
MATERIAL	began; touched down; lay; had [yet] to be built; had swept; took stock of; might be	22	74.86%

	remade; met; chose to blockade; cut off; to extinguish; to march; had ended; could have [easily] begun; began; brought; were stacked; filled; dropping off; were forced to turn back; stand; were filled		
REL ATT	is (2x); was; had no	4	13.79%
REL IDENT	was; is	2	6.9%
MENTAL	pondered	1	3.45%

Occurrences of processes in the second main theme: **partnership between the USA – Germany after 1948**

Participants	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
ACTOR	a partnership; the first American plane; much of this continent; the rubble of this city; the Soviet shadow; America, Britain, and France; the world; the two sides; the Communists; they (the Communists); an effort; retreat; the last war; another World War; the airlift; the largest and most unlikely rescue in history; success; a heavy fog; many planes; we; the streets	22	74.86%
CARRIER	ours; this; the size of our forces; hungry families	4	13.79%
IDENTIFIER	all that stood in the way; that	2	6.9%
SENDER	[America, Britain, and France]	1	3.45%

Occurrences of participants in the second main theme: **His multicultural heritage**

THIRD MAIN THEME

Process	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
MATERIAL	kept; refused to give up; came; implore not to give up; to stand; have done;	19	57.57%

	will keep on doing; do; learned to work; facing; met; created; gave rise; to defend; insist; came down; came; proved; stands		
BEHAVIORAL	look at (6x);	6	18.18%
MENTAL	heard; trust; never forget	3	9.09%
VERBAL	said; have spoken	2	6.06%
EXISTENTIAL	there is (2x);	2	6.06%
REL ATT	is;	1	3.03%

Occurrences of processes in the third main theme: **Berlin is seen as an example**

Participants	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
ACTOR	the people of Berlin (2X); hundreds of thousands of Berliners; the city's mayor; we (2x); people of the world; Germans and Americans (2x); the determination of a people (2x); a victory over tyranny; the greatest alliance ever formed;	18	57.57%
BENEFICIARY	for us;	1	
BEHAVER	people of the world (5x);	6	18.18%
SENDER	hundreds of Berliners; Germans and Americans;	3	9.09%
SAYER	he; the people of Berlin;	2	6.06%
EXISTENT	only one possibility;	2	6.06%
CARRIER	this battle;	1	3.03%

Occurrences of participants in the third main theme: **Berlin is seen as an example**

FOURTH MAIN THEME

Process	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
MATERIAL	has led; tore down; divided; came tumbling down; were closed; were opened; opened; reduced;	31	75.6%

	taught; share; has revealed; [more] intertwined; brought; has given rise; cannot be contained; plotted; trained; killing; are melting; shrinking; bringing; could help build; detonates; breeds; have swept along; to contain; cannot afford to be divided; can defeat; escape; in meeting; have drifted apart		
MENTAL	shames; has become [easy] to forget; know; forgotten	4	9.75%
VERBAL	are called upon; speak; can deny	3	7.31%
REL ATT	become; are	2	4.88%
REL IDENT	is;	1	2.44%

Occurrences of processes in the fourth main theme: **New dangers in the world**

Participants	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
ACTOR	History; you, the German people; a wall; walls; markets; the spread of information and technology; the 20 th century; we; the 21 st (century); a world; The fall of the Berlin wall; that very closeness; dangers; the terrorists of September 11 th (3x); cars in Boston and factories in Beijing (3x); Poorly secured nuclear material in the former Soviet Union, or secrets from a scientist in Pakistan; a bomb; The poverty and violence in Somalia; such dangerous currents; our effort; we; no one nation; none of us; responsibility; we	31	75.6%

Goal	Prison camps; the doors of democracy	1	
SENDER	The genocide of Darfur; it; we (2x)	4	9.75%
SAYER	we; none of us	2	7.31%
CARRIER	the poppies of Afghanistan; we	2	4.88%
IDENTIFIER	that;	1	2.44%

Occurrences of participants in the fourth main theme: **New dangers in the world**

FIFTH MAIN THEME

Process	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
MATERIAL	has gone; to help make; miss; are bearing; taking [more]; help to defend; sacrifice; continue to bind; will not lift; will be required to do; to protect; advance	12	60%
EXISTENTIAL	there are; there have been; there will be;	3	15%
REL ATT	is; is not; is	3	15%
VERBAL	deride and deny	1	5%
REL IDENT	is	1	5%

Occurrences of processes in the fifth main theme: **Stereotypes created by Europe on America, and America's view on Europe**

Participants	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
ACTOR	a force; both views; Europeans (2x); American bases built in the last century; our country; the burdens of global citizenship; A change of leadership in Washington; the one way, the only way (2x)	11	60%
Goal	Americans and Europeans alike	1	
EXISTENT	voices; differences between America and Europe; differences;	3	15%

CARRIER	the view that America; a force to help make it right; Partnership and cooperation among nations	3	15%
SAYER	voices	1	5%
IDENTIFIER	the one way, the only way	1	5%

Occurrences of participants in the fifth main theme: **Stereotypes created by Europe on America, and America's view on Europe**

