

การวิเคราะห์วาทกรรมในสุนทรพจน์ทางการเมือง

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บทคัดย่อ

การวิเคราะห์วาทกรรมทางการเมือง หรือ PDA มีบทบาทสำคัญคือ การดึงดูดความสนใจและเร้าใจผู้ฟัง วาทกรรมการเมืองยังมีเนื้อหาทางภาษาที่สร้างขึ้นเพื่อบ่งบอกข้อมูลในวาระโอกาสต่างๆ อย่างมีจุดหมาย แต่ทว่าการวิเคราะห์วาทกรรมการเมืองยังมีใช้หนทางเดียวในการทำความเข้าใจภาษาการเมืองได้อย่างถ่องแท้

การวิจัยนี้มีจุดประสงค์ เพื่อการวิเคราะห์ภาษาของสุนทรพจน์ทางการเมืองของประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกาที่กล่าวไว้โดยนักพูดในประวัติศาสตร์ ความมุ่งหวังของงานวิจัยคือ เพื่อการวิเคราะห์บทสุนทรพจน์ของมาร์ติน ลูเทอร์คิง และบทสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีแห่งประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกาไอริกโอโบมา คำถามของงานวิจัยคือ 1) ลักษณะทางภาษาที่ปรากฏได้ชัดจากวาทกรรมทางการเมืองนี้คืออะไร และ 2) อำนาจในบริบทใดที่สะท้อนได้จากกรวิเคราะห์วาทกรรมทางการเมืองของประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกา ผลการวิจัยที่บรรยายไว้แสดงให้เห็นถึงลักษณะของวาทกรรมที่เหมือนกันและแตกต่างกันผ่านองค์ประกอบการวิเคราะห์ทางภาษาศาสตร์สามรูปแบบ คือ 1) การเชื่อมโยงความ (cohesion) 2) วจนปฏิบัติศาสตร์ (pragmatic) 1) อำนาจ (power)

วิธีการวิเคราะห์ภาษาของเนื้อหาต่างๆ ในการศึกษาวิจัยครั้งนี้ เป็นประโยชน์ต่อ องค์ประกอบสำคัญทางภาษาที่ได้ถูกนำมาใช้เพื่อการตีความและอธิบายเนื้อหาต่างๆ อย่างเป็นระบบ กล่าวได้ว่า การวิเคราะห์วาทกรรมทางการเมือง แสดงให้เห็นถึงมิติทางภาษาการเมืองที่ได้อย่างหลากหลาย

คำสำคัญ: การวิเคราะห์วาทกรรม, สุนทรพจน์ทางการเมือง, การวิเคราะห์วาทกรรมทางการเมือง

Discourse Analysis of the Political Speeches

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Abstract

“Political Discourse Analysis” or “PDA” plays crucial roles aiming to embrace audience’s attention and motivation. By means of political discourse, the constructed contexts revealed the current information of matters purposively however the PDA isn’t the merely methods of how to comprehend political language being communicated.

This study aims to explore the US political speeches by two historical orators. The aim of the report is to analyze the selected political speeches by Martin Luther King, and the president of the USA, Barack Obama. The research questions are: 1) what are lexical features emerged from PDA and 2) What kinds of powers are reflected from the US political discourses. The result of the descriptive analysis divulges the similarity and diversity of the linguistic elements proposed through the three linguistic aspects: 1] cohesion, 2] pragmatic, and 3] power.

The important textual examination in theses selected works is the benefit for the variety of crucial linguistic elements interpreted and explained systematically. It is said that PDA directly proclaims various dimensions of political discourse.

Keywords: PDA, political speech, and political discourse analysis

Introduction

The exploration of political oratories is meaningful as the study of political circumstance and involvement between linguistic discourse and politics. As noted by Pelinka (2007:129), Chilton and Schaffer (1997:206) that language and politics firmly linked as the political evidence of phenomenon. As a result the knowledge of political discourse analysis (PDA) is a great vehicle to comprehend the nature and function of political movement.

Substantively, a number of disciplines and issues investigated through PDA are involved in vast phenomena (Dunmire, 2018:735) as Edelman (1964:46) urged that “political language is political reality”. The process of PDA consequently points to the political practice between “power” and “act of cooperation” and both are ideological vehicle for the group’s goal furtherance [Edelman, 1964: 46]. This nature of practice imparts the discursive discourse appeared in political contexts. By means of PDA, these texts or talks coherently turn to the politicization of social life (Dunmire, 2018:755).

According to the above acknowledgement of the PDA, this study points out three political oratories communicated by three US politicians are chosen for the discourse investigation: *the keynote address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention [DNC]* given by the President Barack Obama, and the public speech delivered by Noble Prize activist, Martin Luther King, “*I Have a Dream*”. These

remarkable US historic orations are chosen as the goal of the PDA as a result they are explored in three major routes: pragmatic, cohesion, and power.

