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RHETORICAL DEVICES OF PERSUASION IN JOE BIDEN'S SPEECHES

The article analyzes rhetorical devices of persuasion in Joe Biden's speeches defined as an oral talk delivered in front of the audience by the president, premier-minister or other politician with an aim to set certain tasks, to give recommendations, or to highlight urgent issues and problems. One of the main tasks of a speech is the influence on its recipients which is achieved by making use of classical rhetoric, namely its three devices of persuasion: ethos, logos, pathos. Appealing to ethos using the phrases «my fellow Americans» and «folks» and substituting the pronoun «I» with «we» helps the President to create the effect of unity and to represent himself as a part of the nation and his political team. To maintain a positive image Biden often discredits his main opponent Donald Trump utilizing the words and phrases with negative connotations. Appealing to logos is observed in relation between the thesis and arguments. Usually Joe Biden prefers a twice-repeated thesis that is supported by stating historical facts, statistics, authorities, and laws. Appealing to pathos is closely connected with emotions and feelings. They in turn are triggered by needs that influence people's behavior. Appealing to safety need is provided by highlighting the idea of democracy that brings stability and, as a result, safety. Besides, using the unchanged phrases «May God bless you» and «May God protect our troops» Biden touches upon faith (God as people's protector) and military protection. Belongingness needs in Biden's speeches are underscored with the help of the words with the semantics of unity which reflects belongingness to a nation or the world's community as well as entering a smaller – professional – group. Appealing to esteem need concerns specific groups of people (mainly doctors, soldiers, and immigrants) whom Biden considers a driving force in the development of American ideas and, hence, he describes them with the words and phrases which have the connotation of respect and development. The President appeals to the self-actualization need usually by representing the USA as a leading country at the international level being verbalized by the phrases that denote leadership.

Key words: political speech, rhetoric, logos, ethos, pathos.

Research question. Political discourse has long remained in the focus of scholars investigating the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions both at the local, national, and international levels [15, p. 12]. The latter use language as a tool of political power [11, c. 48] to influence the masses making use of classical rhetoric being primarily developed as an 'art' to persuade people in a political assembly [15, p. 34], to make the audience believe and act according to the desires and intentions of the speaker. In the view of the said above it is important to analyze political speeches in order to reveal the hidden senses and prevent their recipients from being manipulated or deceived.

Research overview. Being an element of political discourse political speech is defined as an oral talk delivered in front of the audience by the president, premier-minister or other politician with an aim to set certain tasks, to give recommendations, or

to highlight urgent issues and problems [5, c. 54]. From the communicative perspective political speech is a communication process and one of the types of a social action [10, c. 208] with the heads of states occupying the role of central political figures which makes their speeches subject to scrutiny of both public and scholars who have investigated linguo-stylistic peculiarities of speeches [4], their argumentation [2; 3], rhetoric functions of set phrases in speeches [8], linguo-pragmatic [9] and cognitive-rhetorical aspects of their persuasive potential the latter being embodied in various rhetorical effects such as those of modesty and determination [19] as well as evoked by the appeal to human needs [20].

The research overview shows a complex approach to the study of speeches and the revival of classical rhetoric for both practical purposes and as the basis for linguistic analysis of political "speeches designed to persuade" [12, p 49] by means of logos, ethos,

and pathos. Logos is the so-called rational persuasive method employing examples [13, p. 3], ethos is a character-based appeal involving the reputation of the speaker and what that speaker actually does and says in and during his/her speech [13, p. 4] and pathos is emotional persuasion [13, p. 4].

The three methods of persuasion have been touched upon in the cited works separately from each other though they are always interrelated in a speech and target at producing an integral impact on the audience.

The purpose of the research is to analyze rhetorical devices of persuasion in the speeches of the present-day American president Joe Biden who being the head of one of the most powerful states is one of the most influential politicians both domestically and internationally. Achieving this goal involves fulfilling the following tasks: to reveal the devices of logos in Biden's speeches, to investigate his appeal to ethos, i.e. the general effect produced by his oration and to analyze how he influences the recipients' emotions.

Results and discussion. Though as it has already been mentioned all the three methods of influence are interconnected they will be considered separately in this paper for research purposes.

Ethos: speaker's self-representation.

It is generally recognized that ethos is an ethical appeal, which helps to create a connection between the speaker and the audience. Ethos concerns the esteem in which the speaker is held. It means that an orator should be a person whom the listener can trust. As ethos includes acknowledging shared values, history, and beliefs, it is closely bound to creating certain effects on the audience [6, c. 132].

To represent himself in his speeches Joe Biden aims at producing the effect of unity with the nation and creating his positive image at the expense of his predecessor Donald Trump.