SIXTH MAIN THEME

Process	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
MATERIAL	is to allow; to divide; cannot stand (3x); must tear down; have fallen; have formed; built to mark; meet; come down; have come down; found; ended; brought; defeated; can be torn down; require; require sharing; require; will listen to;	21	75%
MENTAL	know; reminds; learn; trust	4	14.3%
REL IDENT	is; are	2	7.15%
REL ATT	is [never]	1	3.6%

Occurrences of processes in the sixth main theme: **New walls to divide Europe and America**

Participants	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
ACTOR	the greatest danger of all; new walls; The walls between old allies; The walls between the countries with the most and those with the least; The walls between races and tribes; natives and immigrants; Christian and Muslim and Jew; we; they; the people of Europe; the base of a column; we; walls; they (walls); Protestant and Catholic; our Atlantic alliance (2x); the struggle of a courageous people; walls; True partnership and true progress;	21	75%

	They (true partnership and true progress (2x); allies;		
SENSER	we; history; allies (2x)	4	14.3%
IDENTIFIER	That; these	2	7.15%
CARRIER	the task	1	5%

Occurrences of participants in the sixth main theme: **New walls to divide Europe and America**

SEVENTH MAIN THEME

Process	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
MATERIAL	cannot turn (2x); to build; bound; to join; to meet; to appear; to assemble; stand; must summon;	10	58.8%
REL IDENT	is (5x); was	6	35.3%
REL ATT	has not	1	5.9%

Occurrences of processes in the seventh main theme: **Bridges between America and Europe**

Participants	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
ACTOR	America; Europe; [the time] (3x); new bridges across the globe; the spirit that led airlift planes; people; we (4x)	10	58.8%
IDENTIFIER	that (2x); now (2x); it; the moment when our nations- and all nations- must summon that spirit anew	6	35.3%
CARRIER	America	1	5%

Occurrences of participants in the seventh main theme: **Bridges between America and Europe**

EIGHTH MAIN THEME

Process	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
MATERIAL	must defeat; supports; cannot shrink; to combat; could create; to face down; can join;	79	70.27%

	to dismantle; have struck; could win; can stand; reject; must renew (2x); to rout; threaten; sell; in seeing; must be done; cannot do; need; to defeat; to develop; to turn back; faced; came [too close too often] to destroying; need not stand; to secure; to stop; to reduce; to begin; to choose; need; deepens; extending; must reject; resolve to work; to stand up; to seek; extends; must build; have created; share; to sustain; favors; must forge; rewards; creates; must stand; in sending; must abandon; must support; have marched and bled; seek; should support; seek to rebuild; pass; bring; must come; resolve (2x); will not leave; rise; spreads; devastate; will act; reduce; send; to give; to stand; left behind; must remember; flew over; did not drop; delivered; won; did; do		
REL IDENT	is (9x); has been	16	14.41 %
REL ATT	is (3x); have (2x); must have; will not be; has	8	7.20%
MENTAL	in seeing; love; must give hope; must remember; remember	5	5.40%
BEHAVIORAL	watch; heard; will watch	3	2.70%
VERBAL	must help answer	1	0.9%

Occurrences of processes in the eighth main theme: **‘This is the moment to act’**

Participants	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
ACTOR	we (25x); the well of extremism; our responsibility; NATO; a new and global partnership; networks; vast	79	70.27%

	<p>majority of Muslims; the terrorists; the traffickers; the work; America; the Afghan people; our support and your support (2x); the Taliban and Al Qaeda; the two superpowers; The superpowers that faced each other across the wall of this city]; time (3x); the moment; the chance; a strong European Union (2x); partnership; it (this growth); trade; the work; my country (2x); it (Iran); the Lebanese; the Israelis and Palestinians; the world; the millions of Iraqis; us (2x); the oceans; famine; terrible storms; all nations - including my own -; the planes; the planes that flew over Berlin; they (the planes that flew over Berlin); those pilots; they (those pilots); they (not just from the people in this city, but from all those who)</p>		
IDENTIFIER	<p>the moment when we must defeat terror and dry up the well of extremism that supports it; the moment when we must renew our resolve; the moment when we must renew the goal of a world without nuclear weapons; the moment to begin our the work of seeking the peace of the world without nuclear weapons; the moment for trade that is free and fair for all; the moment we must help answer the call for a new dawn in the Middle East; the moment when the world must support the millions of Iraqis who seek</p>	16	14.41%

	to rebuild their lives; the well extremism; our responsibility; the moment when we must build on the wealth that open markets have created the moment (2x); time to secure all loose nuclear materials; trade; the Cold War born in this city; the moment when we must come together to save this planet		
CARRIER	this threat; my country and yours; NATO'S first mission beyond Europe's borders; we (2x); every nation in Europe; trade; your nation	8	7.20%
SENDER	No one; I; my country and yours; we (2x); the world	6	5.40%
BEHAVIOR	we; not just from the people in this city, but from all those who; the world	3	2.70%
SAYER	we	1	0,9%

Occurrences of participants in the eighth main theme: **'This is the moment to act'**