Notably, the DA investigation directly proclaims various dimensions of political discourse. In this study, two major questions were established to examine the US political speeches: 1] What are lexical features emerged from PDA and 2] What kinds of powers are reflected from the US political discourses. In a consequence, this article was portrayed into methodology, results and discussions, and conclusions.

Methodology

In what follows, the researcher used the DA principles noted by Leech (1963:198-105), Searle (1976: 1-23), Hasan (1984) and Halliday and Hasan (1976). The theoretical framework was conducted for the research inquiries.

Considering the aim of the research, the United States of America is one of the outstanding countries where the political linguistics being well-established. As a result, a number of US speeches were in the process of the data collection in regard to the effective methodology. And two major US speeches were selected due to the significant linguistic features emerged. Theoretically, the data of political discourse was pursuit in three lens: cohesion, pragmatic, and power.

The data for the study focuses on two historical speeches of the USA. First, the political discourse, the keynote addresses of both US parties are extremely important for US democracy illustration since they gain strongly influence on citizens' future election decisions. The first note made to disclose the President Barack Obama's speech reflection. The oration was given on July 27th, 2004 in Boston, Massachusetts. One essential theme of his delivery shines on reconciliation and equality by the vital inference of "hope". In this point, the 44th US president excellently raises mood of "audacious hope" as the title of his conference address. Then he wisely engages them by the power of "slavery and racism". As a result of those significant layers of efficacious conventional oration, he was chosen as the US president later.

And another noteworthy public speech given by Martin Luther King is probed extremely valued due to a variety of cohesive and pragmatic delivery. It also discloses many shades of "racism", "equality", "liberty", and "feminism" powers. This meaningful ration was preached on August 28th, 1963 in Washington D.C. with 250,000 civil rights supporters. As a leader of Civil Right movement, a spokesperson and the Nobel Price Activist, King used to have several national speeches before this such as "The Negro and the American Dream" and "The American Dream ...a dream as yet unfulfilled" in order to lead the demonstration of the equality in US by means of nonviolence. His speeches launch due by a need of civil and economic rights and an end of racism in the United States. King's masterpiece ration relies on several linguistic devices such as cohesive element. His repetition of phrases during the sermon mightly calls for audience arouse and inspiration by means of pragmatic lens.

To achieve the research questions, both speeches were construed and the results were delineated by means of the qualitative research approach throughoutly.

Results and Discussions

With a regard of the linguistic theoretical frameworks, the analysis of this report solidly points to five major elements which are about cohesion, pragmatic, and power. And these linguistic discussions are organized and presented as the following topics.

1. The Cohesion and Pragmatic

One essential linguistic feature directly seen on these selected politician's speeches is "repetition" of the cohesion. The way they deliver this information pragmatically and cohesively increases listeners' feeling and heartening as the following samples.

"I believe we can give our middle class relief,... I believe we can provide jobs to the jobless, home to homeless, and reclaim young people in cities across America from violence and despair. I believe that we can stand on the crossroads of history, we can make the right choices, and meet the challenges that face us. America!" [Barack Obama: 2004]

This sample talked by Obama is the presidential policies that obviously focus on the living of the US middle class, the homeless and the security. And this reveals several anchors of pragmatic: **representative [stating and describing], directive [requesting, inviting and insisting], commissive [promising], and declaration [promising, praising and challenging]**. From the sample mentioned, the significant level of hopes expresses as his political policies engagement. It also becomes the challenge that he asked his listeners to approve him by means of supporting him as the US leader. "I believe we can..." is emphasized by "we" as the symbolic sign for a chance requested as well as his words of honor to America. His "we" word refers to his humbleness. He is expressing his warm approval to the audience.

"Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley,... Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksand of racial injustice..... Now is the time to make justice a reality of all of the god's children." [Martin Luther King: 1963]

In the linguistic viewpoint, these excerpts are cohesively and pragmatically divulged. The first sample is a great move of demonstration. As a result of the extraordinary situation in the United States at that time, Martin Luther King as the African's leader of the protesters, monologue is immensely direct. By means of pragmatic, this peroration aims for **"representative" [stating], "directive" [daring, questioning, and insisting], declaration [admitting, challenging, complaining, deploring and protesting] and "verdictives" [estimating]**. On the behalf of his people, Martin expected to announce the freedom through his mighty speech. The declarations and verdictives of the African American's position show unacceptable and they were ready to necessitate for "the equality" and "justice".