The effect of unity is achieved by showing President's belongingness to the nation and his political team by using the pronoun «we» to emphasize that he is an ordinary American, who understands people's problems and shares their experience. However, there are cases when he highlights himself as the leader of the country, especially while talking about some definite achievements. For this purpose, he uses the pronoun «I». This tendency is clearly observed, for example, in «Remarks by President Biden at the 153rd National Memorial Day Observance», when Biden uses the pronouns «we» and «our» 94 times, while «I» and «my» are used only 26 times.

In addition, it is common for the President to address the citizens with the help of special phrases: «folks» and «my fellow Americans». According to the dictionaries «folks» is used «if you want to speak in a friendly way to people you do not know» [14, e-ref] or to denote «the persons of one's own family» [18, e-ref]. At the same time, the word «fellow» is «used to refer to someone who has the same job or interests as you, or is in the same situation as you» [14, e-ref]. We can draw a conclusion that both of these phrases have the meaning of unity, of having something in common.

Besides, Joe Biden usually uses the failures and mistakes of his predecessor, Donald Trump, to create a better image of himself. The President describes his politics as active, democratic, and based on the rule of law, while Donald Trump and the Republican Party are related with various words and phrases with a negative connotation («an obstruction», «an assault», «the black hole», «an abyss», «interfering with elections», «cyberattacks», «poisoning», «to roll over», etc.): «Today, the right to vote and the rule of law are under unrelenting assault from Republican governors, attorneys general, secretaries of state, state legislators. And they're following my predecessor – the last President – into a deep, deep black hole and abyss» [21].

Logos: argumentation.

Logos is a rational appeal, which serves as the basis for argumentation theory [6, c. 132]. Argumentation is defined as proving the thesis with the help of arguments. It is generally accepted, that any speech must contain a chain of arguments that support the message that the author wants to deliver to his or her audience. It contributes to the truthfulness and solidness of the presented ideas [1, c. 202].

Among the rhetorical arguments which are used to support the thesis, the majority of modern scholars distinguish appealing to facts, statistics, laws, and authorities [7, c. 54]. After analyzing Joe Biden's speeches we may conclude that he often combines all of them, creating a strong base for showing the correctness of his ideas. This tendency is exemplified by «Remarks by President Biden at the 153rd National Memorial Day Observance». As this speech is delivered on Memorial Day, it is closely connected with the topic of American independence and the price paid for it. That is why these two ideas are mentioned in the thesis: «We remember those who gave their all in the service of America, in the service of freedom, in the service of justice» [22].

The first argument that follows the thesis contains appealing to historical facts which are closely bound

to the occasion mentioned in it. The President reminds people of the Civil War which became the first step in America's way to its democratic ideals. In such a way he shows that these struggles have been continuing since the foundation of the USA and now they unite all the generations making each person engaged in this process: «*We all know Memorial Day origins lie in the wake of the Civil War – a war for the freedom of all. A war for union. A war for liberty and for the preservation of the Constitution*» [22]. In this context, Joe Biden also mentions General John Logan, who after the end of the Civil War issued an order, which started Memorial Day. So the President emphasizes that today Americans preserve old traditions.

Besides, Joe Biden often appeals to authorities by giving quotes of famous statesmen who contributed to developing the USA. In this speech, for instance, he mentions President Lincoln, who is highly respected by Americans: «*Here in Arlington lie heroes who gave what President Lincoln called «the last full measure of devotion»*» [22].

Appealing to statistics in Biden's addresses is met rarely, but its utilizing always provides a strong effect of grief, because the numbers given by the President are never approximation. They reflect the exact number of losses, which again make people feel involved. Citizens understand that these numbers include sacrifices of each family: «*Each day – starting when I was Vice President of the United States – I carry in my pocket a number of troops killed during the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Not an approximation, not rounded-off numbers – they each leave behind an entire community and family. And today, that number is 7,036 – 7,036 fallen angels who have lost their lives in these conflicts*» [22].

It is worth mentioning that appealing to laws in Joe Biden's speeches is usually quite generalized and mainly refers to the statements from the Constitution. Talking about the soldiers who died in various military conflicts the President highlights that America's power is in its democratic principles. In turn, democratic principles are protected by the Constitution. This logical chain helps Joe Biden to prove the importance of each soldier for the thriving of the USA and, therefore, the necessity to cherish their memory: «*What we do now – what we do now, how we honor the memory of the fallen, will determine whether or not democracy will long endure. (...) Democracy thrives when the infrastructure of democracy is strong; (...) when the rule of law applies equally and fairly to every citizen, regardless of where they come from or what they look like*» [22].

We can claim that the relation between the thesis and arguments in Joe Biden's speeches is usually determined by the topic and occasion. Mainly he prefers using twice-repeated thesis. It means that the President indicates his thesis in the introductory part and then paraphrases it in the conclusion. Arguments in this structure occupy the main part. This approach helps Joe Biden to emphasize the main idea and to attract more attention to the issue.