NINTH MAIN THEME

Process	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
MATERIAL	do (2x); extend; marked; lift; shelter; banish; stand for (2x); give; projects; reject; welcome; shun; keep	15	68.18%
MENTAL	remember; yearn; worship	3	13.63%
VERBAL	acknowledge	1	4.55%
EXISTENTIAL	there is	1	4.55%
REL IDENT	don't look like	1	4.55%
BEHAVIORAL	will watch	1	4.55%

Occurrences of processes in the ninth main theme: **Questions to the world**

Participants	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
ACTOR	we (12x); by dignity and opportunity; by security	16	68.18%

	and justice; the one (example) each of our nations; those who		
SENSER	the world; the people in the forgotten corners of this world; those who	3	13.63%
SAYER	we	1	4.55%
EXISTENT	no more powerful example	1	4.55%
IDENTIFIER	those who	1	4.55%
BEHAVER	the world	1	4.55%

Occurrences of participants in the ninth main theme: **Questions to the world**

TENTH MAIN THEME

Process	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
MATERIAL	've struggled to keep; 've made; have not lived up; have strived to form; to seek; has left; has (always) united; drew; shared; can live; assemble; choose;	13	44.83%
MENTAL	know (2x); (also) know; love; has always driven; worship	6	20.68%
VERBAL	is spoken; is expressed; speak (2x)	4	13.80%
REL IDENT	is (3x)	3	10.35%
REL ATT	has (never) been	1	3.45%
BEHAVIORAL	please	1	3.45%
EXISTENTIAL	there are	1	3.45%

Occurrences of processes in the tenth main theme: **America**

Participants	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
ACTOR	we (6x); our actions around the world; every culture; us; my father; by all people;	13	44.83%
SENSER	I (4x); our people; we	6	20.68%
SAYER	every language; every point of view; a set of ideals; we	4	13.80%
IDENTIFIER	this (2x); what drew my father to America's shores	3	10.35%

CARRIER	our allegiance	1	3.45%
BEHAVER	we	1	3.45%
EXISTENT	times	1	3.45%

Occurrences of participants in the tenth main theme: **America**

ELEVENTH MAIN THEME

Process	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
MATERIAL	joined; drives apart; began; must make; remake	5	27.78%
REL IDENT	are (2x); is (3x)	5	27.78%
REL ATT	became; is; will be; are (2x)	5	27.78%
VERBAL	come to say; answer	2	11.11%
MENTAL	let remember	1	5.55%

Occurrences of processes in the eleventh main theme: **Aspirations and destiny**

Participants	Occurrences	# clauses	Percentage
ACTOR	the aspirations; anything; the airlift; a new generation – our generation; us	5	27.78%
IDENTIFIER	these; these aspirations; it (3x)	5	27.78%
CARRIER	All free people; the scale of our challenge; the road ahead; we (2x)	5	27.78%
SAYER	I; us	2	11.11%
SENER	us	1	5.55%

Occurrences of participants in the eleventh main theme: **Aspirations and destiny**

APPENDIX A4 - Interpreted Legitimation strategies in Obama's speech

Letimising/delegitimising strategy

Emotive effect

I come to Berlin as so many of my countrymen have come before. Tonight, I speak to you not as a candidate for President, but as a citizen – a proud citizen of the United States, and **a fellow citizen of the world.**

Speaker is not only American, but a citizen of the world

I know that I don't look like the Americans who've previously spoken in this great city. **The journey that led me here is improbable.** My mother was born in the heartland of America, but my father grew up herding goats in Kenya. His father – my grandfather – was a cook, a domestic servant to the British.

Speaker's assertion about the unlikely path that brought him to America

At the height of the Cold War, **my father decided, like so many others in the forgotten corners of the world,** that his yearning – his dream – required the freedom and opportunity promised by the West. And so he wrote letter after letter to universities all across America until somebody, somewhere answered his prayer for a better life.

Father's speaker can be compared to anyone who is left behind in this world

That is why I'm here. **And you are here because you too know that yearning.** This city, of all cities, knows the dream of freedom. And you know that the only reason we stand here tonight is because men and women from both of our nations

Establishing a desire to have a group identity – as a leader of the world – to the audience

Sense of pride of his family background

Evoking righteousness emotions

came together to work, and struggle, and sacrifice for that better life.

Speaker's assumption that anyone knows the yearning of his father (as if it was an universal one)

Ours is a partnership that truly began sixty years ago this summer, on the day when the **first American plane touched down at Templehof.**

United States is a powerful nation

On that day, much of this continent still lay in ruin. The rubble of this city had yet to be built into a wall.

The Soviet shadow had swept across Eastern Europe, while in the West, America, Britain, and France took stock of their losses, and pondered how the world might be remade.

Speaker is assessing the characteristics of Soviet Union and of the allies

This is where the two sides met. And on the twenty-fourth of June, 1948, **the Communists chose to blockade the western part of the city.** They cut off food and supplies to more than two million Germans in an effort to extinguish the last flame of freedom in Berlin.