"We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of... We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel,... We cannot be satisfied as long as the negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood a robbed of their dignity by sign statin: 'For Whites Only'.... We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and.... No, no, we are not satisfied and we will not be" [Barack Obama: 2004]

The second segment discloses the higher level of his dominant lecture. The pragmatic discussions in this part are concluded **"directive" [daring, questioning, requesting and insisting], declaration [mocking, admitting, challenging, complaining, deploring and protesting] and "verdictives" [estimating]**. He clearly stated for the "devotees of civil right" as the beginning of this section in order to emphasize the equality in this country nevertheless he also used his opponent's ridicule toward the African American as a tool to clarify the word of "right" in this country. The way he explicated the demonstrators' satisfaction proclaims their bitterness. In his point, the liberty for the African American is the verifiable equality.

"I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out I have a dream that one day on the red hill of Georgia,... I have dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, ... I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation ... I have a dream today! I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, ... one day righter there in Alabama of the Load shall be revealed and all fresh shall see it together." [Martin Luther King: 1963]

The last excerpt of King intimates his genuine desire of the speech. It is about the verifiable equality of the African American established in the United States of America stability. When he said “*I have a dream*”, he was showing the impression of being diverse or being proud of themselves. This part of peroration embraces the audience both the American and non-native American’s magnetism as a consequence of several pragmatic feature expressions: “*directive*” [*daring, questioning, requesting and insisting*], *declaration* [*challenging, recommending, blessing, baptizing*], *representative* [*stating, claiming, telling/ describing/ hypothesizing*], “*verdictives*” [*estimating*], and “*commisive*” [*promising*]. By means of pragmatic analysis, the speaker’s utterance to the audience in this part is full of variegated topics such as the liberty, equality, justice, harmony, and value.

Moreover these selected speeches remarkably impart the other types of cohesion such as “substitution”, “ellipsis”, and “collocation”. The first analysing points to Obama’s speech which he repeatedly use the cohesive substitution several times.

“Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning” [Martin Luther King:1963]

In this part, Martin’s utterance is emphasized as the substitute cohesive device because of the word “but” is used as the representation of previous number, “Nineteen sixty-three”. The complete sentence is “Nineteen sixty-three is the beginning.” He wants to bring attention to the urgency of this situation consequently it also proclaims the pragmatic device of “*representative*” [*stating*], “*expressive*” [*deploring*], “*verdictives*” [*ranking*], “*directive*” [*requesting and insisting*], “*declaration*” [*recommending and challenging*].

“We can’t walk along. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back.” [Martin Luther King:1963]

As the feature of “substitute cohesive device”, the words, “*walk*” and “*march*” are uttered to repeat the verb of movement. This is the direction of his speech and he eagerly desires to convince his audience to stand for their genuine liberty. For the pragmatic lens, this is also related to “*representative*” [*stating*], “*directive*” [*requesting and insisting*], “*declaration*” [*recommending and challenging*]. Martin’s belief is to confirm to everyone that “They will never walk alone.”

As the politic discourse is rich of “the cohesive device”, “ellipsis” is another sample directly noticed in these followings.

“While studying here, my father met my mother.” [Barack Obama: 2004]

The present participle phrase is uttered to call attention to the action and its repercussion. In this point, the cohesive device is developed to help the speech more concise.

“...and out of this long political darkness, a brighter day will come.” [Barack Obama: 2004]

Again that Obama succinctly delivers at the end of his presidency candidate speech by developing a phrase of ellipsis technique. The prepositional phrase is uttered instead of the full sentence. It does not merely bring an attention of linguist device that make this peroration heartening, for the pragmatic viewpoint, the whole sentence imparts “*representative*” [*stating*], “*directives*” [*requesting*], “*commisive*” [*promising*], and “*declaration*” [*promising, recommending and challenging*].

2. The Power and Pragmatic

The most significant power and intertextuality are discussed in details in a regard of the linguistic methods. And all speeches of the three speakers are explained according to each major topic of the power which comprises “liberty and equality”, “feminism”, “patriotism”, “hope” and “leadership”.

I. Liberty, Equality and Feminism

These speeches show explicitly “power of liberty” and “feminism” which the US candidate embraces the audience’s feeling and attraction by means of the linguistic powers.

“But they sense, deep in their bones, that with just a change in priorities, we can make sure that every child in America has a decent shot at life, and that the doors of opportunity remain open to all. They know we can do better. And they want that choice” [Barack Obama: 2004]

“Our pride is based on a very simple premise, summed up in a declaration made over two hundred years ago, ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. That they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness’ That is the true genius of America, a faith in the simple dreams of is people, the insistence on small miracle” [Barack Obama: 2004]

The remarkable pragmatic features press on the word “deep in their bones” provokes the listeners’ hearten feeling and requirement for “liberty” and “equality”. The power of liberty is exceedingly brought to an attention through the second sample, “..all men are created equal..” uttered by Barack Obama to use the power of “intertextuality”. Due to “*the Declaration of Independence of the Unites States*”, this utterance proclaims the supreme power or the Action of Second Continental Congress conducted on July 4th, 1776. It was the Unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America: “*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 quintessence is used not to express the speaker’s knowledge on history but to arouse the audience’s feeling for freedom. Apart from the “liberty”, “equality” is another term emphasized in both samples inseparably. The use of the intertextuality element multiply increases the speaker’s speech power on the issue.