Pathos: appealing to needs and emotions.

In classical rhetoric pathos is defined as an appeal based on passion or emotion [16, p. 574]. Now researchers talk about a psychology of *pathos* in which a sensory impression is recorded in the brain as an attitudinal and associational complex of the context in which the impression was experienced. This allows a rhetor to order various stimuli to trigger mental responses in the audience [16, p. 585]. Modern psychologists claim that emotions are the driving factors of both positive and negative motivation. It is closely connected with people's needs, which have their five-staged hierarchy singled out by Abraham Maslow [20, p. 156].

In his speeches Joe Biden appeals to four groups of needs: safety, belongingness, esteem and self-actualization.

Safety need relates to people's need to feel safe and secure in their life and surroundings. It may be achieved by maintaining order with the help of laws and getting protection from unpredictable and dangerous conditions [17, p. 39]. Biden pays special attention to this very appeal because America is considered to be a modern cradle of democracy, which means that «*if every person is sacred, then every person's rights are sacred*» [22].

The President is sure, that all Americans must adhere to the basic idea of equality. Although it was established a long time ago, nowadays it remains a key element that supports the whole mechanism of democracy. While analyzing this issue it appears quite clear, that Joe Biden creates a kind of a chain «*democracy = stability = safety*», where all links are interdependent and may be preserved only by following the rule of law: «*Democracy thrives when the infrastructure of democracy is strong; when people have the right to vote freely and fairly and conveniently; (...) when the rule of law applies equally and fairly to every citizen, regardless of where they come from or what they look like*» [24].

Delivering speeches connected with the COVID-19 pandemic Joe Biden always insists on the necessity to get vaccinated as the only possible way to

protect the lives and health of Americans. He uses an ontological metaphor (VIRUS IS AN ENEMY) to compare the fight for independence carried out by their ancestors with the fight against the virus which they face today: “*Two hundred and forty-five years ago, we declared our independence from a distant king. Today, we’re closer than ever to declaring our independence from a deadly virus*” [23].

Speaking about appealing to Safety needs special attention should be paid to the way Biden ends almost all his speeches. Usually, he utilizes two unchangeable phrases: «*May God bless you*» and «*May God protect our troops*». On the one hand, the President touches on religious beliefs of God being people’s protector, which very much influences the minds of believing citizens. On the other hand, Biden always mentions troops, i.e. an army that defends American interests both inside the country and abroad. So, in such a way he evokes in people’s minds the idea of being safe.

Belongingness need according to Maslow’s hierarchy includes the necessity for each person to belong to a group (to be a partner, a friend, a colleague, a citizen, etc.) [17, p. 42]. In his speeches Biden often represents the USA as an old country with deep roots and an established set of values. However, it was reached only due to the efforts of each citizen as an integral part of the country. Using the words with the meaning of unity («*unity*», «*to be joined*», «*solidarity*», «*fellow*», «*together*», etc.) he emphasizes the audience’s and his belongingness to the nation: «*And today we see the results of the unity of purpose (...) we’re forging in our nation, for together we’re beating the virus. Together, we’re breathing life into our economy. Together, we will rescue our people from division and despair. But together we must do it*» [23].

At the same time, Biden develops this idea and states that America exists not in isolation, but as a part of the world. So, if a person lives in the USA, he or she is a member not only of the state’s community but also of the world’s one. For this purpose the President chooses phrases and words that denote American involvement worldwide (for instance, «*standing shoulder-to-shoulder with our allies*», «*American engagement internationally*», «*global action*», «*shared challenges*», «*to be the part of international community*», «*shared concerns*», etc.): «*That’s why we’ve moved quickly to begin restoring American engagement internationally and earn back our leadership position, to catalyze global action on shared challenges*” [25].

In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic Biden appeals to belongingness to various strata of society

and professional groups struggling against the virus using such nominating units as *scientists, researchers, educators, other frontline and essential workers*. Once again he points out that these are ordinary people who help their nation to survive in this tough time so the President encourages people to be grateful to the citizens who belong to these essential professional groups: “*...we can thank the scientists and researchers, the educators, and all the other frontline and essential workers, like many of you here today who became the light to see us through the darkness*” [25].

Esteem need includes self-worth, accomplishment, and respect [17, p. 45]. In most cases, Joe Biden appeals to them when he wants to emphasize the essential role of each ordinary citizen for the whole country. It presupposes the necessity to respect them for their actions and achievements, as they move the USA forward.