It was a matter of choice

The size of our forces was no match for the much larger Soviet Army. And yet retreat would have allowed Communism to march across Europe. Where the last war had ended, another World War could have easily begun. All that stood in the way was Berlin.

Soviet Union was stronger than the military force of America, Britain and France

And that's when the airlift began – **when the largest and most unlikely rescue in history brought food and hope to the people of this city.**

Evoking an universal yearning

Expressing pride of his country

Sense of dividedness and union

Fear of domination

Fear of domination of the opponent over the allies

**Speaker's assertion about
America's power**

The odds were stacked against success. In the winter, a heavy fog filled the sky above, and many planes were forced to turn back without dropping off the needed supplies. The streets where we stand were filled with hungry families who had no comfort from the cold.

Despite the effort, unplanned things happen in the way out of saving people

But in the darkest hours, the people of Berlin kept the flame of hope burning. The people of Berlin refused to give up. And on one fall day, hundreds of thousands of Berliners came here, to the Tiergarten, and heard the city's mayor implore the world not to give up on freedom. "There is only one possibility," he said. "For us to stand together united until this battle is won... The people of Berlin have spoken. We have done our duty, and we will keep on doing our duty. People of the world: now do your duty... People of the world, look at Berlin!"

Speaker is stating that Berliners rose above adversity

People of the world – look at Berlin! Look at Berlin, **where Germans and Americans learned to work together and trust each other less than three years after facing each other on the field of battle.**

Solidarity unites Germany and the United States

Look at **Berlin, where the determination of a people met the generosity of the Marshall Plan and created a German miracle;**

Expressing pride of his country

Sense of courage

Sense of pride of Berliners

Sense of union

where a victory over tyranny gave rise to NATO, the greatest alliance ever formed to defend our common security.

Emphasizing effective actions took by America and the allies in order to rebuild Berlin and Europe

Look at **Berlin**, where the bullet holes in the buildings and the somber stones and pillars near the Brandenburg Gate insist that we never forget our common humanity.

Speaker's assertion that the world has shared values

People of the world – look at Berlin, where a wall came down, a continent came together, and **history proved that there is no challenge too great for a world that stands as one.**

A partnership between Germany and the United States in the past serves as an example to the world

Sixty years after the airlift, we are called upon again. History has led us to a new crossroad, with new promise and new peril. When you, the German people, tore down that wall – a wall that divided East and West; freedom and tyranny; fear and hope – walls came tumbling down around the world. From Kiev to Cape Town, prison camps were closed, and the doors of democracy were opened. Markets opened too, and the spread of information and technology reduced barriers to opportunity and prosperity. **While the 20th century taught us that we share a common destiny, the 21st has revealed a world more intertwined than at any time in human history.**

Speaker's assumption that countries are dependable one to another in the present

Protective feelings for America and allies

Sense of equality

Sense of union

Sense of union

The fall of the Berlin Wall brought new hope. But that very closeness has given rise to new dangers – **dangers that cannot be contained within the borders of a country or by the distance of an ocean.**

Speaker's assertion of cooperation between nations against dangers in the world

Sense of union and protectiveness

The terrorists of September 11th plotted in Hamburg and trained in Kandahar and Karachi before killing thousands from all over the globe on American soil.

Fear of specified danger

The first danger pointed out by the speaker: terrorism linked to September 11th reaching every part of the world

As we speak, **cars in Boston and factories in Beijing are melting the ice caps in the Arctic, shrinking coastlines in the Atlantic, and bringing drought to farms from Kansas to Kenya.**

Fear of specified danger

Another danger pointed out is global warming

Poorly secured nuclear material in the former Soviet Union, or secrets from a scientist in Pakistan could help build a bomb that detonates in Paris. The poppies in Afghanistan become the heroin in Berlin. The poverty and violence in Somalia breeds the terror of tomorrow. The genocide in Darfur shames the conscience of us all.

Fear of various types of dangers

Some known and unknown dangers are everywhere

In this new world, such dangerous currents have swept along faster than our efforts to contain them. That is why we cannot afford to be divided. No one nation, no matter how large or powerful, can defeat such challenges alone. None of us can deny these threats, or escape

responsibility in meeting them.

Yet, in the absence of Soviet tanks and a terrible wall, it has become easy to forget this truth. And if we're honest with each other, we know that sometimes, on both sides of the Atlantic, we have drifted apart, and forgotten our shared destiny.

Speaker states that there is a new and dangerous world. Also, he makes an assumption that people must be united in order to defeat these dangers.

In Europe, the view that America is part of what has gone wrong in our world, rather than a force to help make it right, has become all too common. In America, there are voices that deride and deny the importance of Europe's role in our security and our future. **Both views miss the truth** – that Europeans today are bearing new burdens and taking more responsibility in critical parts of the world; and that just as American bases built in the last century still help to defend the security of this continent, so does our country still sacrifice greatly for freedom around the globe.

Old stereotypes about Europe and America are not truth

Yes, there have been differences between America and Europe. No doubt, there will be differences in the future. **But the burdens of global citizenship continue to bind us together. A change of leadership in Washington will not lift this burden.** In this new century, Americans and Europeans alike will be required to do more – not less. Partnership and cooperation among nations is not a choice; it is the one way, the only way, to protect our common security and advance our common humanity.