Similarly, King is another magnificent orator in the US history who speaks for the liberty and equality. His cheering and confidential speech reveals diverse dimensions of “feminism” lens such as sympathy, inspiration, encouragement, equality, and freedom.

This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the “unalienable Rights” of “Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.” It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked “insufficient funds.” [Martin Luther King: 1963]

“In a sense we’ve come to our nation’s capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independent, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir.” [Martin Luther King: 1963]

In these extracts, the wealth-known spokesperson’s monologue the power of “intertextuality” toward “*the Declaration of Independence*”. “*Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness*” is one of the most crucial part of the Action is uttered to confirm the “liberty”, “equality”, and “freedom”. By means of “feminism”, he repeatedly inspires his listeners harder by saying “*America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked “insufficient funds”*”. His sympathetic view shows the significance of the protest issue.

II. Patriotism

Extending far down in details for this sample shows the speakers' mighty on the listeners' firm belief in ability and trust toward the US candidate by means of provoking the audience's patriotism.

"Well I say to them tonight, there's not a liberal America and a conservative America- there's the United States of America. There's not a black America and white America and Latino America and Asian America; there's the United States of America. There are patriots who opposed the war in Iraq and patriots who supported it. We are one people, all of us pledging allegiance to the stars and stripes, all of us defending the United States of America "[Barack Obama: 2004]

As mentioned by Sardoc [2017: p.45] the conception of "patriotism power" related to the definition of citizenship on two dimensions: a vertical dimension and a horizontal dimension. While the vertical side connects an individual with its object for loyalty, pride and emotional attachment, the horizontal part is about the social, cultural, and psychological relationship between a political community and its members. This means that Obama agrees to use the power of "nationalism" to embrace the audience's cogency.

In the deeper point, "Americanism" in the excerpt emphasizes the US patriotic values as a collective American identity. The ideology or belief of Americanism aims to the devotion and loyalty to several dimensions such as the US flag, traditions, customs, culture, symbols, and the US institutions or the government.

III.Hope

Due to the linguistic lens on the political analysis, "Power of Hope" is extremely noteworthy. The power of "demonstration" is explicitly revealed through King's public preach as Tilly (1994,1-30) noted that the potential aspects of the demonstration engage the protestors in the issue by means of encouraging their worthy, number, unity and commitment. All those keys gain an impact on this social movement and the outcome of the protest.

"In the end, that what this election is about....I'm talking about something more substantial. It's the hope of slaves sitting around a fire singing freedom songs; the hope of immigrants setting out for distant shores; the hope of a young naval lieutenant bravely patrolling the Mekong Delta; the hope of a mill workers' son who dare to defy the odds; the hope of a skinny kid with a funny name who believes that America has a place for him, too. That audacity of hope!" [Barack Obama: 2004]

The repetition of "the hope of" brings attention to the better America. "The audacity of hope" refers to inspiration for people to overcome their fear. The obstacle they face will be vanished and the brilliant hope of a better life will come true. His heartening speech arouses the people the "hope of the American's future".

Additionally, in this second extract, King's speech more manifests the power of "hope" in his political discourse.

"With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day." [Martin Luther King: 1963]

These sensational samples miraculously reveal the power of "Hope" and bring highly remarked attention to the audience. "...We will be able to hew out the mountain of despair a stone of hope" is uttered to engage the people new hope and inspiration. They might be hopeless and discourage but by means of this mighty protest, they now turn to a new life and future.

Conclusions

Due to the fact that political discourse analysis is firmly related to the social circumstance, they convey several public potential acknowledgements. In this work, a number of linguistic elements have

systematically been explored. And the merit of this analysis imparts the more powerful comprehension on the political texts and discourses on account of various relevant information proclaims.

Substantively, the US democracy has been explained through the linguistic theoretical framework and explicitly expresses the more exclusive emotion and inspiration proposed in each oration. In the linguistic conceptualization, these selected political texts conveys their own potent meanings and messages to their citizens and to the world which even the time passing by, they are still and publically represented as the evidence of a politic history. Moreover, this vital phenomenon has subsequently effected the world movement as the new generation's paradigm as a result of the powers of belief, inspiration, values, and policies.

In conclusion, all the rigorous apprehension toward these political discourses is the considerably crucial erudition and educational foundation for all the people and societies on the earth as a regard to the 21st Century world diversity. The research implication pinpoints the further investigation of political speeches in other linguistic areas such as intertextuality and conversation analysis.

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