Predictably, Joe Biden can’t help mentioning soldiers who died in various military conflicts defending the idea of the USA. The President highlights the importance of their sacrifice and encourages people to remember all of them by using words and phrases which have the meaning of respect (for example, «*to honor*», «*to be grateful for*», «*to be proud*», «*honorable*», «*to remember*», «*valor*», «*to appreciate*», «*dignity*», «*esteem*», etc.): «*Women and men, all those we honor today, gave their lives for their country, but they live forever in our hearts – forever proud, forever honorable, forever American*» [22].

Moreover, Biden usually states that America is a diverse country, which unites within its borders various completely different people. Nevertheless, it is the diversity that has helped the USA to achieve such an immense success. To emphasize this idea speaking about immigrants Biden usually utilizes words that denote development correlating with accomplishment in Maslow’s definition, for example, «*to renew*», «*to thrive*», «*to develop*», «*to grow*», «*to increase*», «*to be essential*», «*to build smth back*», etc.: «*All of you represent how immigration has always been essential to America. We’re constantly renewing ourselves. Constantly. When we come out of this pandemic and build an economy, we’re going to build it back better*» [24].

Self-actualization need covers the realization of potential, self-fulfillment, seeking personal growth, accomplishing everything that one can do [17, p. 46]. In his speeches, Biden usually appeals to self-actualization needs by showing the achievements of America on the international

level. Its participation in various agreements, summits, and meetings is vital for maintaining peace and stability across the globe. Furthermore, America is ready to use all its strength and influence to become even more powerful and to help other countries in the shared aim to create a better world. This issue is represented by utilizing phrases that denote various aspects of leadership, like «to earn back a leadership position», «to become the first», «to achieve higher results», «to step up the diplomacy», «to ensure the support», «to struggle for democracy around the world», etc.: «We're also stepping up our diplomacy to end the war in Yemen (...). I've asked my Middle East team to ensure our support for the United Nations-led initiative to impose a ceasefire, open humanitarian channels, and restore long-dormant peace talks» [25].

Conclusions and the prospects for further research. Rhetorical analysis of Joe Biden's speeches brings us to the conclusion that the acting American president makes his speeches persuasive employing three rhetorical devices of influence: ethos, logos, pathos. Biden appeals to ethos creating the effect of his unity with the nation and discrediting his main opponent Donald Trump. Appealing to logos the US head utilizes a twice-repeated thesis supported by historical facts, statistics, authorities, and laws. Influence on the audience through pathos is gained by means of appealing to the safety, belongingness, esteem and self-actualization needs.

The prospects for further research consist in analyzing Joe Biden's speeches from a cognitive rhetorical perspective allowing to bind five canons of rhetoric and cognitive structures.

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Міщенко Т. В., Луценко О. В. РИТОРИЧНІ СПОСОБИ ВПЛИВУ У ПРОМОВАХ ДЖО БАЙДЕНА

У статті аналізуються риторичні засоби переконання у промовах Джо Байдена, що визначаються як усна промова президента, прем'єр-міністра або іншого політика перед аудиторією з метою постановки певних завдань, надання рекомендацій або висвітлення нагальних питань і проблем. Одним з основних завдань промови є вплив на її реципієнтів, який досягається за рахунок використання класичної риторики, а саме її трьох способів переконання: етос, логос, пафос. Звернення до етосу за допомогою фраз «мої співвітчизники американці» і «народ», а також заміна займенника «я» на «ми» допомагають президенту створити ефект єдності і показати себе частиною нації і своєї політичної команди. Для збереження позитивного іміджу Байден часто дискредитує свого головного опонента Дональда Трампа, використовуючи слова і фрази з негативними конотаціями. Звернення до логосу спостерігається у зв'язку між тезою та аргументами. Зазвичай Джо Байден надає перевагу двократній тезі, яку підтримують історичні факти, статистика, авторитети й закони. Звернення до пафосу тісно пов'язане з емоціями і почуттями. Вони, у свою чергу, викликаються потребами, які впливають на поведінку людей. Звернення до потреби у безпеці забезпечується шляхом наголошення на ідеї демократії, яка приносить стабільність і, як наслідок, безпеку. Крім того, використовуючи незмінні фрази «Нехай Бог благословить вас» і «Нехай Бог захищає наші війська», Байден торкається віри (Бога як захисника людей) і військового захисту. Потреби приналежності в промовах Байдена підкреслюються за допомогою слів із семантикою єдності, яка відображає належність до нації або світової спільноти, а також входження до меншої – професійної – групи. Апеляція до потреби в повазі стосується конкретних груп людей (в основному лікарів, солдатів та іммігрантів), яких Байден вважає рушійною силою у розвитку американських ідей і, отже, яких він номінує словами та фразами, що мають конотацію поваги та розвитку. Президент звертається до потреби в самоактуалізації, як правило, представляючи США як провідну країну на міжнародному рівні, що вербалізується фразами, які позначають лідерство.

Ключові слова: політична промова, риторика, логос, етос, пафос.