Fear of dangers and sense of union to defeat such dangers

Expressing concern on old stereotypes about Europe and America and praising the qualities of both in the present

Speaker's assertion to take on the responsibilities of a globalized world and how he cannot take the responsibility alone

That is why the greatest danger of all is to allow **new walls to divide us from one another.**

The walls between old allies on either side of the Atlantic cannot stand. The walls between the countries with the most and those with the least cannot stand. The walls between races and tribes; natives and immigrants; Christian and Muslim and Jew cannot stand. These now are the walls we must tear down.

Avoid creating ways to separate ourselves (USA) from others

We know they have fallen before. After centuries of strife, the people of Europe have formed a Union of promise and prosperity. Here, at the base of a column built to mark victory in war, we meet in the center of a Europe at peace. **Not only have walls come down in Berlin, but they have come down in Belfast, where Protestant and Catholic found a way to live together; in the Balkans, where our Atlantic alliance ended wars and brought savage war criminals to justice; and in South Africa, where the struggle of a courageous people defeated apartheid.**

There is a spirit of union

So history reminds us that walls can be torn down. But the task is never easy. **True partnership and true progress requires constant work and sustained sacrifice.** They require sharing the burdens of development and diplomacy; of progress and peace. They require allies who will listen to each other,

Sense of responsibility and union

Fear of dividedness

Belief on the sense of union

learn from each other and, most of all, trust each other.

Union is possible, but it requires a partnership based on some values.

That is why America cannot turn inward. That is why Europe cannot turn inward. America has no better partner than Europe. **Now is the time to build new bridges across the globe as strong as the one that bound us across the Atlantic.** Now is the time to join **together, through constant cooperation, strong institutions, shared sacrifice, and a global commitment to progress, to meet the challenges of the 21st century.** It was this spirit that led airlift planes to appear in the sky above our heads, and people to assemble where we stand today. And this is the moment when our nations – and all nations – must summon that spirit anew.

A new spirit of union based on the values and institutions.

This is the moment when we must defeat terror and dry up the well of extremism that supports it. **This threat is real and we cannot shrink from our responsibility to combat it.** If we could create NATO to face down the Soviet Union, we can join in a new and global partnership to dismantle the networks that have struck in Madrid and Amman; in London and Bali; in Washington and New York. If we could win a battle of ideas against the communists, we can stand with the vast majority of Muslims who reject the extremism that leads to hate instead of hope.

Speaker claims that he is telling the truth about threats.

This is the moment **when we must renew our resolve to rout the terrorists** who threaten our security in Afghanistan, and the traffickers

Sense of union and loyalty

Sense of union

Sense of credibility

who sell drugs on your streets. No one welcomes war. I recognize the enormous difficulties in Afghanistan. **But my country and yours have a stake in seeing that NATO's first mission beyond Europe's borders is a success.** For the people of Afghanistan, and for our shared security, the work must be done. America cannot do this alone. The Afghan people need our troops and your troops; our support and your support to defeat the Taliban and al Qaeda, to develop their economy, and to help them rebuild their nation. We have too much at stake to turn back now.

Create a new plan to defend countries against terrorism. Speaker illustrates his point with NATO's example of success.

This is the moment when we must renew the goal of a world without nuclear weapons. The two superpowers that faced each other across the wall of this city came too close too often to destroying all we have built and all that we love. With that wall gone, we need not stand idly by and watch the further spread of the deadly atom. It is time to secure all loose nuclear materials; to stop the spread of nuclear weapons; and to reduce the arsenals from another era. This is the moment to begin **the work of seeking the peace of a world without nuclear weapons.**

Speaker strongly advocates a world free of nuclear weapons.

This is the moment when every nation in Europe must have the chance to choose its own tomorrow free from the shadows of yesterday. In this century, we need a strong European Union that deepens the security and prosperity of this

Sense of security

Fear of a global destruction

continent, while extending a hand abroad. In this century – in this city of all cities – **we must reject the Cold War mind-set of the past, and resolve to work with Russia when we can, to stand up for our values when we must, and to seek a partnership that extends across this entire continent.**

A statement against a conflict between ideologies (e.g. Cold War), but without forgetting their values (United States and allies)

This is the moment when we must build on the wealth that open markets have created, and share its benefits more equitably. **Trade has been a cornerstone of our growth and global development.** But we will not be able to sustain this growth if it favors the few, and not the many. Together, we must forge trade that truly rewards the work that creates wealth, with meaningful protections for our people and our planet. This is the moment for trade that is free and fair for all.

Promising to conduct a responsible trade aligned with globalization

This is the moment we must help answer the call for a new dawn in the Middle East. **My country must stand with yours and with Europe in sending a direct message to Iran that it must abandon its nuclear ambitions.** We must support the Lebanese who have marched and bled for democracy, and the Israelis and Palestinians who seek a secure and lasting peace. And despite past differences, this is the moment when the world should support the millions of Iraqis who seek to rebuild their lives, even as we pass responsibility to the Iraqi government and finally bring this war to a close.

Protective feelings for the United States and allies

Sense of responsibility about globalization

Appealing to European support to end nuclear program in Iran. Give support to Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, and finish the war in Iraq.

This is the moment when we must come together to save this planet. Let us resolve that we will not leave our children a world where the oceans rise and famine spreads and terrible storms devastate our lands. Let us resolve that all nations – including my own – will act with the same seriousness of purpose as has your nation, and reduce the carbon we send into our atmosphere. **This is the moment to give our children back their future. This is the moment to stand as one.**

Summon a spirit of union in order to leave a better future to the new generations.

And this is the moment when **we must give hope to those left behind in a globalized world.** We must remember that the Cold War born in this city was not a battle for land or treasure. Sixty years ago, the planes that flew over Berlin did not drop bombs; instead they delivered food, and coal, and candy to grateful children. And in that show of solidarity, those pilots won more than a military victory. They won hearts and minds; love and loyalty and trust – not just from the people in this city, but from all those who heard the story of what they did here.

People who are marginalized by globalization must have opportunity and a better life.

Now the world will watch and remember what we do here – **what we do with this moment.** Will we extend our hand to the people in the forgotten corners of this world who yearn for lives marked by dignity

Evoked righteousness emotions

Sense of union and responsibility

Evoked righteousness emotions

and opportunity; by security and justice? Will we lift the child in Bangladesh from poverty, shelter the refugee in Chad, and banish the scourge of AIDS in our time?

Take action

Will we stand for the human rights of the dissident in Burma, the blogger in Iran, or the voter in Zimbabwe? Will we give meaning to the words “never again” in Darfur?

Take action

Will we acknowledge that there is no more powerful example than the one each of our nations projects to the world? Will we reject torture and stand for the rule of law? Will we welcome immigrants from different lands, and shun discrimination against those who don’t look like us or worship like we do, and keep **the promise of equality and opportunity for all of our people?**

Asking whether or not the promises of opportunity to all will be kept

People of Berlin – people of the world – this is our moment. This is our time.

I know my country has not perfected itself. At times, we’ve struggled to keep the promise of liberty and equality for all of our people. We’ve made our share of mistakes, and there are times when our actions around the world have not lived up to our best intentions.

Speaker recognizes that his country has committed some mistakes.

But I also know how much I love America. I know that for more than two centuries, we have strived – at great cost and great sacrifice – to form a more perfect union; to seek, with other nations, a more hopeful

Sense of union

Sense of union

Evoke righteousness emotions

Recognizing the United States’ limitations in the world

world. Our allegiance has never been to any particular tribe or kingdom – indeed, every language is spoken in our country; every culture has left its imprint on ours; every point of view is expressed in our public squares.

What has always united us – what has always driven our people; what drew my father to America’s shores – is a set of ideals that speak to aspirations shared by all people: that we can live free from fear and free from want; that we can speak our minds and assemble with whomever we choose and worship as we please.

Speaker points out values and aspirations that keep the spirit of the people

These are the aspirations that joined the fates of all nations in this city.

These aspirations are bigger than anything that drives us apart. It is because of these aspirations that the airlift began. It is because of these aspirations that all free people – everywhere – became citizens of Berlin. It is in pursuit of these aspirations that a new generation – our generation – must make our mark on the world.

Aspirations that keep the spirit of union

People of Berlin – and people of the world – the scale of our challenge is great. The road ahead will be long. But I come before you to say that we are heirs to a struggle for freedom. We are a people of improbable hope.

With an eye toward the future, with resolve in our hearts, let us remember this history, and answer our destiny, and remake the world once again.

Speaker summons people to remake the world

Evoking shared values and aspirations if all nations

Evoking aspirations to keep the spirit of union

Evoking emotions to take action

APPENDIX A5 – Assumptions on Obama’s ‘Citizen of the World’ speech

<p>1. I speak to you not as a candidate for President, but as a citizen – <i>a proud citizen</i> of the United States, and a fellow citizen of the world.</p> <p><i>Assumption: proud, fellow</i> → value assumption</p>
<p>2. (...) his <i>yearning</i> – his <i>dream</i> – required <i>the freedom and opportunity promised by the West</i>.</p> <p><i>Assumption: freedom and opportunity</i> → value assumption <i>Assumption: “the freedom and opportunity promised by the West”</i> → propositional assumption</p>
<p>3. (...) universities all across America until somebody, somewhere answered his prayer for a <i>better</i> life</p> <p><i>Assumption: better</i> → value assumption</p>
<p>4. <i>Ours is a partnership</i> that <i>truly</i> began sixty years ago this Summer (...)</p> <p><i>Assumption: Ours is a partnership</i> → existential assumption <i>Assumption: truly</i> → value assumption</p>
<p>5. The Soviet <i>shadow</i> had swept across Eastern Europe, while in the West, America, Britain, and France took stock of their losses, and pondered <i>how the world might be remade</i>.</p> <p><i>Assumption: shadow</i> → value assumption <i>Assumption: how the world might be remade</i> → propositional assumption</p>
<p>6. They cut off food and supplies to more than two million Germans in an effort to extinguish <i>the last flame of freedom in Berlin</i>.</p> <p><i>Assumption: the last flame of freedom in Berlin</i> → value assumption</p>
<p>7. The size of our forces <i>was no match</i> for <i>the much larger</i> Soviet Army.</p> <p><i>Assumption: was</i> → existential assumption <i>Assumption: no match/ much larger Soviet Army</i> → value assumptions</p>
<p>8. <i>All that stood in the way</i> was Berlin</p>

<p><i>Assumption: was</i> → existential assumption</p>
<p>9. (...) that's when the airlift began – when <i>the largest and most unlikely rescue in history</i> brought food and hope to the people of this city.</p> <p><i>Assumption: the largest and most unlikely rescue in history</i> → value assumption <i>Assumption: is</i> → existential assumption</p>
<p>10. But in the <i>darkest hours</i>, the people of Berlin kept <i>the flame of hope burning</i>.</p> <p><i>Assumption: darkest hours / the flame of hope burning</i> → value assumption</p>
<p>11. Look at Berlin, where the <i>determination</i> of a people met the <i>generosity</i> of the Marshall Plan and created a German <i>miracle</i>; where <i>victory over tyranny</i> gave rise to NATO, the <i>greatest alliance</i> ever formed to defend our common humanity.</p> <p><i>Assumption: determination / generosity / miracle / victory over tyranny / greatest alliance: value assumption</i></p>
<p>12. (...) pillars near the Brandenburg Gate insist we <i>never forget</i> our <i>common</i> humanity.</p> <p><i>Assumption: never forget</i> → propositional assumption <i>Assumption: common</i> → value assumption</p>
<p>13. (...) and history proved that <i>there is no</i> challenge <i>too great</i> for a world that stands as <i>one</i>.</p> <p><i>Assumption: there is no challenge</i> → existential assumption <i>Assumption: too great / one</i> → value assumption</p>
<p>14. History has led us to a <i>new crossroad</i>, with <i>new promise</i> and <i>new peril</i>. (...) While the 20th century taught us that we share a common destiny, the 21st <i>has revealed</i> a world more intertwined than at any time in human history.</p> <p><i>Assumption: new crossroad, new promise, new peril / common destiny</i> → value assumption <i>Assumption: has revealed</i> → propositional assumption</p>
<p>15. The fall of Berlin Wall brought <i>new hope</i>. But that <i>very closeness</i> has given rise to <i>new dangers</i> – dangers that cannot be contained</p>

<p>within the <i>borders of a country</i> or by the <i>distance of an ocean</i>.</p> <p><i>Assumption: new hope / very closeness / new dangers / borders of a country / distance of an ocean</i> → value assumption <i>Assumption: has given rise / cannot be</i> → propositional assumption</p>
<p>16. The terrorists of September 11th plotted in Hamburg and trained in Kandahar and Karachi before killing thousands <i>from all over the globe on American soil</i>.</p> <p><i>Assumption: from all over the globe on American soil</i> → value assumption</p>
<p>17. As we speak, cars in Boston and factories in Beijing <i>are</i> melting the ice caps in the Arctic (...)</p> <p><i>Assumption: are</i> → existential assumption</p>
<p>18. <i>Poorly secured</i> nuclear material in the <i>former</i> Soviet Union, or <i>secrets</i> from a scientist in Pakistan <i>could help</i> build a bomb that detonates in Paris.</p> <p><i>Assumption: poorly secured, former, secret</i> → value assumption <i>Assumption: could help</i> → propositional assumption</p>
<p>19. In this <i>new</i> world, such <i>dangerous</i> currents <i>have swept</i> along <i>faster</i> than our efforts to contain them.</p> <p><i>Assumption: new, dangerous, faster</i> → value assumption <i>Assumption: have swept</i> → propositional assumption</p>
<p>20. In Europe, the view that America <i>is</i> part of what has gone <i>wrong</i> in our world, rather than a <i>force</i> to help make it right, has become all too <i>common</i>. In America, <i>there are</i> voices that deride and deny the <i>importance</i> of Europe's role in our <i>security</i> and our <i>future</i>.</p> <p><i>Assumption: wrong, force, common, importance, security, future,</i> → value assumptions <i>Assumption: is / there are</i> → existential assumptions</p>
<p>21. Yes, <i>there have been differences</i> between America and Europe. (...) No doubt, <i>there will be</i> differences in the future. <i>Partnership</i> and <i>cooperation</i> among nations is not a <i>choice</i>; it is the one way, the <i>only way</i>, to protect our common security and advance our common humanity.</p> <p><i>Assumption: differences, future, partnership, cooperation, choice, only</i></p>

<p>way → value assumption <i>Assumption:</i> there have been, there will be → existential assumption</p>
<p>22. That is why the <i>greatest</i> danger of all <i>is</i> to allow <i>new</i> walls to divide us from one another.</p> <p><i>Assumption:</i> is → existential assumption <i>Assumption:</i> greatest, new → value assumption</p>
<p>23. So history <i>reminds</i> us that walls can be torn down. <i>Assumption:</i> walls → value assumption</p>
<p>24. That is why America <i>cannot turn inward</i>. That is why Europe <i>cannot turn inward</i>. America has <i>no better partner</i> than Europe. (...) And this is the moment when our nations - and all nations - must summon that spirit anew.</p> <p><i>Assumption:</i> no better partner, spirit anew value assumption <i>Assumption:</i> cannot turn inward → propositional assumption</p>
<p>25. (...) If we <i>could create</i> NATO to face down the Soviet Union, we <i>can join</i> in a <i>new and global partnership</i> to dismantle the networks that <i>have struck</i> in Madrid and Amman; in London and Bali; in Washington and New York. (...)</p> <p><i>Assumption:</i> could create, can join, have struck → propositional assumption <i>Assumption:</i> new and global partnership → value assumption</p>
<p>26. This is the moment when we must renew our resolve to rout the terrorists who threaten our security in Afghanistan, and the traffickers who sell drugs on your streets. (...) We <i>have too much</i> to turn back now.</p> <p><i>Assumption:</i> too much → value assumption <i>Assumption:</i> have → propositional assumption</p>
<p>27. This <i>is</i> the moment when we must renew the goal of a world without nuclear weapons. (...) This <i>is</i> the moment <i>to begin</i> the work of seeking the peace of a world without nuclear weapons.</p> <p><i>Assumption:</i> work of seeking the peace of a world without nuclear weapons → value assumptions <i>Assumption:</i> to begin → propositional assumption <i>Assumption:</i> is / there are → existential assumptions</p>
<p>28. This is the moment when every nation in Europe must have the</p>

chance to choose its own tomorrow *free from the shadows of yesterday*. In this century, we need a *strong* European Union that deepens the *security* and *prosperity* of this continent, while *extending a hand abroad*. In this century - in this city of all cities - we must reject *the Cold War mind-set of the past*, and resolve to work with Russia when we can, to stand up for our values when we must, and to seek a partnership that extends across this *entire* continent.

Assumption: free from the shadows of yesterday, strong, security and prosperity, extending a hand abroad, the Cold War mind-set of the past → value assumption

Assumption: must reject, to seek → propositional assumption

29. This *is* the moment when we *must build* on the wealth that open markets have created, and share its *benefits* more *equitably*. Trade *has been a cornerstone of our growth and global development*. But we will *not be able to sustain* this growth if it favors the *few*, and not the many. Together, we *must forge* trade that truly rewards the work that creates *wealth*, with *meaningful protections* for our people and our planet. This is the moment for trade that *is free and fair* for all.

Assumption: is, has been → existential assumption

Assumption: benefits, equitably, cornerstone of our growth and global development, wealth, meaningful protections, free, fair → value assumption

Assumption: must build, must forge, not be able to sustain → propositional assumption

30. This is the moment we *must help* answer the call for a *new dawn* in the Middle East. (...)

Assumption: new dawn → value assumption

Assumption: is → existential assumption

Assumption: must help → propositional value

31. This *is* the moment when we *must come* together to *save* this planet. (...)

Assumption: to save → value assumption

Assumption: is → existential assumption

Assumption: must come → propositional value

32. And this *is* the moment when we *must give hope* to those left behind in a *globalized* world. (...)

<p><i>Assumption</i>: globalized → value assumption <i>Assumption</i>: is → existential assumption <i>Assumption</i>: must give hope → propositional assumption</p>
<p>33. Will we extend our hand to the people in the forgotten corners of this world who yearn for lives marked by dignity and opportunity; by security and justice?</p> <p><i>Assumption</i>: will → propositional assumption (in seven questions)</p>
<p>34. But I also <i>know</i> how much I love America. I <i>know</i> that for more than two centuries, we <i>have strived - at great cost and great sacrifice - to form a more perfect union</i>; to seek, with other nations, a <i>more hopeful world</i>. Our allegiance <i>has never been to any particular tribe or kingdom - indeed, every language is spoken in our country; every culture has left its imprint on ours; every point of view is expressed in our public squares.</i></p> <p><i>Assumption</i>: have strived, <i>at great cost and great sacrifice</i>, a more perfect union, a more hopeful world, particular tribe or kingdom, every language, every culture, imprint, every point of view → value assumption <i>Assumption</i>: has never been, is → existential assumption</p>
<p>35. It <i>is</i> in pursuit of these <i>aspirations</i> that a new generation - our generation - must make our mark on the world.</p> <p><i>Assumption</i>: aspirations, new generation, mark on the world → value assumption <i>Assumption</i>: is → existential assumption</p>
<p>36. People of Berlin - and people of the world - the scale of our challenge is <i>great</i>. The road ahead <i>will be long</i>. But I come before you to say that we are <i>heirs to a struggle for freedom</i>. We are a <i>people of improbable hope</i>. With an eye toward the future, with resolve in our hearts, let us remember this history, and answer our destiny, and remake the world once again.</p> <p><i>Assumption</i>: great, long, <i>heirs to a struggle for freedom</i>, <i>people of improbable hope</i> → value assumption <i>Assumption</i>: is, are → existential assumption</p>

